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THE  
CATECHETICAL ORATION  
OF  
GREGORY OF NYSSA.

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THE  
CATECHETICAL ORATION  
OF  
GREGORY OF NYSSA

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## PREFACE.

THE *Oratio Catechetica* exhibits perhaps better than any other single work the characteristic features of the mind and thought of its author. As such it serves as an introduction to the study of Gregory of Nyssa. The present edition is intended to render assistance to students in placing the treatise in its proper historical setting, and to supply such illustrative comment as seemed necessary.

While much has been written in recent times upon Gregory's teaching, the problems connected with the text and exegesis of his works have received scant attention. The labours of Krabinger, Forbes, and Oehler are the only serious contribution in modern times to the former, while the volume of translations in the *Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* is the first English contribution to the latter.

The text of the present edition is based upon a collation of the more important MSS of the treatise, the majority of which have not hitherto been used for the purposes of an edition. The editor is indebted to

the Managers of the Hort Fund for the grants which have made it possible for him to obtain collations or photographs of these MSS. He has also to acknowledge much kindness and personal assistance rendered to him by the authorities of the various libraries to which he has had access. In this connexion a special debt of gratitude is due to Dr Mercati of the Vatican Library, and to M. Omont of the National Library, Paris. To Mr C. H. Turner he is indebted for valuable information and suggestions in connexion with the textual problems of the treatise. His thanks are also due to Dr H. Jackson for useful references and suggestions, and to the Rev. J. F. Bethune-Baker for criticisms and discussions of particular passages. Above all he has been indebted throughout to the unfailing courtesy and kindness of the General Editor of the present series of Patristic Texts, Dr A. J. Mason, who has placed his advice unreservedly at the service of the present editor, and who has read through the whole work in manuscript and proof, and offered numerous suggestions and criticisms.

The more important works to which reference has been made are mentioned in the Notes, and more fully in the List of Books given in the Introduction.

*Easter, 1903.*

J. H. S.

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## INTRODUCTION.

### § I. ON THE CHARACTER, DATE, GENUINENESS, AND LITERARY HISTORY OF THE *ORATIO CATECHETICA*.

THE central period of the literary activity of Gregory of Nyssa falls within the years 379—394. Within those years must be placed nearly all his more important works. It was the death of Basil in 379 which brought him prominently forward, and placed him in the position of the champion of Catholicism in Cappadocia. The time was rich in opportunities. The year which preceded the death of Basil had witnessed the fall of Arianism and the triumph of the Nicene cause, for which Gregory had borne his witness not only in teaching, but by submitting to banishment at the hands of an Arian governor<sup>1</sup>.

In the stirring events of the years which followed Gregory played an important part. It was his own position as one of the foremost leaders of the Nicene cause in the East, rather than the importance of his see, which led to his being summoned to the Council of Constantinople in 381, and to his being named in the edict of the Emperor as one of the bishops with whom communion was required as a test of orthodoxy.

<sup>1</sup> See Basil *Ep.* 237, 239. Cp. Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 72 (ed. Ben.).

At Constantinople he made the acquaintance of Jerome, who had been attracted thither by the fame of Gregory of Nazianzus, and it was on this occasion that Jerome heard Gregory recite his work against Eunomius<sup>1</sup>. The period which followed the Council of Constantinople was full of hope for the leaders of orthodoxy. Arianism, though still fairly strong in the East, had received its death-blow at Adrianople. The way was opened for the restoration of the Catholic faith. In that task Gregory of Nyssa played a leading part. But with the restoration of the faith a fresh presentation of it in the terms of a scientific theology became necessary. That was a conviction which had already begun to occupy the minds of Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus. They were both students of Origen, whose theological system, though not accepted in its entirety, was the only adequate form of Christian scientific thought known to that age. The compilation of the *Philocalia*<sup>2</sup> is a testimony to their belief that Origen's thought contained the principles by means of which the faith might be presented as a rational theology. It is in their attempt to realize this dream of a 'league between Faith and Science'<sup>3</sup> that the importance of the Cappadocian Fathers largely consists. Gregory of Nyssa shared this belief<sup>4</sup>, and was more deeply imbued with the spirit of Origen than either Basil or Gregory of

<sup>1</sup> Jerome *de Vir. Ill.* c. 128. The work which Jerome heard recited was probably an earlier draft of the work which we possess. See *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> On the *Philocalia* see the letter sent by Gregory of Nazianzus (about 382) to Theodosius, Bp of Tyana (*Ep.* 115). On the obligations of both Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus to Origen see Socrates *H. E.* iv 26.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Harnack *H. of Dogma* (Eng. tr.) iv 89.

<sup>4</sup> See *de Vita Moysis* (written in old age), p. 336 (Migne). ἔστι γὰρ τι καὶ τῆς ἕξω παιδείσεως πρὸς συζυγίαν ἡμῶν εἰς τεκνογονίαν ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἀπόβλητον. καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἠθικὴ τε καὶ φυσικὴ φιλοσοφία γένοιτο ἂν ποτε τῷ ὑψηλοτέρῳ βίῳ συζυγός τε καὶ φίλη καὶ κοινῶν τῆς ζωῆς.



Nazianzus. The *Oratio Catechetica* approaches more nearly to the spirit of the *de Principiis* than any other work of the fourth century<sup>1</sup>.

The attempt to establish the doctrines of orthodoxy by rational thought was both opportune and necessary. In the first place current religious conceptions had been profoundly affected by the influence of Neoplatonism. It was rather as an attitude of mind than as a philosophical system that Neoplatonism played a part in the moral culture of the heathen world. It influenced men's way of looking at religious truth, by leading them to dwell upon the inner world, the life of thought and spirit, and to find in it the explanation of the universe. The result was a more spiritual conception of God. According to Plotinus the Divine Being is of the nature of thought and is indivisible<sup>2</sup>. This marked a great advance upon the materialistic conceptions of Deity which characterized Stoic teaching and popular thought, even within the Church<sup>3</sup>, and it rendered easier the task of those who had to state the Christian doctrine of the Trinity and defend it against the unitarian or tritheistic conclusions which so readily followed from a materialistic view of being. Again, the speculations of philosophers on the existence of hypostases within the Divine Being<sup>4</sup> had made it easier to present to men's minds the unity and co-eternity of the Persons of the Godhead<sup>5</sup>. Once

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Harnack *H. of Dogma* (Eng. tr.) iv 334.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. *Ennead.* v 1. 3 sq. Cp. Bigg *Neoplatonism* (S. P. C. K.), p. 166 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Tertullian is an example. We have a later illustration in the anthropomorphism of the Egyptian monks.

<sup>4</sup> On the Trinity of Numenius see Bigg *Bampton Lect.* p. 251. On the Trinity of Plotinus see *Ennead.* v 1. 6 sq.

<sup>5</sup> There is of course a wide gulf between the Trinity of Plotinus and the doctrine of the Church. The former taught the unity and co-eternity of

more, the widespread fatalism<sup>1</sup> of the age and the existence of Manichaeism<sup>2</sup> called for some adequate treatment of the Divine Providence<sup>3</sup>, the origin of evil, and the nature and destiny of man<sup>4</sup>. Lastly there was the task of justifying to current thought the Christian doctrines of the Incarnation and Atonement.

Such were the circumstances under which the *Oratio Catechetica* was produced. The purpose of the treatise is stated in the opening words of the Prologue. It is intended not for catechumens, but for catechists, in order to enable them to present in a rational form to those whom they taught the contents of the Christian revelation. Yet it does not profess to set forth a complete system of doctrine. While it abounds in philosophic thought, the aim throughout is practical. The object of the writer is to enable the catechist to remove objections and to win conviction. When he calls to his aid the speculations of philosophers, he does so, not so much because he regards them as the necessary form of truth, as because they provide a common ground for argument. The apologetic character, in fact, is strongly marked throughout.

the hypostases, but excluded the idea of their co-equality. The Intelligence is inferior to the One, and the Soul is inferior to the Intelligence. Both Intelligence and Soul are emanations from the One, which is infinitely raised above them both. Cp. *Bright Age of Fathers* i p. 93.

<sup>1</sup> See Gregory's treatise *περὶ εἰμαρμένης*.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *Or. Cat. prol. ἡ πρὸς τὸν Μανιχαῖον μάχη*, c. 7 *οἱ τοῖς Μανιχαϊκοῖς δόγμασι παρασυρέντες*. Edicts were issued against them throughout this period. See reff. in Gieseler *Ecc. Hist.* (Eng. tr.) i 369 note 3.

<sup>3</sup> See further notes on cc. 5—8.

<sup>4</sup> Gr.'s polemic against Manichaeism also throws light upon his language on the *ἀποκατάστασις* in c. 26 (see notes) and his defence of human generation in c. 28.

The work falls roughly into four divisions :

I. Chs. 1—4, in which he expounds the doctrine of the Trinity.

II. Chs. 5—8, in which he treats of the creation of man and the origin of evil.

III. Chs. 9—32, which deal at length with the Incarnation, removing objections, and showing its consistency with the moral attributes of God. In the same section Gregory treats of the method of the Atonement.

IV. Chs. 33—40, which treat of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, and the moral conditions (faith and repentance) which are necessary for their right use.

The only indication supplied by the book itself as to its date is the reference in c. 38 (*init.*) to his earlier controversial treatises on the faith. This has generally been taken to refer, or at least to include a reference, to his work against Eunomius. That work had been taken in hand as a reply to Eunomius, who had answered Basil's refutation of his former apology by an 'Apologia Apologiae.' Eunomius' book had appeared either shortly before or shortly after the death of Basil<sup>1</sup>. The rough draft (*τὰ σχεδάρια*) of Gregory's reply, as we gather from the prefatory letter to his brother Peter<sup>2</sup>, had already been made before Gregory's return from Armenia, where he had been towards the end of the year 380, probably, as Tillemont thinks, for the consecration of his brother Peter as bishop of Sebasteia<sup>3</sup>. It was only in response to the urgent requests of friends that

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the question see Heyns (p. 55, note 1) and Diekamp *Gotteslehre d. h. Gregor. v. Nyss.* p. 126, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> p. 237 (Migne).

<sup>3</sup> See Tillemont *Mém. Eccl.* ix 578.

Gregory was led to publish his book. How far it was advanced at the time when Jerome heard Gregory recite it at Constantinople<sup>1</sup> it is difficult to say, but it seems probable that the completed work, which is by far the longest of all Gregory's works, was not published before 382 or 383<sup>2</sup>. In 383 Gregory was present at a synod at Constantinople and delivered his oration *de Deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti*, which also contains an attack upon the Anomœans<sup>3</sup>. These works fully satisfy the description which Gregory gives in c. 38 of his previous controversial and critical works on faith<sup>4</sup>. Thus the *Or. Cat.* would seem to be later than 383. But it is probably not much later. Though the danger from the Anomœan teaching does not occupy a prominent place in the book, it is still before his mind<sup>5</sup>. It is probable then that the *Oratio Catechetica* was written in one of the years immediately following 383.

The title is given in the best MSS as *λόγος κατηχητικός*. Similarly Photius (*Bibl. Cod.* 233) and Maximus, in his comment on Ps.-Dionys. *de Eccl. Hier.* iii. § 11, allude to it as *ὁ κατηχητικός*<sup>6</sup>. But in some MSS and in the Paris editions the words *ὁ μέγας* have crept into the title<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> v. *supra* p. x. Rupp's suggestion (p. 134, note 4) that the last two books of Basil's *Refutation*, which are wrongly attributed to him, are the work which Gregory read to Jerome and Gregory Nazianzen, is devoid of any support. See Diekamp *op. cit.* p. 125, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the relation of Gr.'s work to the apologies of Eunomius see Diekamp *op. cit.* p. 126, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> On the date of this work see Ceillier *Auteurs sacrés* viii 353.

<sup>4</sup> His shorter treatises *de Fide*, *Quod non sint tres dñi*, and *de S. Trinitate* (which probably belongs to Gregory, rather than to Basil) were addressed to private individuals.

<sup>5</sup> See *prol.* and cc. 38, 39.

<sup>6</sup> Similarly Euthymius and the 'Disputatio Theoriani.'

<sup>7</sup> The earliest MS which has the words *ὁ μέγας* is the Paris codex Gr. 1268 (Omont 294).

Its genuineness is well attested, as it is referred to by a succession of later writers. It is quoted by Theodoret<sup>1</sup> in his Dialogues, and by Leontius of Byzantium in his treatise against Nestorius and Eutyches. John of Damascus in the *de Fide Orthodoxa* borrows largely from its language on the Trinity and again on the Eucharist. Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople (ob. 733), in a work which Photius had read (*Bibl. Cod.* 233), refers to it. There are also clear reminiscences of some of its language on the Trinity in Ps.-Cyril *de S. Trinitate*. Euthymius Zigabenus in the twelfth century incorporates large sections of it into his *Panoplia Dogmatica*. In another twelfth century work containing the account of a discussion held between Nerses or Noreses, the Catholicos of Armenia, and Theorianus, who had been sent by the Emperor Manuel Comnenus to win him over to the doctrines of Chalcedon, there is a reproduction of Gregory's chapter on the Eucharist. But though the work is frequently cited as belonging to Gregory, a careful perusal of its contents excited the suspicions of orthodox readers. The traces of Origenistic teaching, especially on the ἀποκατάστασις, in the writings of one who ranked amongst the three great Fathers of the Eastern Church, needed explanation. Accordingly an attempt was made to prove that Gregory's writings had been interpolated by the Origenists. This idea first appears in the book written by Germanus, to which Photius refers. The work was entitled Ἀνταποδοτικὸς ἢ Ἀνοθευτός. In the first part of the book Germanus refuted the teaching of Origen on the purgation of wicked spirits. In the latter part he maintains that the works of Gregory of Nyssa had been falsified by

<sup>1</sup> For fuller reffs. see *infra*.

the Origenists, who had inserted many passages from Origen's writings. The works to which he referred are, according to Photius, the *de Anima et Resurrectione*, the *Oratio Catechetica* and the *de Vita Perfecta*. But the idea of a universal restoration occurs too frequently in Gregory's writings<sup>1</sup> to be disposed of by a theory of interpolation, which further receives no support from any change of style.

An objection of a different character has been raised against the concluding chapter of the treatise by Aubertin<sup>2</sup>, on the ground that Gregory, after treating of Baptism in cc. 34—36, and of the Eucharist in c. 37, again returns to Baptism in c. 40. But the objection is of little value, as the whole section, cc. 38—40, deals with the moral conditions which are essential to the life of grace, and as baptism marks the initiation into that life it is naturally chosen as the point of reference for his remarks.

The spurious addition to c. 40, found in the Paris editions and in some late manuscripts, is an extract from a work on the Incarnation by Theodore of Rhaithu, a monk of the seventh century, and its presence in the text is due to a blunder of transcription.

The *Oratio Catechetica* has received considerable attention in modern times as representing more adequately than any single treatise the characteristic features of Gregory's teaching. Ueberweg, who in his *History of Philosophy* (p. 326) speaks of Gregory as 'the first who sought to establish by rational considerations the whole

<sup>1</sup> Other passages in which Gregory teaches an ἀποκατάστασις are *de Hom. Opif.* c. 21, *in Psalmos* i 9, *Or. in illud Tunc ipse Filius* (of doubtful genuineness) p. 1316 (Migne), *de Mortuis* pp. 524, f. (Migne), *in Chr. Resurr. Or.* i pp. 609, f. (Migne).

<sup>2</sup> *de Sacram. Eucharist.* ii 487 (quoted by Rupp p. 147).

complex of orthodox doctrines,' devotes a special section to this work.

Gregory's style has been frequently praised for its excellence. Photius speaks of it<sup>1</sup> as *γλυκύτατος καὶ λαμπρὸς καὶ ἡδονῆς ὡσὶν ἀποστάζων*. His rhetorical training<sup>2</sup> is manifested in the elaboration of his periods, his frequent use of digressions, and above all his love of similes<sup>3</sup>. At the same time these features combine to make his language often obscure and difficult of interpretation.

## § 2. ON SOME POINTS IN THE TEACHING OF GREGORY OF NYSSA.

The purpose of the *Oratio Catechetica* is to set forth in a manner suited to the needs of those engaged in the instruction of converts the contents of the Baptismal Creed. Gregory starts from the religious beliefs of the Greek and the Jew, and maintains that the Christian doctrine of God is the mean between Greek polytheism and Judaism. The former recognised a distinction of hypostases, the latter the unity of nature, in the Divine Being. He refers to non-Christian conceptions of a

<sup>1</sup> *Bibl. Cod.* 6.

<sup>2</sup> See the letter of Gregory of Nazianzus (*Ep.* 11, ed. Ben.) written to Gr., reproving him for his excessive devotion to rhetorical studies, which had led him to resign his office of *ἀναγνώστης*.

<sup>3</sup> The *Or. Cat.* abounds in similes. Especially characteristic are the following: the mixture of water with the oil of a lamp (c. 6), the mind of man wandering at will over the universe (c. 10), the flame of the wick (*ibid.*), the dog letting fall his food to catch at its reflection in the water (c. 21), the comparison of Satan to a ravenous fish who swallows both hook and bait (c. 24), the doctor waiting for the disease to come to a head (c. 29), the snake which has received its death-stroke, but still shows signs of life (c. 30).

Word of God, and further seeks to convince the Greek of the existence of a Word and Spirit of God by an appeal to 'general ideas,' based on the facts of human nature<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand he seeks to lead the Jew, from indications contained in the Old Testament<sup>2</sup>, to accept, as consonant with his earlier teaching, the Catholic faith. In dealing with the Greek his treatment is speculative. In dealing with the Jew he appeals to Scripture. In both cases he makes use of the facts of history. The miracles of Christ, the rise, growth, and extension of the Church<sup>3</sup>, all are adduced to confirm the impression of the truth of Christianity which has been gained from an examination of its contents. The argument from prophecy and Old Testament types, which played such an important part in earlier apologies, does not find a place in his treatment. But he states in the clearest way, when treating of the Incarnation, the moral argument. Again and again he appeals to the moral glory exhibited in God's plan of redemption<sup>4</sup>. The Incarnation was an exhibition of the Love of God and was consistent with, and worthy of, His moral nature. This he regards as the sole and sufficient answer to all objections. It is consistent with God's honour to succour the needy. Such a work supplied the most splendid occasion for the exercise of His power. That His power could condescend so low was a greater miracle than any of the wonders of Creation. That Gregory appeals to each of these three classes of arguments, speculative, historical, and moral, is, as Rupp says<sup>5</sup>, a proof of the impartiality of his judgment and of his theological acuteness.

<sup>1</sup> See *prol.* cc. 3, 1, 5.

<sup>2</sup> See c. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See cc. 12, 18.

<sup>4</sup> See cc. 8 (*sub fin.*), 9, 15, 17, 20, 24, 26.

<sup>5</sup> *Gregors Leben und Meinungen* p. 246.



Gregory, as has been already remarked, does not attempt a complete scientific treatment of his subject. His aim is not to produce a *de Principiis* suited to the needs of the fourth century and based upon the Nicene Creed. He has in view the immediate, practical needs of Christian teachers. Yet there are at least the outlines of a theological system in the *Oratio Catechetica*, and it is to this fact that its resemblance to the work of Origen is due.

The influence of Origen upon Gregory's work is seen in three points.

1. In the first place his general treatment of his subject shows how deeply he had imbibed the spirit of Origen. His attempt to illustrate and explain Christian truth with the help of the philosophical conceptions of Greek thought is inspired by Origen<sup>1</sup>. Like his great master he too would seek to claim the philosophy of the heathen world as a friend and partner in the pursuit of the higher life<sup>2</sup>.

2. Again, Gregory's exegesis of Scripture is derived, like that of Basil, from Origen. He expounds the principles of the allegorical method of interpretation in c. 32 of the *Or. Cat.*, where he is dealing with objections to the manner of Christ's death. All words and acts of the Gospel have, he declares, a higher and more Divine meaning<sup>3</sup> than that which lies upon the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Rupp, *l.c.* 'Origen is great by virtue of the single thought of bringing philosophy into union with religion, and producing thereby a theology. With Clement of Alexandria this was still a mere instinct. Origen gave it consciousness, and so Christianity began to have a science of its own.'

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *de Vit. Moysis, l.c. supra.*

<sup>3</sup> *κατὰ τὸν ὑψηλότερον τε καὶ θειώτερον λόγον.*

surface. There is in all passages alike an admixture of the Divine element with the human. The voice or action proceeds after a human manner, while the hidden meaning<sup>1</sup> manifests the Divine element. So in the Death of Christ we can recognize the human element, the shame and weakness, while the outstretched arms of the Sufferer preach the Divine lesson of the all-embracing love of God. The early chapters of Genesis he treats, as Origen had done before him, as allegories. The stories of Paradise and the coats of skin<sup>2</sup> contain doctrines written in the form of a narrative and after the manner of history<sup>3</sup>. The coats of skin do not refer to literal skins. The inner meaning of the story, expressed in veiled language<sup>4</sup>, is that physical death was appointed by God as a merciful provision for undoing the effects of man's fall. Once more Gregory accuses the Jews of having misunderstood all that the Law had expressed in veiled language for those who were able to understand the inner meaning<sup>5</sup>. Such a method of exegesis was common in the age of Gregory. Allegorism was practised by all parties alike, when it suited their purpose. Some of these mystical interpretations of particular passages had passed into the current tradition of the Church<sup>6</sup>. The allegorical method was, moreover, particularly suited to the work of the apologist. It enabled him to claim the Old Testament in support of Christian belief and to harmonize it with the doctrines of the Church. At the same time it afforded him a weapon

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ κατὰ τὸ κρυπτόν νοουμένου.

<sup>2</sup> cc. 5, 8.

<sup>3</sup> ἱστορικώτερον.

<sup>4</sup> δι' αἰνιγμάτων (c. 8).

<sup>5</sup> ὅσα παρὰ τοῦ νόμου δι' αἰνιγμάτων τοῖς μυστικῶς ἐπαίειν ἐπισταμένοις διήρρηται.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. in c. 32 Gr. claims to have received the interpretation which he gives of the Cross ἐκ παραδόσεως.

wherewith to repel the counter-claims of Judaism. Behind Gregory's use of allegorism, however, there is often a profoundly spiritual conception of the meaning of Scripture<sup>1</sup>.

3. Once more it is in his whole conception of the Divine Providence that Gregory shows himself the disciple of Origen. To him, as to Origen, the history of the world represents a vast movement from a beginning to an end, embracing all created beings, and advancing towards a final unity in which God will be all in all<sup>2</sup>. To both alike it is God's goodness which is the cause of Creation<sup>3</sup>. In the system of Origen, however, man does not occupy quite the same central position in Creation as he does in the teaching of Gregory. According to Origen man is but one factor in the world of spirits<sup>4</sup>. Gregory returns to the view of earlier Fathers and regards man as the sole cause and the end of Creation<sup>5</sup>. In him the two worlds of sense and spirit find a meeting-point<sup>6</sup>. Origen's view was necessitated by his belief in the pre-existence of souls

<sup>1</sup> See a fine passage in *c. Eunom.* vii p. 744 (Migne) διὰ τοῦτο πᾶσα γραφή θεόπνευστος λέγεται, διὰ τὸ τῆς θείας ἐμπνεύσεως εἶναι διδασκαλίαν. εἰ περιαιρεθείη τὸ σωματικὸν τοῦ λόγου προκάλυμμα, τὸ λειπόμενον Κύριός ἐστι καὶ ζωὴ καὶ πνεῦμα, κατὰ τε τὸν μέγαν Παῦλον, καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου φωνήν. For further passages illustrating Gr.'s principles of exegesis see in *Cant. Cantic.* p. 756 sq. (Migne), and (on the συγκατάβασις of Scripture) *de Comm. Not.* p. 181 (Migne).

<sup>2</sup> St Paul's words, 1 Cor. xv 28, are a favourite text with Gr. as with Origen. Cp. e.g. *de An. et Res.* p. 104 (Migne).

<sup>3</sup> See *Or. Cat.* c. 5. Cp. Origen *de Princ.* ii 9. 6.

<sup>4</sup> See *c. Celsum* iv 99 (*Philocalia*, c. 20, p. 150, ed. Rob.) οἶμαι δὴ ἀποδεδεχέναι ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων, πῶς ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ παντὶ λογικῷ τὰ πάντα πεποιήται.

<sup>5</sup> *Or. Cat.* c. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Or. Cat.* c. 6 τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν γίνεταί τις κατὰ θείαν σοφίαν μίξις τε καὶ ἀνάκρασις.

and a pre-temporal fall, which Gregory rejects. But in his treatment of free-will and the origin of evil Gregory again shows himself the disciple of Origen<sup>1</sup>. The possession of free-will was necessary to the perfection of that 'image of God'<sup>2</sup> in which man was made. The result of its possession was that the participation in good was made the reward of virtue. It is through this endowment of free-will that evil becomes possible. For evil springs from within and is due to the action of man's will in turning away from what is good. Evil has no substantive existence but arises from the absence of virtue. The insistence on man's free-will, which had characterized Origen's teaching when face to face with the predestinarian views of the Gnostics, was no less important at the time when Gregory wrote, in face of the fatalism which characterized heathen thought, and above all in view of the danger from Manichaeism. The conception of the negative character of evil Gregory shares with other teachers of his age. It appears in Athanasius and Basil, and is an indication of their common debt to Origen. At the same time it marks a point of contact with Platonism<sup>3</sup>, originating as it does in the identification of τὸ ἀγαθόν and τὸ ὄν<sup>4</sup>. But it is in the application of these two ideas of man's free-will and the negative character of evil to the larger question of the Providence of God that Gregory far outdistances his contemporaries and shows himself a thoroughgoing disciple of Origen. It is one of the merits of both teachers that they are able to assign a

<sup>1</sup> For Origen's treatment of free-will see *de Principiis* Bk iii (*Philocalia*, c. 21).

<sup>2</sup> For the whole of what follows see *Or. Cat.* c. 5.

<sup>3</sup> See notes on c. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Archer Hind *Timaeus of Plato* pp. 31—33.

real importance to man's free-will in their system of thought. But man's free-will cannot defeat the final purpose of God, and evil, from its unsubstantial character, cannot be eternal. God must finally be 'all in all.' The purpose of God includes the redemption and restoration to God of all created spirits, Satan included. The purification of man is the work of grace. But those who have not passed through the gate of Baptism have none the less their own appropriate purification. The Divine Power in contact with evil acts as a refining fire. Satan himself will be purged by it and be led to acknowledge the justice and redemptive power of God. Then, when the purifying fire has done its work, there will arise from all Creation a chorus of praise<sup>1</sup>. This doctrine of ἀποκατάστασις, which proved such a stumbling-block to later ages and led to the suggestion that Gregory's works had been interpolated, shows how completely Gregory had made his own the main outlines of Origen's system<sup>2</sup>. In their conception of a purifying discipline in the after-life both Origen and Gregory are re-echoing the thoughts of Plato in the *Gorgias*<sup>3</sup>, but the former certainly believed himself to be interpreting the language of Scripture<sup>4</sup>, while the great text of St Paul, already referred to, supplied them both with the Scriptural basis

<sup>1</sup> See cc. 8, 26, 35.

<sup>2</sup> For reff. to Origen see notes on the passages quoted above. For other passages in which Gr. adheres to traditional language on the subject of future punishment see notes on c. 26.

<sup>3</sup> For reff. see notes on c. 8.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. 1 Cor. iii 15. For other reff. see Bigg *Bampton Lect.* p. 230. Gr.'s teaching on the κάθαρσις applies to a different stage in the history of the soul from that of the Western doctrine of Purgatory. The former takes place after the resurrection, the latter between death and judgment. Again the former deals with the purification of the bad, the latter with the purification of the good. See Mason *Purgatory* pp. 18—20.

which they sought for their belief in the final restoration of all created spirits to God.

In his treatment of human nature in the *Or. Cat.* Gregory departs from Origen, who adopted St Paul's terminology of 'body,' 'soul,' and 'spirit.' It suited better the purpose of Gregory's apology to adopt the simpler division into 'intelligible' and 'sensible' or 'invisible' and 'visible,' in order that he might exhibit man as the centre of creation and the meeting-point of the two worlds of matter and spirit. At the same time his method enables him to assert the closeness of the union between the two<sup>1</sup>.

Once more Gregory appears to emphasize more clearly than Origen the antithesis of God and the world. Thus when dealing with Creation in its relation to God he no longer uses the antithesis of τὸ νοητόν and τὸ αἰσθητόν, which would place all spiritual beings in the same category, but abandoning here Plato and Origen, he draws a contrast between 'created' and 'uncreated'<sup>2</sup>. This enabled him to assert the transcendence of God, an idea on which he is continually dwelling in his other works<sup>3</sup>.

It is a sign of Gregory's independence of thought and versatility of mind that, while he has shown himself a true disciple of Origen and has followed him in some

<sup>1</sup> He uses the words *μίξις, ἀνάκρασις, συνανάκρασις* of this union. See c. 6. Gr.'s treatment of the union of soul and body, and the relation of his thought to that of Plotinus is discussed by Bergades *de Universo et de Anima hominis doctr. Greg. Nyss.* §§ 9—13.

<sup>2</sup> c. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. *de An. et Res.* p. 92 sq. (Migne), esp. the words 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐν παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἐπέκεινα ἡ θεία φύσις. See also c. *Eunom.* ii p. 473 (Migne), iii p. 601, *de Hom. Op.* c. 11. This feature, which Gr. shares with Athanasius and Gregory Nazianzen, marks a point of contact with the Neoplatonists. See, however, Diekamp *op. cit.* pp. 183, 184.

of his most daring speculations, he has also shown himself susceptible to influences from another teacher who led in his day a reaction from Origen, and even figured as one of his most determined opponents.

The influence of Methodius upon Gregory's thought in the *Oratio Catechetica* is unmistakable, and extends not only to important conceptions, but even to similarity of literary expression<sup>1</sup>. In the first place Gregory shares Methodius' conception of the place occupied by death in the Divine order. According to Gregory<sup>2</sup> death was a temporary institution<sup>3</sup>, not a necessity of man's nature. It affects only the physical or sensuous part of man, and the work which it fulfils in the remedial purpose of God<sup>4</sup> is to free man's physical nature from the evil implanted in it by sin, by dissolving it and refashioning it<sup>5</sup> in its original beauty. He illustrates this by the case of a potter, who, when he finds that some ill-disposed person has filled with molten lead the vessel which he has fashioned, breaks up the unbaked clay and remodels it. Methodius' account is similar. According to him 'God devised death that by this means we might be rendered

<sup>1</sup> The illustration of the potter in *Or. Cat.* c. 8 appears to be derived from Methodius *de Resurrectione* Lib. i c. 44 (ed. Bonwetsch, p. 146). Again the description of death in *Or. Cat.* cc. 16, 35 recalls the language of Method. *de Resurr.* Lib. i c. 38 (ed. Bon. p. 132) οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ὁ θάνατος ἢ διάκρισις καὶ χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος. Gr.'s description of the 'angel of the earth' and the φθόνος of Satan (*Or. Cat.* c. 6) recalls the passage in Method. *de Resurr.* Lib. i c. 37 (ed. Bonw. p. 130). For the coats of skin (*Or. Cat.* c. 8) cp. Method. *de Resurr.* Lib. i c. 39 (ed. Bonw. p. 136). The illustration derived from human generation (*Or. Cat.* c. 33) is found in Method. *de Resurr.* Lib. ii c. 20 (ed. Bonw. p. 235).

<sup>2</sup> *Or. Cat.* c. 8.

<sup>3</sup> οὐχ ὡς αἰεὶ παραμένειν and *ibid.* πρὸς καιρὸν.

<sup>4</sup> τὸν τὴν κακίαν ἡμῶν ἰατρούοντα, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> πρὸς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κάλλος ἀναστοιχειώσει.

altogether free from blemish and injury<sup>1</sup>; and he explains his meaning by the two illustrations of the worker in metal and the potter. Yet in adopting the point of view of Methodius with regard to the physical nature of man, Gregory shows his originality by combining with it the idea of the purification of the soul by the practice of virtue in this life and the purificatory discipline of the after-life<sup>2</sup>. Starting from this conception of the redemption of the body, we find that both Methodius and Gregory take the same view of the redemptive work of Christ. According to the somewhat confused language of Methodius, Adam represents the whole of humanity which was assumed by Christ<sup>3</sup>. When man went astray, Christ the Shepherd came to seek him and 'bare him up' and 'wrapped Himself around him'<sup>4</sup> that he might not again be overwhelmed and swallowed up by the waves and deceits of pleasure. 'For in this way the Word assumed man, in order that, overcoming the serpent, He might through Himself destroy the condemnation which had followed upon man's ruin. For it was fitting that by no other should the Evil One be overcome, but by him whom he had deceived and over whom he was boasting that he had gained the mastery; for in no other way was it possible that sin and condemnation should be destroyed, unless that same man, on whose account it had been said, "Earth thou art and unto earth shalt thou return," should be refashioned<sup>5</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *de Resurr.* Lib. i c. 42 sq. (ed. Bonw. pp. 142 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> *Or. Cat.* c. 8 ἐν μὲν τῇ παρούσῃ ζωῇ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς φάρμακον εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν τοιούτων προσετέθη τραυμάτων. εἰ δὲ ἀθεράπευτος μένοι, ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ τεταμίνεται ἡ θεραπεία.

<sup>3</sup> See *Convinc.* iii 6 οὕτω δὴ πάλιν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀνειληφότη Χριστῷ τὸν Ἀδάμ πάντες ζωοποιηθῶσιν (ed. Jahn, p. 19). Cp. also iii 4, 7, 8.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.* βαστάσαντος αὐτὸν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀμφιεσαμένου.

<sup>5</sup> ἀναπλασθεῖς.



undo the sentence which on his account had issued forth upon all, that, as in Adam formerly all die, even so again in Christ, who assumed Adam, all should be made alive<sup>1</sup>.

There are resemblances in this exposition to the earlier teaching of Irenaeus<sup>2</sup>, but the many points of contact with Methodius' conceptions and the form in which he illustrates them<sup>3</sup> seem to show fairly conclusively that Gregory chose the latter as his model. According to Gregory<sup>4</sup> Christ assumed humanity for the purpose of knitting together in an inseparable union the body and soul which had been severed in death, and recalling the primal grace<sup>5</sup> which had belonged to human nature. As the principle of death had passed throughout the whole of human nature, so the principle of life resulting from Christ's Resurrection passes to all. He first united the soul which He had assumed in an indissoluble union with His own body by His resurrection. Then on a larger scale<sup>6</sup> he inaugurated the same union for all humanity. Thus He becomes the 'meeting-ground<sup>7</sup>' of life and death, by arresting the process of dissolution in man's nature, and Himself becoming

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.* Cp. also the words in c. 7 ὅπως ὁ Κύριος, ἡ ἀφθαρσία νικήσασα τὸν θάνατον, εὐήχως τὴν ἀνάστασιν μελωδήσῃ τῇ σαρκί, μὴ ἐάσασ αὐτὴν κληρονομηθῆναι πάλιν ὑπὸ τῆς φθορᾶς. See also the mystical application to the Church of the story of the creation of Eve, *ibid.* c. 8. The reff. throughout are to Jahn's edition.

<sup>2</sup> See Harnack *Hist. of Dogma* (Eng. tr.), vol. iii p. 105 (cp. ii 239 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, p. xxv, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Or. Cat.* c. 16.

<sup>5</sup> ὡς ἂν ἡ πρώτη περὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον χάρις ἀνακληθεῖη. Cp. c. 35 ὥστε τῆς κακίας ἐν τῇ διαλύσει τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκκρείσῃς πάλιν διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως σώων καὶ ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἀκέραιον καὶ πάσης τῆς κατὰ κακίαν ἐπιμιξίας ἀλλότριον ἀναστοιχειωθῆναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

<sup>6</sup> γενικωτέρῳ τινὶ λόγῳ.

<sup>7</sup> μεθόριον.

the originating principle of the union of the severed portions<sup>1</sup>.

In these somewhat realistic expositions of the work of redemption we find certain clearly marked conceptions which are held in common by Methodius and Gregory. There is the same idea of the purpose of death as a means of removing the evil which had entered man's physical nature through the Fall. There is the same idea of Christ's union with humanity as a whole. And lastly there is the same conception of the reconstitution of human nature through the Resurrection of Christ. These conceptions form the leading features of Gregory's doctrine of redemption.

Gregory's treatment of the Incarnation exhibits in detail many points of resemblance to that of Athanasius. As we have seen his general conceptions follow in the main those of Methodius. It is rather on the apologetic side that his expositions recall those of Athanasius. Both writers recognize the importance of history. They both appeal to the miracles of Christ<sup>2</sup>, and to His Virgin-Birth and Resurrection; also to the witness of facts as exhibited in the rise and growth of the Church and in the decline of heathenism and Judaism<sup>3</sup>. They both deal with the question 'Why did not God restore man by a mere fiat?', though they answer it in different ways<sup>4</sup>. Both appeal to the immanence of God in Creation in order to justify the idea of an Incarnation<sup>5</sup>. Both treat

<sup>1</sup> See further the expositions in *Or. Cat.* cc. 32, 35, esp. the words in c. 32, ἡ τοῦ μέρους ἀνάστασις ἐπὶ τὸ πᾶν διεξέρχεται, κατὰ τὸ συνεχές τε καὶ ἡνωμένον τῆς φύσεως ἐκ τοῦ μέρους ἐπὶ τὸ ὅλον συνεκδιδομένη.

<sup>2</sup> *Or. Cat.* cc. 12, 13. Cp. *Ath. de Inc.* cc. 18, 38, 49, 50.

<sup>3</sup> *Or. Cat.* cc. 13, 18. Cp. *Ath. de Inc.* cc. 40, 46, 55.

<sup>4</sup> *Or. Cat.* cc. 15, 17. Cp. *Ath. de Inc.* 44, *Or. c. Ar.* ii 68.

<sup>5</sup> *Or. Cat.* c. 25. Cp. *Ath. de Inc.* cc. 41, 42.

of the necessity of the death of Christ<sup>1</sup>, but Gregory has emphasized more clearly than Athanasius the fact that death was necessary in order that Christ's assumption of human nature might be complete. The particular manner of the death, Crucifixion, is also discussed by both writers, though more fully by Athanasius<sup>2</sup>. Both see in the outstretched arms of Christ a manifestation of His purpose to unite all men to Himself<sup>3</sup>. While Athanasius asserts that man's ills could not be cured by any external remedy<sup>4</sup>, Gregory maintains that man needed to be touched in order to be cured<sup>5</sup>. On the other hand Athanasius emphasizes far more clearly than Gregory the purpose of the Incarnation to restore in man the knowledge of God which had been blurred by sin<sup>6</sup>. In one or two respects Gregory added to the expositions given by Athanasius, as when he deals with the question why the Incarnation was delayed, and answers it by the analogy of the physician who waits till the disease has reached a climax before applying a cure<sup>7</sup>.

Gregory deals with the question, why sin has not ceased to exist since the Incarnation, by adducing the simile of a serpent<sup>8</sup> which has received its death-blow, though life continues for a time in its extremities. And again he answers the question why grace has not come to all by saying, in language that recalls Butler in later times, that God has left something to man's initiative and made him free to accept or refuse God's offer<sup>9</sup>. On

<sup>1</sup> *Or. Cat.* c. 32. Cp. Ath. *de Inc.* cc. 21, 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Or. Cat.* c. 32. Cp. Ath. *de Inc.* cc. 23—25.

<sup>3</sup> *Or. Cat.* c. 32. Cp. Ath. *de Inc.* c. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Ath. *de Inc.* c. 44.      <sup>5</sup> *Or. Cat.* c. 27.      <sup>6</sup> *de Inc.* cc. 11—19.

<sup>7</sup> *Or. Cat.* c. 29. Cp. Ath. *Or. c. Ar.* i 29, ii 68.

<sup>8</sup> *Or. Cat.* c. 30.      <sup>9</sup> *ibid.*

the whole, however, Gregory's treatment of the Incarnation lacks the completeness and profundity which is found in Athanasius<sup>1</sup>.

What has been said above of Gregory's relation to Origen has served also to bring into notice the debt which both Fathers owe to Plato. Gregory's other works exhibit his intimate acquaintance with Plato's Dialogues<sup>2</sup>, and show how freely he employed Plato's thoughts in setting forth the doctrine of the Trinity<sup>3</sup>. Yet Gregory fully understood the limits within which Platonism might be of service to the theology of the Church. It was at best a useful ally, which might be enlisted to strengthen and illustrate his exposition of the faith. It is thus that he employs the Platonic psychology to illustrate the doctrine of the Trinity in the opening chapters of the *Oratio Catechetica*<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In his treatment of the Divine Word in *Or. Cat.* c. 1 Gr. uses language which resembles that of Athanasius, e.g. his statement that God was never without a Word (cp. *Or. c. Ar.* i 19), and his contrast between the Divine Word and its transitory, human counterpart (cp. *Or. c. Ar.* ii 35).

<sup>2</sup> See passages quoted by Diekamp *Gotteslehre d. h. Gregor. v. N.* p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. in the treatises *c. Eunomium*, *Quod non sint tres dii* and *de Comm. Notionibus*. See Rupp *Gregors Leben und Meinungen* p. 136. Bardenhewer (*Patrologie* p. 278) speaks of him as 'anticipating the extreme Realism of the Middle Ages.'

<sup>4</sup> Of the influence of the later Platonists there is in the *Or. Cat.* apparently little trace. Similarly there is only a sparing use made of Aristotle. In his chapter on the Eucharist (c. 37) Gr. employs the Aristotelian antithesis of *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια*, and 'form' (*εἶδος*) and matter. But in this case he was probably only availing himself of terminology which had entered into the current eclectic philosophy of the day. His treatment of *εἶδος* in other works (e.g. *de Hom. Op.* c. 27) shows the influence of both Methodius and Origen. See Diekamp *op. cit.* p. 44, note 2. See further notes on ἀλλοιωτικῆς and reff. to Aristotle's doctrine of nutrition in c. 37.

We may now proceed to consider some points in the teaching of the *Oratio Catechetica* in which Gregory's independence of earlier Fathers is most apparent. First in order stands his presentation of the doctrine of the Trinity. His treatment of the subject is somewhat slight when compared with the length at which he discusses the Incarnation. There were two reasons for this. His earlier works had expounded at full length his ideas upon the subject<sup>1</sup>. And again it is assumed by him that in an apologetic work such as the *Oratio Catechetica* professes to be, there was less need to deal at length with objections to this doctrine than was the case in the doctrine of the Incarnation. The 'general ideas' of the Greek might be regarded as predisposing him to believe that there was a Word of God and a Spirit of God, while the indications in the Old Testament of hypostases within the Godhead might serve to convince the Jew<sup>2</sup>. But in what he does say his treatment is original and suggestive. He is the first Father to illustrate the doctrine of the Trinity from the psychology of human nature. Starting from the Platonic analysis of human consciousness as consisting of *νοῦς*, *λόγος*, *ψυχή*, he proceeds to argue that in the case of the Godhead this implies three distinct hypostases within the Divine Being. The Divine Logos and Spirit must correspond to the Divine Nature and be proportionately higher than their human counterparts. They must accordingly be living and have life in themselves. And in order to have life in the fullest sense they must be personal, possessing will and the power to perform what they will. Gregory's illustration is based upon the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. c. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the opening words of c. 5, where he also states the difficulties likely to be felt about the Incarnation. Cp. also c. 9.

belief, which he exhibits in other works, that human nature is a mirror, which faithfully reflects the traits of its Divine archetype<sup>1</sup>. At the same time Gregory is conscious of the inadequacy of our faculties to explore the mode of the existence of Deity, and he acknowledges that we can only attain a moderate degree of apprehension of the Divine Being<sup>2</sup>.

Another contribution which Gregory makes to Christian thought in the *Oratio Catechetica* is his treatment of the relation of the work of redemption to the attributes of God<sup>3</sup>. These he represents as four, power, righteousness, goodness, and wisdom<sup>4</sup>. The goodness of God was shown in his desire to rescue man, His wisdom in the method chosen to carry into effect this desire<sup>5</sup>. The power of God, which is not in its exhibition divorced from love<sup>6</sup>, was shown in the surpassing wonder of God's condescension, which enabled Him to come down to the level of man. Such humiliation was a wonder no less than that a flame should stream downwards, instead of upwards<sup>7</sup>. The righteousness of God was displayed in His manner of dealing with the great adversary of man<sup>8</sup>. In treating of this question Gregory

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *de An. et Res.* p. 41 (Migne) οὕτως ἐν τῇ βραχύτητι τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως τῶν ἀφράστων ἐκείνων τῆς θεότητος ιδιωμάτων αἱ εἰκόνες ἐκλάμπουσιν : *de Mortuis* p. 509 (Migne) ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἐν τῷ κατόπτρῳ μορφῆς ἡ εἰκὼν πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον σχηματίζεται· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς χαρακτήρος, τὸ ἔμπαλιν νενοήκαμεν· κατὰ γὰρ τὸ θεῖον κάλλος τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς εἶδος ἀπεικονίζεται· οὐκοῦν ὅταν πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ἑαυτῆς βλέπη ἡ ψυχὴ τότε δι' ἀκριβείας ἑαυτὴν καθορᾷ. There are many such passages. The passage in *Quid sit ad imag. Dei* p. 1333 (Migne), which recalls Gr.'s language in the *Or. Cat.*, cannot be adduced in illustration, as the treatise is almost certainly a later work, probably by Anastasius Sinaïta. See Ceillier viii 248.

<sup>2</sup> c. 3 *in*it. <sup>3</sup> cc. 19—26.

<sup>4</sup> c. 20. <sup>5</sup> c. 23 *sub* fin. Cp. c. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. c. 24, τὰ ἐφεξῆς τοῦ μυστηρίου διασκοπήσωμεν, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα δεικνυταὶ συγκεκραμένα τῇ φιλανθρωπία ἡ δύναμις.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.* <sup>8</sup> cc. 21—23, 26.

is led to discuss the nature of the Atonement, and in so doing he develops in a highly original manner the theory which earlier Fathers had framed upon the subject<sup>1</sup>. His teaching finds a parallel in that of Ambrose and later writers, and the idea of a ransom paid to Satan and a deception practised upon him, though rejected by one or two important Fathers, became widely current in East and West until Anselm brought it to an edifying end<sup>2</sup>. His argument is as follows. As we had freely sold ourselves to evil, He who sought to restore us to liberty could not resort to arbitrary and tyrannical methods, but must proceed by methods of strict justice. This involved the payment to Satan, as owner of mankind, of such a ransom as he was willing to receive. The spectacle of Christ's miracles led the adversary to select Him as the ransom-price, while the veil of Christ's human nature, hiding the Godhead, removed all cause for fear, and led him to desire Christ as his prey. In reply to the argument that this involved an act of deception, since the Godhead of Christ was veiled from Satan, Gregory replies that it was an act of strict justice. Satan was requited according to his deserts, in that the deceiver was in turn deceived. But he adds a further answer. Behind the justice of God and this apparent act of deception there was a beneficent purpose. Just as a physician deceives

<sup>1</sup> For these earlier theories see *reff.* in notes on c. 23. It is a significant fact that in his exposition of the atonement Gregory does not treat of the ideas of propitiation or satisfaction, or of the relation of the sacrifice of Christ to the sacrifices of the Old Testament. In the passage *in Chr. resurr. Or.* i p. 612 (Migne) he speaks of the sacrifice of the lamb but only in connexion with the Eucharist. In *c. Eunom.* ii p. 473 (Migne) the shedding of the blood is the 'ransom price' by which we are delivered from death.

<sup>2</sup> See notes on c. 23.

his patient by mixing a drug with his food, so the purpose of the deceit practised in the Incarnation was to benefit the adversary himself. Satan himself will be purged by the Divine power, acting as a refining fire, and will be led at last to acknowledge the saving power of Christ's work of redemption<sup>1</sup>. In this exposition, with its combination of the thoughts of his master Origen and his own ingenious fancies, Gregory's imagination attains its highest flight. In his whole treatment of the Atonement Gregory falls far short of the more profound and Scriptural teaching of Athanasius.

The concluding section of the *Oratio Catechetica* is devoted to an exposition of the doctrine of the Sacraments<sup>2</sup>. Gregory defends the principle involved in the Divine working through sacramental channels on general grounds by the same appeal to the Divine immanence which he had employed in dealing with the Incarnation<sup>3</sup>. But the assurance that God is present and works through such means is based upon His promise to be present in this particular way<sup>4</sup>. The validity of the sacramental rite accordingly depends upon the cooperation of our wills with the promise of God to act through these means. The prayers which are offered by us at baptism neither effect nor hinder the validity of the Sacrament, which depends upon the promise of God<sup>5</sup>.

Another feature in Gregory's treatment of the Sacraments is his insistence that through them there is a continuation of the process of the Incarnation. Thus

<sup>1</sup> c. 26.

<sup>2</sup> cc. 33—40.

<sup>3</sup> cc. 34, 36, esp. the words in c. 36, *τίς γὰρ πάρεστι πόνος τῷ πράγματι, πιστεῦσαι πανταχοῦ τὸν θεὸν εἶναι;*

<sup>4</sup> c. 34, *καὶ θεοῦ παρέσεσθαι τοῖς γινομένοις ἐπηγγελμένου καὶ τὴν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἐντεθεικότος τῷ ἔργῳ, καθ' ἃ πεπιστεύκαμεν.*

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*



he says of Baptism<sup>1</sup>: 'Since the method of our salvation was made effectual, not so much by instruction in the way of teaching, as by the very acts of Him who has established a fellowship with man, and has effected life as an actual fact, in order that, by means of the flesh which He has assumed and at the same time deified, everything kindred and related to it may be saved along with it, it was necessary that some means should be devised by which there might be in the baptismal process a kind of affinity and likeness between him who follows and Him who leads the way.' Similarly, in dealing with the Eucharist<sup>2</sup>, he says that the Incarnate Christ 'infused Himself into our perishable nature, that by communion with Deity mankind might at the same time be deified.' Then he proceeds: 'For this end it is that by dispensation of His grace He disseminates Himself in every believer through that flesh, whose substance is from bread and wine, blending Himself with the bodies of believers, that by this union with that which is immortal man too may be a sharer in incorruption.'

In both passages the idea is that the process of 'deification' which was consummated in the humanity of Christ by the hypostatic union of the Word with it, is continuously effected in mankind at large through union with Christ in the Sacraments. Gregory's language presents a fairly close parallel to the similar treatment of the question in the *de Trinitate* of St Hilary.

In his treatment of Baptism Gregory emphasizes the importance of a right faith for the practical needs of the Christian life. By his reference to his former controversial works on the Trinity<sup>3</sup> he clearly shows the inner

<sup>1</sup> c. 35.

<sup>2</sup> c. 37 *sub fin.*

<sup>3</sup> c. 38.

spiritual significance of the battle which the Church had been fighting with Arianism. It is of importance that he who is regenerate should know what is his spiritual parentage and into what manner of life he is born in baptism<sup>1</sup>. To believe that the Son and Spirit are created beings is to make a man's salvation dependent on something which is imperfect and which itself needs redemption<sup>2</sup>. His exposition of the inner significance of Baptism<sup>3</sup> recalls the language of Cyril's *Catecheses* and is based on St Paul's teaching. Baptism involves repentance and a dying with Christ unto sin. It is also the beginning of a resurrection unto a life of blessedness. But he realizes the incapacity<sup>4</sup> of man at present for a complete reproduction in himself of the death and resurrection of Christ. Still baptism marks the first stage. It is a break with evil<sup>5</sup>, and a preliminary rehearsal<sup>6</sup> of that which will be completely accomplished hereafter. He insists strongly on the necessity of baptism for the resurrection to the life of blessedness. All will rise again, but there will be a difference. Each will go to his appropriate place. He who has been purified in the waters of baptism will pass to a passionless life of blessedness. For him who lacks such purification there waits the refiner's fire, which shall purge the nature through long ages and restore it at last pure to God<sup>7</sup>.

It is however in his treatment of the Eucharist that Gregory's teaching is most distinctive. His chapter on

<sup>1</sup> παρὰ τίνος γεννᾶται καὶ ποῶν γίνεται ζῶον.

<sup>2</sup> c. 39, μήποτε λάθῃ τῇ ἑλλικεῖ φύσει καὶ δεομένη τοῦ ἀγαθίνοντος ἑαυτὸν εἰσποιῶν.

<sup>3</sup> c. 35.

<sup>4</sup> τοσοῦτον μιμούμεθα τῆς ὑπερχούσης δυνάμεως, ὅσον χωρεῖ ἡμῶν ἡ πτωχεία τῆς φύσεως, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> διακοπήν.

<sup>6</sup> προμελετήσαι.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.* On the *kátharsis* of souls see *antea*.

the subject marks an epoch in the history of the doctrine of the Eucharist in the Eastern Church. The frequency of its occurrence among patristic selections in later manuscripts, and the use made of it by John of Damascus, Euthymius Zigabenus, and the author of the dialogue *Theoriani disputatio cum Nersete* shows the importance assigned to it.

Gregory begins<sup>1</sup> by stating the distinction between Baptism and the Eucharist. In Baptism the soul is knit to Christ through faith. But the body needs no less than the soul to be brought into union with its Saviour, and the Eucharist is specially intended for the body. This is the significance of the bodily participation of the Eucharistic food, which must be eaten, in order that the communicant's body may be transformed into the nature of the immortal Body of Christ. We notice here the same method of treatment which has characterized Gregory's doctrine of redemption<sup>2</sup>. In thus insisting on the effect of the Eucharist upon the body he is using language which undoubtedly finds parallels in earlier Fathers<sup>3</sup> and which asserts an important principle, i.e. that the whole man shares in the healing and life-giving work of grace. But his one-sided treatment has the effect of seeming to lower the Eucharistic gift to a mere principle of life for the body. At the same time, however, he insists on the importance of faith in the recipient<sup>4</sup>.

A second feature of his teaching is his clear assertion of the fact that the consecration of the elements is effected by the prayer of consecration. It is 'by the

<sup>1</sup> c. 37.

<sup>2</sup> See *antea*, pp. xxvii, xxviii.

<sup>3</sup> See *reff.* in notes.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. the phrases: ταῖς τοσαύταις τῶν πιστῶν μυριάσι—ἐν ὅσοις ἡ πίστις ἐστὶ—πᾶσι τοῖς πεπιστευκόσι τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ τῆς χάριτος—τοῖς σώμασι τῶν πεπιστευκότων κατακινῶμενος.

power of the blessing<sup>1</sup> that the Word transforms the nature of the visible elements to the immortal Body of Christ. Thus the change effected is, according to Gregory's view, an objective change.

A more difficult question is the relation in which, according to Gregory's teaching, the consecrated elements of bread and wine stand towards the Body and Blood of Christ, and the exact nature of the change which he regards them as having undergone by consecration. From the days of the Paris editor, Fronto Ducaeus, Gregory's words have been used to support the Western doctrine of Transubstantiation<sup>2</sup>. The question which Gregory sets himself to answer in his chapter on the Eucharist is as follows. How can the one Body of Christ, while continually distributed to multitudes of believers, become in its entirety the possession of each through the portion received, and yet remain an undivided whole? In order to answer this question he makes use of an analogy derived from the process of nutrition. Bread and wine are potentially flesh and blood, since they become such by the process of digestion. In the case of Christ's earthly Body bread and wine became in this way His Body and His Blood, while that Body, whose substance was from bread and thus in a manner was bread, was consecrated by the inhabitation of God the Word. So now in the Eucharist the bread and wine, which are consecrated by the Word, become the Body of the Word, no longer by eating, as in His earthly life, but immediately. The purpose of Gregory's illustration is to compare the relation in

<sup>1</sup> τῆ τῆς εὐλογίας δυνάμει (c. 37 fin.). On the question of what is meant by the εὐλογία, and the use which Gr. makes of the words of institution, see notes.

<sup>2</sup> See reff. in notes.

which bread and wine stand to the person of Christ in the Eucharist with that which the bread eaten by Him while on earth had to His earthly Body. The change in both cases is a change of relation. His language suggests a real change<sup>1</sup>, but does not indicate the exact manner of the change. In view of the use which has been made of Gregory's language, and the ambiguity which attaches to such words as 'nature,' 'form,' 'change,' it is important to grasp clearly the conceptions which underlie the terms employed by him in his illustration from the process of digestion. Gregory is availing himself of ideas upon the body's flux and the relation of its 'elements' to its 'form,' which he has treated of at length elsewhere<sup>2</sup>. In the background of his thought there is a perfectly consistent theory of *εἶδος* and *στοιχεία*, and the terms which he employs are correctly used and implicitly involve such a theory, even though they do not explicitly state it. He is thinking of the change effected when the constituent elements (*στοιχεία*) of bread and wine are, in the process of digestion, rearranged under a new form (*εἶδος*), so that they acquire the properties of 'body.' With this idea his use of the words *εἶδος*, *φύσις*, *μεταποιεῖσθαι*<sup>3</sup> is perfectly consistent. The elements of bread and

<sup>1</sup> Gr.'s language goes beyond that of Theodoret *Dial.* i p. 25 (Schulze) οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προστεθεικώς. But the word *φύσις* is here used in a different sense from that in which Gr. uses it, as is shown by the same writer's statement in *Dial.* ii p. 126 (Schulze), Οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἀγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως· μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἶδους, καὶ ὁρατὰ ἐστὶν καὶ ἅπτα ὅα καὶ πρότερον ἦν.

<sup>2</sup> On the flux of the body see *Or. Cat.* c. 16 and the reff. in notes. On the relation of the *στοιχεία* of the body to its *εἶδος* see *de Hom. Or.* c. 27.

<sup>3</sup> See notes on these words and on *μεταστοιχειοῦν* in c. 37, and esp. the discussion of the relation of *εἶδος*, *στοιχεία* and *φύσις* in the note on *εἶδος*.

wine are brought into a new relation and acquire fresh qualities. Similarly in the Eucharist there is a change of the bread and wine, which acquire by their new relation to the person of Christ the properties of His Body and Blood. Harnack accordingly is right in his statement<sup>1</sup> that Gregory teaches 'a qualitative unity' between the bread and wine and the Body and Blood of Christ. Thus it is unjustifiable to argue<sup>2</sup> that the words *μεταποιεῖσθαι* and *μεταστοιχειοῦν* involve the idea of a change of substance, or a change of the elements (*στοιχεῖα*) or constituent parts of the bread and wine. Gregory's language points to a change of 'form' only. He does not teach, as do the later schoolmen, a change both of 'material' and 'form'<sup>3</sup>.

The Western doctrine of Transubstantiation, to which Gregory's language has been supposed to approximate, moves in a completely different circle of ideas, and is an attempt to explain the manner of the change by the help of the scholastic distinction of 'substantia' and 'accidentia.'

On the other hand Gregory's language must not be minimized<sup>4</sup> by comparing it with what he says in the

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Dogma* (Eng. tr.) iv p. 296.

<sup>2</sup> As is done e.g. by the writer in the *Dublin Review* quoted by Pusey *Real Presence* pp. 166, 167, and by Hilt *des hl. Gr. von Nyssa Lehre vom Menschen* p. 208. The latter says that Gr. teaches 'eine völlige und wirkliche direkte Umwandlung der Substanz des Brodes in den Leib,' and he maintains that expressions like *μεταποιεῖσθαι* and *μεταστοιχειοῦν* exclude any other supposition. He renders, quite unjustifiably, the concluding words of c. 37, 'durch die Kraft des Segens in jenen—seinen Leib—das Wesen der Gestalten verwandelt habe,' and says, 'Hier haben wir ganz klar die Wesensverwandlung des Brodes und Weines, wie auch die Hervorhebung, dass von Brod und Wein nur noch die Gestalten (*τὰ φαινόμενα*) übrig bleiben, da ihr Wesen jetzt der Leib Christi ist.'

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Harnack *Hist. of Dogma* (Eng. tr.) vi p. 237.

<sup>4</sup> As Neander e.g. does, *Ch. Hist.* (ed. Bohn) iv 438.

*in Baptismum Christi*<sup>1</sup>. In that work he is simply adducing instances in which natural things, when taken into sacred uses, acquire a heightened efficacy, like that of the water in baptism. He illustrates his meaning by reference to the consecration of stone to be an altar, of oil for the purpose of chrism, of a man to be a priest in ordination, and of bread to be the Body of Christ. But his argument does not require us to assume that he understood each of these changes to be identical in character.

In his assertion of the vital character of the change effected in the elements by consecration it may be doubted whether Gregory's language intentionally goes beyond that of Cyril of Jerusalem and Chrysostom<sup>2</sup>. It finds perhaps its closest parallel in the language of the *de Mysteriis* (ascribed to S. Ambrose).

Gregory's treatment of the question, however, gave a direction to the Eucharistic doctrine of the Eastern Church which finds its most complete expression in John of Damascus<sup>3</sup>. He starts from Gregory's language on the subject, and, like him, illustrates the change in the elements by the transformation of food in our bodies through digestion. But in several important respects he advances beyond Gregory's teaching. Thus he teaches the complete identity of the consecrated elements with the Body and Blood of Christ<sup>4</sup>. Gregory's illustration,

<sup>1</sup> p. 581 (Migne).

<sup>2</sup> On the use of the words *μεταποιεῖν, μετατιθέναι, μεθιστάναι, μεταστοιχειοῦν* see notes on c. 37. On the similar use by other patristic writers of *μεταβάλλειν, μεταρρυθμίζειν, μετασκευάζειν, transfigurare*, see Pusey *Real Presence* pp. 162 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *de Fid. Orth.* iv 13.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.* Οὐκ ἔστι τύπος ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ (μὴ γένοιτο), ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου τεθεωμένον: *ibid.* καὶ οὐκ εἰσι δύο, ἀλλ' ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτό.

on the other hand, is offered tentatively<sup>1</sup>, and he has no intention of denying that the elements still exist in their natural substances after consecration. John of Damascus further goes beyond Gregory in asserting the identity of the Eucharistic with the historical body of Christ, a question which Gregory does not discuss. But the statement of the former that the Body of Christ 'does not descend from Heaven, but the bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of God<sup>2</sup>,' accords with Gregory's idea of an assumption of the elements into the Body of the Word. From the points of contact between the two writers it will be seen that Gregory's teaching has had considerable influence upon that of John of Damascus<sup>3</sup>.

The above discussion of the points handled in the *Oratio Catechetica*, while it serves the purpose of showing Gregory's indebtedness to earlier Fathers, also illustrates his individuality and independence. He is never a mere copyist, but while adopting the thoughts of others he makes them his own, and frequently gives to them an original turn. It is this originality which gives to the *Oratio Catechetica* its peculiar character, and makes it one of the most interesting treatises of the fourth century.

<sup>1</sup> τάχα τοίνυν ἐγγύς τοῦ εἰκότος λόγου γινόμεθα.

<sup>2</sup> οὐχ ὅτι τὸ ἀναληφθὲν σῶμα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατέρχεται, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος μεταποιῶνται εἰς σῶμα καὶ αἷμα θεοῦ.

<sup>3</sup> The doctrine of John of Damascus became the recognized doctrine of the Eastern Church, as expressed in the Second Council of Nicaea in 787. The term *μετουσίωσις* was first adopted under Roman influence in the seventeenth century, and does not appear to have gained universal acceptance in the East.



## § 3. HISTORY OF THE TEXT.

The earliest printed edition of the Greek text of Gregory's works was preceded by several Latin versions of separate or collected treatises. Among these there appeared a version of the *Oratio Catechetica*, made by P. Morel of Tours, and published at Paris in 1568. A few years later, in 1573, there appeared at Paris an edition of several treatises, including the *Oratio Catechetica*, in a Latin version made by Gentianus Hervetus, Canon of Rheims. The Greek text, accompanied by a Latin version, was printed for the first time in the Paris edition of 1615 under the editorship of the Jesuit, Fronto Ducaeus. The work was in two volumes and the *Oratio Catechetica* occupies pp. 475—542 of the second volume. In 1638 appeared a second edition, published at Paris by Morel. This latter work was a reprint of the edition of 1615 with the addition of Gretser's Appendix, which had been published in 1618. It consisted of three volumes, the *Or. Cat.* being found in vol. iii, pp. 43—110. The work was done in a careless and mechanical manner, as Dr Loofs has pointed out (Hauck *Realencyklop.* vii 147). The Latin version in these editions is based upon that of Gentianus Hervetus, but has been subjected to revision. In the notes of Fronto Ducaeus upon the *Oratio Catechetica* he mentions three MSS employed by him in his work as editor :

1. A MS supplied by Dn J. Vulcobius.
2. A MS supplied by F. Morel, 'Regius Professor.'
3. A MS from the Royal Library.

The readings of the last two MSS, as quoted by Ducaeus, exhibit a superior character to those of the

first, but the text presented in these editions is very corrupt, and is disfigured by a series of lacunae (see below).

The text of the *Oratio Catechetica* contained in Migne (*P. G.* xlv) is a reprint of the edition of 1638. The only attempt that has been made since the days of the Paris editors to produce a critical text of the *Oratio Catechetica* is that of Krabinger, whose edition was published at Munich in 1838. He made use of three MSS, which, though of late date, exhibit a far purer text than that contained in the Paris editions. He also used the help afforded by some fragments of the *Or. Cat.* contained in three MSS of the *Panoplia Dogmatica* of Euthymius Zigabenus. With these resources he was able to fill up the lacunae exhibited in the common text and to remove many of the corruptions which had hitherto disfigured it. Krabinger's critical work was of great value, though a wider examination of MSS, and, above all, a study of their history, would have corrected many of his conclusions. Unfortunately his text is disfigured by some bad misprints.

The amount of material available for a reconstruction of the text of the *Or. Cat.* is considerable. The MSS which have been either collated in full or examined for the present edition are as follows :

- a*=Cod. Monac. 23. Royal Library, Munich. Saec. XVI. chart. 415 foll. It is a folio MS and the *Or. Cat.* is contained in foll. 107—145. See Hardt, *Catalogus Codd. MSS. Graec. Bibl. Reg. Bavaricae* tom. i p. 105. It is quoted by Krabinger as A, and by Forbes, in the preface to his text of the *Apologia in Hexaemeron* (tom. i fasc. i p. i), as *a*.
- b*=Cod. Monac. 84. Royal Library, Munich. Saec. XVI. chart. 476 foll. In folio size. The *Or. Cat.* is contained in foll. 138 vo—170. See Hardt, *op. cit.* tom. i p. 477. [Krab. B.]
- c*=Cod. Monac. 538. Royal Library, Munich. Saec. XVI. chart. 125 foll. In quarto size. The *Or. Cat.* is contained in foll. 1—26. The MS was written for the use of David Hoeschel

by Maximus Margunius, Bishop of Cythera, about 1590, and the margin contains the conjectural emendations of the latter. See Hardt, *op. cit.* tom. v p. 348. It was formerly at Augsburg and appears in Reiser's catalogue (*Index MSS. Bibl. Augustanae*) as No. 77. [Krab. C.]

*d*=Trinity College, Cambridge, B. 9. 1. membr. 213 foll. In folio size ( $14\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$  in.), written in a beautiful hand. It consists of two parts, which are of various dates :

- (i) A life of St Alexius, of the eleventh century.
- (ii) Various works of St Gregory of Nyssa and Anastasius, of the twelfth century.

It is one of the MSS brought by Bentley from the monastery of Pantocrator, Mt Athos. The *Or. Cat.* is contained in foll. 130 vo—162 vo.

*e*=Codex Regius. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Gr. 1268 (Omont 294). Saec. XII. membr. 304 foll. Size of page  $7\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$  in. It contains works by Justin, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and others. M. Omont informs me that in the fifteenth or sixteenth century it belonged to a Greek monastery, from which also came several other volumes that are found in different libraries of the West. On fol. 6 there is the ex-libris: ἡ βιβλος αὐτῆ τοῦ Γαλησίου πέλει. The MS was acquired in the sixteenth century by Antonius Eparchus, who on one of the covering leaves has written with his own hand a table of contents, concluding with the following ex-libris, also by his hand: Κτῆμα Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Ἐπαρχου, ὁ δέδωκεν εἰς σημεῖον εὐχαριστίας τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ Φραγκίσκῳ τῷ κραταίῳ βασιλεῖ Κελτῶν. It has successively borne the numbers CIΩCCCLXX, 1605, and 2879, in the catalogues of the King's Library, drawn up by Rigault, Dupuy and Clément in the seventeenth century. The *Or. Cat.* is contained in foll. 152 vo—188 vo. [Forbes *g.*]

*f*=British Museum, Add. 22509. Saec. x. or XI. membr. 93 foll. It was presented to the Library by Sir G. C. Lewis in 1858. It contains various works of Gregory of Nyssa and the *de Spiritu Sancto* of Basil. The *Or. Cat.* is contained in foll. 1—51 vo. The opening sentences are missing, the first words being οὐ γὰρ δι' ὧν. There are also two leaves missing in c. 37.

*g*=Cod. Cromw. IX. Bodleian Library, Oxford. 'Saec. XIII. et XII. ineuntis' (Coxe). membr. 342 foll. It is in quarto size. At the end there is the inscription in a later hand: τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἐμὸν ἐστὶν τοῦ Μανικαίτου Μιχαήλ, and in the margin of p. 682 there is a note stating that the owner was presented with the book παρὰ τοῦ...μου δεσπότην οἴκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου Κυρίλλου. It contains various works of Gregory, including the *Or. Cat.* (foll. 1—71). It is mutilated at the beginning, the opening words being καὶ τὸ μὴ διαφέρειν, which occur in

- the latter part of c. 1. There is another large gap in cc. 32—33. The MS contains many corrections made by the original hand, and taken from a MS whose readings frequently support the text of *f*. Another feature of this MS is the peculiar system of chapters, which number 21 instead of 40 and have in consequence distinct headings from those found in other MSS.
- h* = Imperial Library, Vienna. Gr. suppl. 10 (Kollarii suppl. xviii, Fabricius, IX. 112). Saec. XV. chart. 413 foll. It is in folio size, and was presented, as the inscription states, to the Emperor Charles VI. in 1723, by Apostolo Zeno, his court poet and historiographer. The *Or. Cat.* is contained in foll. 127—172.
- i* = Paris, Bibl. Nat. Gr. 587 (Omont 137). Saec. XV—XVI. chart. 280 foll. In folio size. The *Or. Cat.* is contained in foll. 1—40.
- k* = Cod. Barocc. CCXII. Bodleian Library, Oxford. Saec. XVI. chart. 410 foll. In quarto size. The *Or. Cat.* begins fol. 336.
- l* = British Museum, Royal 16 D 1. Saec. XIII. membr. 479 foll. Size of page  $9\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$   $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. The MS contains the inscription ἐκ τῶν Μητροφάνους ἱερομοναχοῦ τοῦ Κριτοπούλου. Metrophanes Critopulus was sent to England by Cyril Lucar in 1616. It contains various works of Gregory, including the *Or. Cat.* (foll. 283 vo—309). The original text has been subjected to many corrections and erasures by a later scribe, who had access to a MS containing a much purer type of text. [Forbes *c.*]
- m* = British Museum, Royal 16 D XI. Saec. XIV. chart. 372 foll. Size of page  $12\frac{1}{2}$   $\times$   $8\frac{1}{4}$  in. It contains various works of Gregory, including the *Or. Cat.* (foll. 40—95 vo). It is the only MS in the present list which contains the spurious addition to c. 40 found in the Paris editions.
- n* = Vatican Library, Pii ii, cod. gr. 4. Saec. XI. membr. 316 foll. In folio. Stevenson says of it (*Codices MSS. Gr. regin. Suec. et Pii P.P. ii Bibl. Vaticanae*, p. 134): 'In imo margine folii primi et ultimi legitur τοῦ τροπαιοφόρου, i.e. monasterii S. Georgii. Olim S. Silvestri.' It contains 31 works of Gregory, including the *Or. Cat.* (foll. 151—197), and is written in a beautiful hand.
- p* = Codex Venetus. Venice. Bibl. Marciana, Gr. 67. Saec. XI. (circiter, Zanetti, p. 45). membr. 432 foll. In quarto size. It contains various works of Gregory. The *Or. Cat.* is found foll. 338 vo—366. [Forbes *h.*]
- q* = Codex Vaticanus. Rome. Vat. Gr. 423. Saec. X. A fragment of c. 10 is contained in foll. 36 vo—37.
- r* = Codex Coislinianus. Paris. Coisl. CXX olim CCIX (Montfaucon, p. 193). Saec. X. Contains the same fragment as *q* in fol. 22—22 vo.

The following MSS of the *Panoplia Dogmatica* of Euthymius Zigabenus contain considerable fragments of the *Or. Cat.*

- 1=Cod. Monac. 55. Munich. Saec. xvi. [Krab. Euth. 1.]
- 2=Cod. Monac. 367. Munich (formerly at Augsburg=Reiser No. 10). Saec. XIII. [Krab. Euth. 2.]
- 3=Cod. Monac. 551. Munich (formerly at Augsburg=Reiser No. 55). Saec. xv. [Krab. Euth.]
- 4=Paris, Bibl. Nat. Gr. 1230 (Omont 171). Saec. XIII.
- 5=Paris, Bibl. Nat. Gr. 1231 (Omont 170). Saec. XIII.
- 6=Imperial Library, Vienna, Gr. 76 (Nessel). Saec. XII.
- 7=Imperial Library, Vienna, Gr. 40 (Nessel). Saec. xv.

The above list does not contain all the extant MSS of the *Oratio Catechetica*, but it includes the earliest which are known. In addition to the above MSS the Vatican Library contains three MSS of the thirteenth century, one of the fourteenth, two of the fifteenth, and three of the sixteenth. The Laurentian Library at Florence contains a MS of the fourteenth century, and the National Library at Turin one of the fifteenth, and another of the sixteenth century. The treatise is also contained in one or more MSS of the fifteenth or sixteenth century in the National Library at Paris. But most of these are too late to be of much service.

The quotations of later patristic writers, with the exception of those found in Euthymius Zigabenus, do not add much to our knowledge of the text. There are a few brief quotations, extending only to a few lines, in the Dialogues of Theodoret<sup>1</sup>. The greater part of c. 37 is reproduced in *Theoriani disputatio cum Nersete*, printed in *Mai Script. Vett.* vi 366 ff., the text of which is much purer than that of the Paris editors. There is also a short extract from c. 10 in the treatise of Leontius

<sup>1</sup> See notes on cc. 10, 16, 32.

of Byzantium *c. Nestor. et Eutych.* Bk iii. See Galland *Bibl. Vet. Patr.* xiii p. 699. In the work *de S. Trinitate*, falsely ascribed to Cyril of Alexandria, and in the *de Fide Orthodoxa* of John of Damascus, there are reminiscences of the Prologue and of cc. 1 and 2, but they are of no value for critical purposes. There appear to be no extracts from this treatise in the *Sacra Parallela* of St John of Damascus.

The evidence as to the text afforded by a study of the MSS may be briefly summarized as follows<sup>1</sup>.

The MSS fall into two groups :

(1) *a, d, g, h, n, p*, and (as far as their readings have been observed) *i* and *k*.

(2) *c, f, l, m*.

The two MSS *e* and *b* (which is dependent on *e*) contain a mixed text, deriving features from either group in turn.

1. The former of these two groups may be subdivided into two smaller groups containing respectively *a, g, p* and *h, n*.

The remaining MS *d* appears to incorporate elements from both these divisions.

In the group *a, g, p*, *a* is directly descended from *p*, while *g* exhibits a text closely allied to *p*.

With the text of the second group, comprising *h, n*, the text of the fragments of Gregory preserved in Euthymius presents a close affinity. The distinctive readings of this group, with one exception<sup>2</sup>, appear to

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller discussion of the text of the *Or. Cat.* see the present writer's article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* Vol. iii, No. II, pp. 421 ff.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the words in c. 23, *καὶ τὴν τῶν καταδίκων ἀνάρρυσιν*, which have apparently fallen out of the other MSS and are preserved only in *e h n*.

be due to corruption or revision. The tendency to revision is still more marked in the distinctive readings of the text of Euthymius.

2. In the second of the two larger groups mentioned above, the text of *c*, *l*, *m* is closely allied to that of the Paris editions, with which it has in common a number of corrupt readings and the same series of lacunae<sup>1</sup>. These MSS in fact present a late recension of the text, which *f* exhibits in its earlier and purer form. For the purposes of criticism the readings of *f* or *f l* are alone important, as *c* and *m* are only later and still more corrupt forms of the same original text.

We thus get as our primary authorities for the text: in Group 1, *p* and *n*; in Group 2, *f* and *l*, with which the readings of the corrector of *g* are frequently in agreement. Of these two groups the former exhibits traces of corruption at some early stage, while the readings of the latter show the influence of revision. But on the whole the readings of *f l* commend themselves as generally more likely to be genuine.

In the present edition it has not been thought necessary to give the readings of the late MSS *a*, *b*, *c*, *i*, *k*, *m*, as they possess no independent value. The MSS of Euthymius have been quoted collectively as *Euth.*; where they differ as *Euth.* 1, 2, 3 etc. An asterisk is used to denote the first hand of a MS, the figure 1 to denote the corrector's hand, e.g. *g*<sup>\*</sup>, *g*<sup>1</sup>, *l*<sup>\*</sup>, *l*<sup>1</sup>. For convenience the readings of the Paris edition of 1638 have been cited as *vulg.* Sirmond's edition of Theodoret and the Roman edition have been quoted respectively as *Thdrt*<sup>sirm</sup> and *Thdrt*<sup>rom</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For these lacunae see cc. 3, 4, 5, 8 (bis), 9, 29 (app. crit.).

The following books may be found useful for reference :

*Select Writings and Letters of Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.* Ser. ii. vol. 5, 1893.

*Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. ii, Art. on Gregory of Nyssa.

Hauck, *Realencyklopädie*, vol. vii, 1899, Art. on Gregory of Nyssa by Dr Loofs.

Bardenhewer, *Patrologie*, pp. 272 ff.

Harnack, *History of Dogma*, Eng. Tr. vols. iii and iv.

Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. ix.

Ceillier, *Auteurs Sacrés et Ecclésiastiques*, vol. viii.

Oudin, *de Script. Eccl.*, vol. i diss. 4, pp. 584 sq.

St. P. Heyns, *Disputatio historico-theologica de Gregorio Nysseno.* Lugd. Bat. 1835.

J. Rupp, *Gregors, des Bischofs von Nyssa, Leben und Meinungen.* Leipzig, 1834.

E. G. Möller, *Gregorii Nysseni doctrinam de hominis natura et illustravit et cum Origeniana comparavit E. G. M.* Halae, 1854.

I. C. Bergades, *De universo et de anima hominis doctrina Gregorii Nysseni.* Thessalonicae, 1876.

A. Krampf, *Der Urzustand des Menschen nach der Lehre des hl. Greg. v. N.* Würzburg, 1899.

F. Hilt, *Des hl. Greg. v. N. Lehre vom Menschen.* Köln, 1890.

F. Diekamp, *Die Gotteslehre des hl. Gregor. von Nyssa.* Münster, 1896.

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## ΛΟΓΟΣ ΚΑΤΗΧΗΤΙΚΟΣ.

### Πρόλογος.

Ὁ τῆς κατηχήσεως λόγος ἀναγκαῖος μὲν ἔστι τοῖς προεστηκόσι τοῦ μυστηρίου τῆς εὐσεβείας, ὡς ἂν πληθύνοιτο τῇ προσθήκῃ τῶν σωζομένων ἢ ἐκκλησία, τοῦ κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν πιστοῦ λόγου τῇ ἀκοῇ τῶν ἀπίστων προσαγομένου. οὐ μὴν ὁ αὐτὸς τῆς διδασκαλίας τρόπος 5 ἐπὶ πάντων ἀρμόσει τῶν προσιόντων τῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ

Πρ. 1 Verba ο της κατ. usque ad μυθοποιας (p. 2, l. 15) deperdita sunt in f. Desunt folia nonnulla in g || 2 μυστηριου] βίου vulg || 4 τη ακοη] την ακοην 1

**Prologue.** *The importance of catechetical teaching. Variety of method is necessary in dealing with the different standpoints of heresy and unbelief. Thus in dealing with atheism we shall adduce the art and wisdom shown in the ordering of the world as a proof of the existence of God. In dealing with polytheists we shall urge the perfection of God's attributes as a proof of the unity of God.*

1. Ὁ τῆς κατ. λόγος] 'the catechetical method of discourse.' The *gen.* defines the character of λόγος. Κατηχεῖν is used of Christian oral instruction in Lk. i 4, Acts xviii 25, 1 Cor. xiv 19, Gal. vi 6. An early example of a manual of Christian instruction is found in the *Didache*, of which Athanasius says (*Fest. Ep.* 39) that, though not included in the Canon, it was appointed for the instruction

of new converts. Under the influence of the School of Alexandria such instruction developed into a philosophical presentation of the faith to meet the needs of cultured heathen. The present *Or. Cat.* is a manual for catechists who are engaged in the instruction of educated converts.

2. προεστηκόσι] 'those who have charge of' or 'the ministers of.' Cp. Rom. xii 8, 1 Thess. v 2, 1 Tim. v 17. Similarly Justin M. speaks (*Apol.* i 67) of ὁ προεστώς in the Christian assembly.

ιβ. τοῦ μυστ. τ. εὐσ.] 1 Tim. iii 16. Τὸ μυστ. is often used alone to denote the Christian religion or creed.

3. προσθήκη τ. σωζ.] a reminiscence of Acts ii 47.

ιβ. τοῦ κατὰ τὴν δ. π. λ.] Tit. i 9. Ἡ διδαχὴ is the Apostolic deposit of faith.

τὰς τῶν θρησκείων διαφορὰς μεθαρμόζειν προσήκει καὶ τὴν κατήχησιν, πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν μὲν ὀρώντας τοῦ λόγου σκοπὸν, οὐχ ὁμοιοτρόπως δὲ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ἐφ' ἐκάστου κεχρημένους. ἄλλαις γὰρ ὑπολήψεσιν ὁ ἰουδαίζων  
 5 προεἰληπται καὶ ὁ τῷ ἑλληνισμῷ συζῶν ἑτέροις, ὃ τε Ἄνόμοιος καὶ ὁ Μανιχαῖος καὶ οἱ κατὰ Μαρκίωνα καὶ Οὐαλεντίνου καὶ Βασιλείδην καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς κατάλογος τῶν κατὰ τὰς αἱρέσεις πλανωμένων ἰδίαις ἕκαστος ὑπο-  
 10 ἐκείνων ὑπονοίας μάχην· κατὰ γὰρ τὸ εἶδος τῆς νόσου καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς θεραπείας προσαρμοστέον. οὐ τοῖς αὐτοῖς θεραπεύσεις τοῦ Ἑλληνος τὴν πολυθείαν καὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου τὴν περὶ τὸν μονογενῆ θεὸν ἀπιστίαν, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς κατὰ τὰς αἱρέσεις πεπλανημένοις ἀνατρέψεις τὰς  
 15 ἠπατημένας περὶ τῶν δογμάτων μυθοποιίας· οὐ γὰρ δι'

1 om και l vulg || 3 om εφ εκαστου l vulg || 4 χρωμενους efl vulg || 5 ο τω ελλ.] om ο vulg || 9 προειλημμενος d || 11 θεραπειας] ιατρειας l' || 15 ου γαρ] incipit f

3. κατασκευαῖς] Krabinger rightly gives the sense 'non eodem modo in singulis probando et confirmando.' Κατασκευή = 'a constructive argument,' 'a proof.'

5. προεἰληπται] 'is pre-possessed with.'

ib. συζῶν], 'he that is born and bred in Hellenism.' Cp. *de Bapt.* p. 425 (Migne) οἱ ταῖς ἀκαθαρσίαις συζῶντες.

6. Ἄνόμοιος] i.e. the extreme Arian position, which Gregory attacks in his work against Eunomius. The starting-point of Eunomius' theology was the idea that the Divine Being is incapable of movement or self-communication, and that the being (οὐσία) must be distinguished from the energy (ἐνέργεια) of God. It was by the latter that all things were called into being.

ib. Μανιχαῖος] whose dualistic teaching Gr. has in view continually

throughout the present book. See esp. his treatment of the origin of evil in cc. 5—8, his defence of human generation in c. 28, and his teaching upon the ἀποκατάστασις in c. 26.

13. μονογενῆ θεόν] John i 18. See Hort's *Dissertation on μονογενῆς θεός in Scripture and tradition*. The phrase *μονογενῆς θεός* is found repeatedly in Athanasius, and was also used by Basil. Even Arius and Eunomius employed it, giving to it, of course, their own interpretation. For Gr.'s use of the phrase see c. 39, and cp. *Quod non sint tres dii*, pp. 129, 132 (Migne); *de Fide*, pp. 136, 137 (Migne).

ib. οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τ. αὐ.] 'Nor will you, in the case of those who have gone astray among heresies, overthrow by the same arguments in each case their deluded romances concerning their doctrines.'

ὧν ἂν τις ἐπανορθώσαιτο τὸν Σαβέλλιον, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ὠφελήσει καὶ τὸν Ἀνόμοιον, οὐδὲ ἢ πρὸς τὸν Μανιχαῖον μάχη καὶ τὸν Ἰουδαῖον ὀνίνησιν, ἀλλὰ χρῆ, καθὼς εἴρηται, πρὸς τὰς προλήψεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων βλέπειν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐγκειμένην ἐκάστῳ πλάνην ποιεῖσθαι 5 τὸν λόγον, ἀρχάς τινας καὶ προτάσεις εὐλόγους ἐφ' ἐκάστης διαλέξεως προβαλλόμενον, ὡς ἂν διὰ τῶν παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ὁμολογουμένων ἐκκαλυφθῆι κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἢ ἀλήθεια. οὐκοῦν ὅταν πρὸς τινὰ τῶν ἐλληγιζόντων ἢ διάλεξις ἦ, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι ταύτην ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ λόγου 10 τὴν ἀρχήν. πότερον εἶναι τὸ θεῖον ὑπέιληφεν, ἢ τῷ τῶν ἀθέων συμφέρεται δόγματι; εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ εἶναι λέγοι, ἐκ

1 ἐπανορθωσιτο dnp || 4 υποληψεις l vulg || 9 αληθεια] διανοια vulg || σταν] exstant seqq in euth 12456 || 10 ταυτην αρχ. π. τ. λ. dhnp\* euth 12 (ταυτην την 4) 56

1. Σαβέλλιον] used, as often, for an adjective, 'Sabellian.' Sabellius maintained that the three personal names, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, represent mere phases and energies of One Divine Being. But, beyond the fact that he denied the essential Trinity and identified the Father and the Son, there is considerable obscurity about his teaching. Athanasius (*Or. c. Ar.* iv 25) attributes to him the statement: ὡςπερ διαίρεσεις χαρισμάτων εἰσὶ, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, οὕτω καὶ ὁ πατήρ ὁ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐστὶ, πλατύνεται δὲ εἰς υἱὸν καὶ πνεῦμα, and he implies that Marcellus held the same view (*Or. c. Ar.* iv 13). But it is probable that Athanasius in attacking Marcellus and proving that his teaching led to Sabellianism has not carefully distinguished the views of the two teachers. See Zahn *Marcellus*, 1867, pp. 198 sq., Robertson *N. and P. N. F.* vol. iv, p. 431 sq.

4. προλήψεις] 'preconceptions,' almost 'prejudices,' answering to προείληπται above. The Stoics

distinguished between προλήψεις, conceptions built on experience without elaborate reasoning, and ἐννοιαί, conceptions reached by the consciously applied reason.

6. ἀρχάς τινας] 'propounding in each discussion certain principles and reasonable propositions.'

9. οὐκοῦν] In dealing with the representatives of Hellenic thought the first step is to make sure that they recognize the existence of God. The next step is to lead them to acknowledge the unity of God. The section which follows, as far as the end of c. 3, is found in Euthymius Zig. *Pan. Dogm.* pt i, tit. 1, pp. 33 sq. (Migne).

ib. ἐλληγιζόντων] "Ἕλληγ practically = 'heathen' as opposed to Jew, as in the N. T., e.g. Gal. iii 28.

12. ἀθέων] such as the later Academics. The Epicureans too were practical atheists, not denying the existence of the gods, but contending that they took no part in the government of the world.

τῶν τεχνικῶς καὶ σοφῶς κατὰ τὸν κόσμον οἰκονομουμένων  
 προσαχθήσεται πρὸς τὸ διὰ τούτων εἶναι τινα  
 δύναμιν τὴν ἐν τούτοις διαδεικνυμένην καὶ τοῦ παντὸς  
 ὑπερκειμένην ὁμολογήσαι· εἰ δὲ τὸ μὲν εἶναι μὴ ἀμφι-  
 5 βύλλοι, εἰς πλῆθος δὲ θεῶν ταῖς ὑπονοίαις ἐκφέροιο,  
 τοιαύτη χρησώμεθα πρὸς αὐτὸν τῇ ἀκολουθίᾳ. πότερον  
 τέλειον ἢ ἔλλιπὲς ἡγεῖται τὸ θεῖον; τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς  
 τὴν τελειότητα προσμαρτυροῦντος τῇ θεῖᾳ φύσει, τὸ διὰ  
 πάντων αὐτὸν τῶν ἐνθεωρουμένων τῇ θεότητι τέλειον  
 10 ἀπαιτήσωμεν, ὡς ἂν μὴ σύμμικτον ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων  
 θεωροῖτο τὸ θεῖον, ἐξ ἔλλιπούς καὶ τελείου. ἀλλ' εἴτε  
 κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν, εἴτε κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἐπίνοιαν,  
 εἴτε κατὰ τὸ σοφόν τε καὶ ἀφθαρτον καὶ αἰδιον καὶ εἴ  
 τι ἄλλο θεοπρεπὲς νόημα τῇ θεωρίᾳ προσκείμενον τύχοι,  
 15 ἐν παντὶ τὴν τελειότητα θεωρεῖσθαι περὶ τὴν θεῖαν φύσιν

3 διαδεικ.] δεικνυμενην ehn euth || 4 ἀμφιβαλοὶ fh || 5 πληθουν d ||  
 θεων] θεοτητων fl vulg || 6 χρησομεθα p euth || 10 απαιτησωμεν p euth  
 -ομαι l -ωμαι f || 12 επινοιαν] εννοια efl || 14 τυχη ef

1. τεχνικῶς κ. σοφῶς] Τεχν. refers to the finished and artistic skill displayed in individual parts of Creation, while σοφῶς refers to the wise adaptation of means to ends.

3. δύναμιν] 'a certain power which is plainly manifested in created things and transcends the whole.'

5. εἰς πλῆθος] 'be led astray by his notions to believe in a plurality of gods.'

6. ἀκολουθία] 'course of argument.'

7. τοῦ δὲ] 'And if he, as is probable, testifies to the perfection of (lit. testifies perfection to) the Divine Nature, let us require him to grant that this perfection extends through everything that is observed in the Deity.'

12. ἐπίνοιαν] In his answer to

Eunomius' second book Gr. discusses this word. Eunomius had disparaged ἐπίνοια on the ground that the faculty denoted by it was untrustworthy and created monstrosities. He thus appears to have used it in the sense of 'fancy.' Gr. however defends ἐπίνοια and defines it as ἔφοδος εὐρετικὴ τῶν ἀγνοουμένων, διὰ τῶν προσεχῶν τε καὶ ἀκολουθῶν τῇ πρώτῃ περὶ τὸ σπουδαζόμενον νοήσει τὸ ἐφεξῆς ἐξευρίσκουσα. It is in his view an inventive faculty and at the same time it is more trustworthy than 'fancy.' It is best represented here by 'imagination' or 'conception.' See further on the word Wilson *N. and P. N. Fathers*, vol. v, p. 249.

13. εἴ τι ἄλλο] 'any other thought worthy of God that might happen to be connected with the subject of our contemplation.'

κατὰ τὸ εὐλογον τῆς ἀκολουθίας ταύτης συγκαταθήσεται. τούτου δὲ δοθέντος οὐκέτ' ἂν εἴη χαλεπὸν τὸ ἐσκεδασμένον τῆς διανοίας εἰς πλῆθος θεῶν πρὸς μιᾶς θεότητος περι-αγαγεῖν ὁμολογίαν. εἰ γὰρ τὸ τέλειον ἐν παντὶ δοίη περὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ὁμολογεῖσθαι, πολλὰ δὲ εἶναι τὰ τέλεια 5 διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν χαρακτηριζόμενα λέγοι, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἐπὶ τῶν μηδεμίᾳ παραλλαγῇ διακρινομένων ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς θεωρουμένων ἢ ἐπιδείξει τὸ ἴδιον ἢ, εἰ μηδὲν ἰδιαζόντως καταλαμβάνοι ἢ ἔννοια ἐφ' ὧν τὸ διακρίνον οὐκ ἔστι, μὴ ὑπονοεῖν τὴν διάκρισιν. εἰ γὰρ μήτε παρὰ 10 τὸ πλεόν καὶ ἔλαττον τὴν διαφορὰν ἐξευρίσκοι, διότι τὴν ἐλάττωσιν ὁ τῆς τελειότητος οὐ παραδέχεται λόγος, μήτε τὴν παρὰ τὸ χεῖρον καὶ προτιμότερον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔτι θεότητος ὑπόληψιν σχοίη οὐ ἢ τοῦ χείρονος οὐκ ἄπεισι προσηγορία· μήτε κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ πρόσφατον· τὸ 15 γὰρ μὴ αἰεὶ ὄν ἔξω τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἔστιν ὑπολήψεως·

1 δοθέντος]+ημιν fl || 9 καταλαβοι fl vulg || 13 om την euth 126 || 14 υποληψιν]+τις f τις σχοιη υποληψιν l

2. τὸ ἐσκεδασμένον] *'the thought which he has dissipated over a plurality of gods.'*

4. εἰ γάρ] The argument of Gr. in the following passage is as follows. The perfection of God's attributes prevents us from attributing to the Divine Nature any diversity or plurality. For such diversity could only arise from the differences of degree in which the separate entities possessed these attributes. Otherwise there would be no reason for maintaining their distinct and separate existence. But such differences of degree, involving 'more' and 'less' are excluded by the very idea of 'perfection.' *'For if he were to admit that he acknowledges absolute perfection in the being of whom we speak, but were to maintain that there are many of these perfect entities, marked by the same charac-*

*teristics.'*

5. τὸ ὑποκείμενον] here = 'the subject matter of our discourse.'

6. ἐπὶ τῶν μηδ.] *'in the case of things which are distinguished by no variation, but are observed to possess the same attributes.'*

8. εἰ μηδέν] *'if thought grasped nothing in the way of peculiarity in beings between whom no distinguishing mark exists, he should cease to assume such distinction.'*

13. οὐ γάρ] a parenthesis. The main sentence is resumed after προσηγορία, and again broken by another parenthesis τὸ γὰρ...ὑπολήψεως.

14. ὑπόληψιν σχοίη] Some MSS insert τις, but the subject is the antecedent of οὐ. *'For a being, with reference to whom the term "worse" is not excluded, could no longer be supposed to be God.'*

ἀλλ' εἰς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς τῆς θεότητος λόγος, οὐδεμιᾶς ἰδιότητος ἐν οὐδενὶ κατὰ τὸ εὐλογον εὐρισκομένης, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα πρὸς μιᾶς θεότητος ὁμολογίαν συνθλιβῆναι τὴν πεπλανημένην περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν θεῶν φαντασίαν.  
 5 εἰ γὰρ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον, τό τε σοφὸν καὶ τὸ δυνατὸν ὡσαύτως λέγοιτο, ἢ τε ἀφθαρσία καὶ ἡ αἰδιότης καὶ πᾶσα εὐσεβῆς διάνοια κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογοῦτο τρόπον, πάσης κατὰ πάντα λόγον διαφορᾶς ὑφαιρουμένης  
 10 δόγματος, τῆς διὰ πάντων ταυτότητος εἰς τὸ ἐν τὴν πίστιν περιαιρούσης.

1. 'Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγος οἶδέ τινα

1 ἰδιοτητος] αιδ- d || 3 μιαν θεοτητος dehn̄p euth || 6 η αιδιοτης] om η d euth 5 vulg

1. ἀλλ' εἰς] 'but the idea of Godhead is one and the same, no particularity, naturally enough, being discovered in any one respect.'

2. ἀνάγκη] 'the mistaken fancy of a plurality of gods cannot help being reduced to confess that Deity

is one.'

6. ὡσαύτως λέγοιτο] 'were ascribed to it in an equal degree.' The argument of this passage is reproduced, and the language closely followed in Ps.-Cyril *de Trin.* 4 and also in Io. Damasc. *de Fid. Orth.* i 5.

#### CHAPS. I—IV. THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF GOD.

1. In refuting polytheism, however, we must defend our argument against Judaism. It will be granted that Deity has a Logos; otherwise God would be without reason (ἄλογος). But this Logos corresponds to the nature of God, and as God's nature is infinitely higher than that of man, so must the Logos of God be proportionately higher. Man is mortal and his logos transitory. In God the Logos corresponds to His nature and is eternal and self-subsistent. At the same time the Logos is living and does not share life, but possesses it absolutely. This further involves the possession of will and the power to effect what He wills. The will of

the Logos is directed to good ends, for goodness is an attribute of God. The Universe exhibits the wisdom, power, and goodness of the Logos. The Logos, moreover, is distinct from Him Whose Logos He is. Thus is our position defined against the errors alike of Hellenism and Judaism. The Logos is living and active, and yet is one in nature and attributes with the Father from Whom He is derived.

12. ὁ τῆς εὐσ.] 'the doctrine of our religion.'

ib. οἶδε] Kr. renders 'solet,' but it may mean simply 'is able' to perceive.

διάκρισιν ὑποστάσεων ἐν τῇ ἐνότητι τῆς φύσεως βλέπειν, ὡς ἂν μὴ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας μάχῃ πρὸς τὸν Ἰουδαϊσμόν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ὑπενεχθεῖη, πάλιν προσήκει διαστολῇ τινὶ τεχνικῇ καὶ τὴν περὶ τοῦτο πλάνην ἐπανορθώσασθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς δόγματος ἄλογον εἶναι τὸ 5 θεῖον ὑπείληπται· τοῦτο δὲ παρ' ἐκείνων ὁμολογούμενον ἱκανῶς διαρθρώσει τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον. ὁ γὰρ ὁμολογῶν μὴ ἄλογον εἶναι τὸν θεὸν πάντως λόγον ἔχειν τὸν μὴ ἄλογον συγκαταθήσεται. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπινος ὁμωνύμως λέγεται λόγος. οὐκοῦν εἰ λέγοι καθ' ὁμοιότητα 10

1. 3 ὑπενεχθησεται e || 7 διορθωσει d

1. ὑποστάσεων] For a full discussion of the history of this word see Bethune-Baker *Texts and Studies*, vol. vii, no. 1, p. 75. In its earlier sense it was synonymous with οὐσία, as in the anathema of the Nicene Creed (ἐξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας). Both Basil and Gr. occasionally employ it in this earlier sense. Cp. *infra* c. 4 *sub fin.* λόγον ἐν οὐσία καὶ πνεῦμα ἐν ὑποστάσει. The later formula however to which currency was given by the teaching of the Cappadocians was μία οὐσία ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν. For the distinction of ὑπόστασις and οὐσία according to this view cp. Basil *Ep.* cxxxvi 6 οὐσία δὲ καὶ ὑπόστασις ταύτην ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἣν ἔχει τὸ κοινὸν πρὸς τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον: and still more precisely in *Ep.* xxxviii 3 τοῦτο οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ ὑπόστασις, οὐχ ἡ ἀόριστος τῆς οὐσίας ἔννοια, μηδεμίαν ἐκ τῆς κοινότητος τοῦ σημαυνομένου στάσιν εὐρίσκουσα, ἀλλ' ἡ τὸ κοινὸν τε καὶ ἀπερίγραπτον ἐν τῷ τινὶ πράγματι διὰ τῶν ἐπιφαινομένων ἰδιωμάτων παριστώσα καὶ περιγράφουσα. It thus denotes 'a particular centre of conscious being.' As Dr Moberly (*Atonement and Personality*, p. 158 sq.) has pointed out, the word is free from many of the associations which have gathered round the word 'person' in its later

Western sense.

*ib.* φύσεως] It is not necessary to assume that φύσις is here used loosely in the sense of οὐσία. The latter word denotes 'being,' while φύσις denotes the 'quality' of such 'being,' and has reference to the attributes. But in many cases where the writer might have used οὐσία, his thought is sufficiently expressed by φύσις.

3. ὑπενεχθεῖη] 'our argument may not lapse into Judaism,' i.e. a barren monotheism, admitting of no distinction in the Divine Being.

*ib.* διαστολῇ τ. τ.] 'a skilful distinction,' such as is involved in the διάκρισις ὑπ. referred to above.

5. τοῖς ἔξω] The most conspicuous example is Philo. But the belief in a Word as a mediating influence was not confined to Alexandria. In Palestine it affected the language of the Targums.

*ib.* ἄλογον] implies the absence of 'reason' as well as 'word.'

7. διορθώσει] 'will make our argument sufficiently clear.'

10. οὐκοῦν] 'If then he were to say that he formed his idea of the Word of God exactly on the analogy of our human counterparts, he will thus be led on to a higher notion.' With this illustration from the human λόγος cp. Tert. *adv. Prax.* c. 5.

τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον ὑπονοεῖν, οὕτω μεταχθήσεται πρὸς τὴν ὑψηλοτέραν ὑπόληψιν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ πᾶσα κατάλληλον εἶναι πιστεύειν τῇ φύσει τὸν λόγον, ὡς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα. καὶ γὰρ δύναμις τις καὶ ζωὴ καὶ 5 σοφία περὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον βλέπεται· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν τις ἐκ τῆς ὁμωνυμίας τοιαύτην καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ζωὴν ἢ τὴν δύναμιν ἢ τὴν σοφίαν ὑπονοήσειεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ τῆς φύσεως τῆς ἡμετέρας μέτρον συνταπεινούνται καὶ αἱ τῶν τοιούτων ὀνομάτων ἐμφάσεις. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ φθαρτὴ καὶ 10 ἀσθενὴς ἡμῶν ἡ φύσις, διὰ τοῦτο ὠκύμορος ἢ ζωὴ, ἀνυπόστατος ἢ δύναμις, ἀπαγῆς ὁ λόγος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὑπερκειμένης φύσεως τῷ μεγαλείῳ τοῦ θεωρουμένου πᾶν τὸ περὶ αὐτῆς λεγόμενον συνεπαίρεται. οὐκοῦν καὶ λόγος θεοῦ λέγεται, οὐκ ἐν τῇ ὀρμῇ τοῦ φθεγγομένου καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν 15 ἔχειν νομισθήσεται, καθ' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ ἡμετέρου μεταχωρῶν εἰς ἀνύπαρκτον· ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἡ ἡμετέρα φύσις ἐπίκηρος οὔσα καὶ ἐπίκηρον τὸν λόγον ἔχει, οὕτως ἡ ἀφθαρτος καὶ αἰεὶ ἐστῶσα φύσις αἰδίου ἔχει καὶ ὑφεστῶτα τὸν λόγον. εἰ δὴ τοῦτο κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον ὁμολογηθεῖη

5 τα ἀνθρωπινα d || 6 τοιαντην]+τινα d || 13 αὐτην vulg || 14 om και fh euth || 17 ἐπικηρος] ἀνπαρκτος f

3. κατάλλ.] 'corresponding to.'

8. συνταπ.] Such words as 'power,' 'life,' 'wisdom' have a lower significance in the case of men than in that of God.

10. ὠκύμορος] 'fleeting.'

ib. ἀνυπόστατος] 'unsubstantial,' i.e. having no separate existence of its own. Hence 'shadowy,' 'unreal.'

11. ἀπαγῆς] lit. 'not fixed,' 'unstable.' Similarly Ath. c. Ar. ii 34, 35. Cp. Iren. c. Haer. ii 13, 8.

ib. ὑπερκειμένης] 'transcendent.' See *antea*, p. 4, l. 3 δύναμιν τὴν... τοῦ παντὸς ὑπερκειμένην.

12. τῷ μεγαλείῳ] 'along with the greatness of the object of our contemplation.' For μεγαλεῖον = 'mag-

nitude' see c. 2, p. 14.

14. ὑπόστασιν] 'it will not be thought to have its subsistence in the expression of him who speaks.' Ὑπόστασις is here 'that in virtue of which a thing is what it is,' the essence or being of a thing. A human word is merely the expression of the speaker's mind. It has no ὑπόστασις apart from such expression, and in the utterance it passes out of existence (μεταχωρῶν εἰς ἀνύπαρκτον). The Divine Logos is αἰδίου and ὑφεστῶς.

16. ἀλλ' ὡσπερ] The argument of this chapter is partly reproduced in Ps.-Cyril Al. *de Trin.* c. 5, and in Io. Damasc. *de Fid. Orth.* i 6.



τὸ ὑφεστάναι τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον αἰδίως, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἐν  
ζωῇ τοῦ λόγου τὴν ὑπόστασιν εἶναι ὁμολογεῖν. οὐ γὰρ  
καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῶν λίθων ἀψύχως ὑφεστάναι τὸν λόγον  
εὐαγές ἐστιν οἶεσθαι. ἀλλ' εἰ ὑφέστηκε νοερόν τι χρῆμα  
καὶ ἀσώματον ὧν, ζῆ πάντως· εἰ δὲ τοῦ ζῆν κεχώρισται, 5  
οὐδὲ ἐν ὑποστάσει πάντως ἐστίν. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀσεβὲς  
ἀπεδείχθη τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον ἀνυπόστατον εἶναι. οὐκοῦν  
συναπεδείχθη κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον τὸ ἐν ζωῇ τοῦτον θεω-  
ρεῖσθαι τὸν λόγον. ἀπλῆς δὲ τῆς τοῦ λόγου φύσεως κατὰ  
τὸ εἰκὸς εἶναι πεπιστευμένης καὶ οὐδεμίαν διπλόην καὶ 10  
σύνθεσιν ἐν ἑαυτῇ δεικνυούσης, οὐκέτ' ἂν τις κατὰ μετου-  
σίαν ζωῆς τὸν λόγον ἐν ζωῇ θεωροίη· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐκτὸς εἴη  
συνθέσεως ἢ τοιαύτη ὑπόληψις, τὸ ἕτερον ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγειν  
εἶναι· ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη πᾶσα, τῆς ἀπλότητος ὁμολογουμένης,  
αὐτοζωὴν εἶναι τὸν λόγον οἶεσθαι, οὐ ζωῆς μετουσίαν. εἰ 15  
οὖν ζῆ ὁ λόγος ὁ ζωὴ ὧν, καὶ προαιρετικὴν πάντως δύναμιν

5 ων] ον I || 8 ζωη] τη ζωη I || 12 εν ζωη θ. τ. λογον I vulg τη ζωη f  
|| 15 ον ειναι f || 16 ζη] ζωη e || ο ζωη] ως ζ. dehnρ euth || προαιρετικην]+  
ητοι θελητικην euth 1456 || δυναμιν εχει παντως I vulg

1. ἐν ζωῇ...εἶναι] *'that the subsistence of the Word is living.'* For the phrase εἶναι ἐν see c. 24 δεῖ γὰρ διὰ πάντων τὸ θεῖον ἐν ταῖς πρεπούσαις ὑπολήψεσιν εἶναι. Gr. is illustrating the doctrine of distinctions in the Divine Being by an analysis of human consciousness. But it might be urged that the human analogy does not suggest the idea of distinct hypostases. This further step Gr. attempts to prove by showing that all relationships within the Divine Being must be living, and in order to be living in the full sense they must be personal. Augustine approached the same question from the moral consciousness and the idea of Divine Love. See *de Trin.* vi 5, viii 10, ix 2.

6. οὐδὲ ἐν ὑποστάσει] *'it does not possess any subsistence at all,'* i.e.

it is ἀνυπόστατος like the human λόγος, which Gr. has declared to be ἐπίκηρος.

10. διπλόην] *'doubleness.'* Διπλόη is used of that which has a double character, e.g. the fold of a garment, or the overlapping of the bones in the skull. Here it is used of the combination of different elements.

11. κατὰ μετουσίαν] *'consider the Word as living by a participation in life.'* This, acc. to Gr., would involve διπλόη and σύνθεσις, whereas he maintains that the Word is αὐτοζωή. The Word does not partake of life, as we do. Life is absolutely His. Cp. *infra* αὐτοζωὴν...οὐ ζωῆς μετουσίαν.

15. εἰ οὖν] As a result of the possession of life we must postulate that the Word possesses will and the power to carry out what He wills.

ἔχει· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀπροαίρετον τῶν ζώντων ἐστί. τὴν δὲ προαίρεσιν ταύτην καὶ δυνατὴν εἶναι κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον εὐσεβές ἐστι λογίζεσθαι. εἰ γὰρ μὴ τις τὸ δυνατὸν ὁμολογήῃ, τὸ ἀδύνατον πάντως κατασκευάσει. ἀλλὰ 5 μὴν πόρρω τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον ὑπολήψεώς ἐστι τὸ ἀδύνατον. οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀπεμφαινόντων περὶ τὴν θεῖαν θεωρεῖται φύσιν, ἀνάγκη δὲ πᾶσα τοσαύτην εἶναι ὁμολογεῖν τοῦ λόγου τὴν δύναμιν, ὅση ἐστί καὶ ἡ πρόθεσις, ἵνα μὴ τις μίξις τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ συνδρομὴ περὶ 10 τὸ ἀπλοῦν θεωροῖτο, ἀδυναμίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ προθέσει θεωρουμένων, εἴπερ τὸ μὲν τι δύναιτο, πρὸς δέ τι ἀδυνάτως ἔχοι· πάντα δὲ δυναμένην τὴν τοῦ λόγου προαίρεσιν πρὸς οὐδὲν τῶν κακῶν τὴν ῥοπήν ἔχει· ἀλλότρια γὰρ τῆς θείας φύσεως ἢ πρὸς κακίαν ὄρμη· 15 ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὃ τι πέρ ἐστιν ἀγαθόν, τοῦτο καὶ βούλεσθαι, βουλομένην δὲ πάντως καὶ δύνασθαι, δυναμένην δὲ μὴ ἀνεύρηγον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ἀγαθοῦ πρόθεσιν εἰς ἐνέργειαν ἄγειν. ἀγαθὸν δὲ ὁ κόσμος καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα σοφῶς τε καὶ τεχνικῶς θεωρούμενα. ἄρα τοῦ

1 ζωντων] οντων d || 5 εστιν υποληψεως e || 6 των απεμφ.] απεμφαινον των l vulg || 7 om δε fl vulg || 11 τι] τοι vulg || δυναται n euth || 12 εχει dnp euth om εχει vulg || 15 ο τι περ] οπερ e || 17 προθεσιν] προαιρεσιν vulg

4. κατασκευάσει] 'he will prove' or 'establish.' Cp. κατασκευαῖς *prol.* p. 2.

6. τῶν ἀπεμφαινόντων] 'Ἀπεμφαίνειν is 'to present a different appearance,' 'to be incongruous,' a common word in Gr. Cp. c. 10 ὅσον εὐπρεπές ἐστι...δεξάμενος, τὸ ἀπεμφαῖνον ἀποποιείσθω. Cp. also c. 15 ὡς ἀναρμοστά τε καὶ ἀπεμφαίνοντα περὶ τῆς θείας φύσεως δογματίζοντων.

8. πρόθεσις] used as almost equivalent to προαίρεσις.

12. πάντα δέ] A further step in the argument, postulating goodness as a necessary quality of the activity

of the Word. 'Ροπή = 'inclination,' ὄρμη = 'impulse.'

17. ἀνεύρηγον] 'inoperative,' 'inactive.' A common word in Gr. Cp. c. 4 ἀνεύρηγά τε καὶ ἀνυπόστατα τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν ῥήματα.

18. ἀγαθόν] The outcome of the activity of the Word is to be seen in the Universe, which is the expression of His character.

19. σοφῶς] For this predicative force of adverbs and adverbial clauses with θεωρεῖν cp. c. 2, p. 14 μετὰ πνεύματος θεωρουμένου, and esp. c. 16 τὸ δ' ὅσον ἐν τῇ φύσει... διεξοδικῶς θεωρεῖται.

λόγου ἔργα τὰ πάντα τοῦ ζῶντος μὲν καὶ ὑφεστῶτος, ὅτι θεοῦ λόγος ἐστί, προαιρουμένου δέ, ὅτι ζῆ· δυναμένου δὲ πᾶν ὅ τι περ ἂν ἔληται, αἰρουμένου δὲ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ σοφὸν πάντως, καὶ εἴ τι τῆς κρείττονος σημασίας ἐστίν. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀγαθὸν τι ὁ κόσμος ὁμολογεῖται, 5 ἀπεδείχθη δὲ διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων τοῦ λόγου ἔργον τὸν κόσμον εἶναι, τοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ αἰρουμένου καὶ δυναμένου, ὁ δὲ λόγος οὗτος ἕτερός ἐστι παρὰ τὸν οὐ ἐστὶ λόγος· τρόπον γάρ τινα τῶν πρὸς τι λεγομένων καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ἐπειδὴ χρὴ πάντως τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ 10 λόγου συνυπακούεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἴη λόγος, μὴ τινος ὦν λόγος· εἰ οὖν διακρίνει τῷ σχετικῷ τῆς σημασίας ἢ τῶν ἀκουόντων διάνοια αὐτὸν τε τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸν ὅθεν ἐστίν, οὐκέτ' ἂν ἡμῖν κινδυνεύοι τὸ μυστήριον ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς μαχόμενον ὑπολήψεσι τοῖς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρεσβεύουσι 15 συνενεχθῆναι· ἀλλ' ἐπ' Ἰσης ἐκατέρων τὴν ἀτοπίαν ἐκφύξεται, τὸν τε ζῶντα τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον καὶ ἐνεργὸν καὶ

3 πάντα l vulg || 5 οπερ eh || 5 ὁμολογηται hn euth ὁμολογεῖται e ὁμολογεῖται o κόσμος f || 6 το λογον εργον dehn || 8 ο δε λ.] ara ο λ. euth || 9 τουτο] ουτος euth || 12 διακρηνη vulg || 14 κινδυνευει defln vulg || 15 τοις τε vulg || om των hl vulg

4. κρείττονος σημασίας] *'and everything else that indicates excellence.'*

9. τῶν πρὸς τι] *'a relative term.'* We cannot understand the term *'Word'* without reference to some other Being.

11. συνυπακούεσθαι] *'understood'* or *'implied along with the Word.'*

12. τῷ σχετικῷ τῆς σημ.] *'owing to the relative character of the term.'* Σχέσις denotes *'relation.'*

15. τὰ τῶν Ἰ. πρεσβεύουσι] *'those who pay honour to the beliefs of the Jews.'* Πρεσβεύειν here = *σέβειν* or *τιμᾶν*. Cp. Plato *Symp.* 186 B ἀρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱατρικῆς λέγων, ἵνα καὶ πρεσβεύωμεν τὴν τέχνην. Cp. Aesch. *Cho.* 488.

16. συνενεχθῆναι] *'agree with.'*

The Christian doctrine of God is unique, but it presents points of contact with Hellenism and Judaism. Cp. the summary of Gr. in c. 3.

*ib.* ἐκφ.] i.e. the personal subject implied in ταῖς Ἑ. μαχ. ὑπ.

17. τὸν τε ζῶντα] The article belongs also to ἐνεργὸν and ποιητικόν. *'Confessing the living and active and creative Word of God, a thing which the Jew does not admit.'* He is referring to Heb. iv 12, which was understood by many of the Fathers to refer to the Personal Word. The Logos doctrine of Philo is the nearest approach to the belief of which Gr. is speaking. But in Philo the Logos is rather an abstraction than a personal power, and could not be said to be ζῶν.

ποιητικὸν ὁμολογῶν, ὅπερ ὁ Ἰουδαῖος οὐ δέχεται, καὶ τὸ μὴ διαφέρειν κατὰ τὴν φύσιν αὐτὸν τε τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸν ὄθεν ἐστίν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ φαμέν εἶναι τὸν λόγον, οὔτε δι' ὅλου τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα τῷ νῷ, οὔτε  
 5 παντάπασιν ἕτερον· τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἐκείνου εἶναι ἄλλο τι καὶ οὐκ ἐκεῖνό ἐστι· τῷ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν νοῦν εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἄγειν οὐκέτ' ἂν ἕτερόν τι παρ' ἐκείνον ὑπονοοῖτο, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ἐν ὧν ἕτερον τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ ἐστίν· οὕτως καὶ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος τῷ μὲν ὑφεστάναι καθ' ἑαυτὸν  
 10 διήρηται πρὸς ἐκείνον, παρ' οὗ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει· τῷ δὲ ταῦτα δεικνύειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ἃ περὶ τὸν θεὸν καθοράται, ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ἐκείνῳ τῷ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν γνωρισμάτων εὐρισκομένῳ· εἴτε γὰρ ἀγαθότης, εἴτε δύναμις, εἴτε σοφία, εἴτε τὸ ἀδίως εἶναι, εἴτε τὸ κακίας καὶ θανάτου

1 om o eh || και το μη] incipit g || 2 διαφθειρειν vulg || 3 εκ τ. ν. εφ ημων l vulg || 4 οντα] ειναι dl vulg || 5-6 το μεν...το δε εfn euth 45 || 7 om τι l vulg || 8 κεινο l vulg || 8 ων] ον l vulg || 13 αγαθοτητα—δυναμιν—σοφιαν euth || 14 κακίας κ. φ. αν. και θανατου g

1. καὶ τὸ μὴ διαφ.] Though distinct from the Father, the Word possesses the same nature. This is illustrated by the relation of the human word to the mind of him who utters it.

6. τῷ δέ] 'but owing to the fact that it manifests the mind itself.'

8. τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ] With Gr. τὸ ὑποκείμενον practically always is used in a sense approaching to οὐσία. See *c. Eunom.* i, p. 520 (Migne) ἐν τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ τρεῖς ἐφαρμόζοντες προσηγορίας. Cp. c. 3 of this treatise διακρίνεται τῇ ὑποστάσει, καὶ οὐ διώρισται τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ (note). On account of Gr.'s strict use of terms, Rupp (*Gregor von Nyssa*, p. 168) thinks that the present passage contains a gloss, but there is no variation in the MSS, and the assumption is quite unnecessary, as τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ may have its common Aristotelic sense of 'subject.' The word

is one 'subject,' and the mind another. Cp. for this sense of τὸ ὑποκ. *prol.* p. 5 εἰ γὰρ τὸ τέλειον ...δολῆ περὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ὁμολογεῖσθαι. For a similar use of the word cp. Basil *Ep.* ix 2, and see Bethune-Baker *Texts and Studies*, vol. vii, no. 1, p. 82.

13. εὐρισκομένῳ] 'who is known by' or 'who is discerned by the possession of' the same distinctive characteristics.

ib. ἀγαθότης] The construction is broken. The text of Euthymius (which reads ἀγαθότητα...δύναμιν...σοφίαν against the unanimous verdict of the MSS of the *Or. Cat.*) represents an attempt to correct the grammar of the passage. Prob. Gr. intended to make the words the subject to a verb, but in completing the sentence he has given it a different turn. For a similar break of construction cp. c. 9.

καὶ φθορᾶς ἀνεπίδεκτον, εἴτε τὸ ἐν παντὶ τέλειον, εἴτε τι τοιοῦτον ὅλως σημεῖόν τις ποιοῖτο τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς καταλήψεως, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν εὐρήσει σημεῖων καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου ὑφεστῶτα λόγον.

2. "Ὡσπερ δὲ τὸν λόγον ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀναγωγικῶς 5 ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπερκειμένης ἔγνωμεν φύσεως, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῇ περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐννοίᾳ προσαχθησόμεθα, σκιάς τινος καὶ μιμήματα τῆς ἀφράστου δυνάμεως ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς θεωροῦντες φύσει. ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν μὲν τὸ πνεῦμα ἢ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐστὶν ὄλκῃ, ἀλλοτρίου πράγματος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ 10 σώματος σύστασιν ἀναγκαίως εἰσελκομένου τε καὶ προχομένου, ὅπερ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἐκφωνήσεως τοῦ λόγου

2 om τις l vulg || 3 ευρησεις vulg || 5 αναλογικως fl vulg || 6 επι] υπερ h

1. εἴτε τι τοιοῦτον] *'whatsoever of this kind is made an indication of the way of apprehending the Father.'*

3. διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν] The unity of nature gives to the Word the same characteristic qualities as the Father possesses.

ib. ἐξ ἐκείνου ὑφεστῶτα] *'that subsists from Him.'*

2. *Human nature supplies also an analogy to the existence of the Spirit in the Godhead. In man breath (πνεῦμα) accompanies the utterance of the human word (λόγος). So in God the Spirit cannot be separated from the Word. But while the human breath is something foreign to man's nature, the Spirit of God is one with God in being, and at the same time, like the Word, is self-subsistent, possessing will, activity, and power.*

5. ἀναγωγικῶς] The alternative reading ἀναλογικῶς is a correction of the text. Ἀναγωγή or ἀναγωγή μυστικὴ is a phrase which constantly occurs in Origen. See *Philocalia* (ed. Rob.), i 22, xxvi 4, 8. It is used by him to denote the process by which the reader of

Scripture 'ascends' from the literal and moral meaning of Scripture to its spiritual significance. Here the phrase is used of 'ascending' from the experience of human nature (τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς) to the nature of God. *'Just as, by an ascent from the facts of our own nature, we recognized in the transcendent nature the existence of the Word.'*

9. ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν] This passage is adapted in the form of a paraphrase by Ps.-Cyr. Al. *de Trin.* c. 6 and Io. Damasc. *F. O.* i 7. In the case of our bodies the breath which we inhale and breathe out is something foreign to our nature. The Divine Πνεῦμα, however, is one with God.

10. ὄλκῃ] *'drawing.'*

ib. ἀλλοτρίου πράγματος] i.e. τοῦ ἀέρος, which is foreign to the nature of the body. Πρὸς is governed by ἀλλοτρίου. Cp. c. 5 ἀλλοτρωθεῖσα τῷ ἀνομοίῳ πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον (note).

12. ὅπερ] i.e. τὸ πνεῦμα, which becomes φωνή, 'a voice' or 'utterance,' revealing the 'force' or 'meaning' of the word.

φωνή γίνεται, τὴν τοῦ λόγου δύναμιν ἐν ἑαυτῇ φανεροῦσα. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς θείας φύσεως τὸ μὲν εἶναι πνεῦμα θεοῦ εὐσεβὲς ἐνομίσθη, καθὼς ἐδόθη καὶ λόγον εἶναι θεοῦ διὰ τὸ μὴ δεῖν ἑλλιπέστερον τοῦ ἡμετέρου λόγου τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι λόγον, 5 εἶπερ τούτου μετὰ πνεύματος θεωρουμένου ἐκεῖνος δίχα πνεύματος εἶναι πιστεύοιτο. οὐ μὴν ἀλλότριόν τι καθ' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ ἡμετέρου πνεύματος ἔξωθεν ἐπιρρεῖν τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γίνεσθαι τὸ πνεῦμα θεοπρεπές ἐστιν οἶεσθαι· ἀλλ' ὡς θεοῦ λόγον ἀκούσαντες οὐκ ἀνυπόστατον 10 τι πρᾶγμα τὸν λόγον ᾤθημεν, οὐδὲ ἐκ μαθήσεως ἐγγινόμενον, οὔτε διὰ φωνῆς προφαινόμενον, οὔτε μετὰ τὸ προενεχθῆναι διαλυόμενον, οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι πάσχοντα τοιοῦτον, οἷα περὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον θεωρεῖται πάθη, ἀλλ' οὔσιωδῶς ὑφεστῶτα, προαιρετικόν τε καὶ ἐνεργὸν καὶ 15 παντοδύναμον· οὕτως καὶ πνεῦμα μεμαθηκότες θεοῦ, τὸ συμπαραμοαρτοῦν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ φανεροῦν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐνεργειαν, οὐ πνοὴν ἄσθματος ἐννοοῦμεν· ἢ γὰρ ἂν καθαιροῖτο πρὸς ταπεινότητα τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῆς θείας δυνάμεως, εἰ

3 λογος vulg || μη δειν] μηδεν f || 5 του πν. l vulg || 6 om ειναι e || om τι vulg || 7 επεισρειν fl vulg || 8 om το euth || 11 ουδε...ουδε fl vulg || 11 προφερομενον f<sup>g</sup> euth 245 || 15 το πν. f Ps-Cyr Al

5. εἶπερ τούτου] τούτου refers to the human word, the expression of which is always seen to be accompanied with breath (μετὰ πνεύματος θεωρουμένου). The Divine Word (ἐκεῖνος), which certainly does not fall short of its human counterpart, must similarly be accompanied by πνεῦμα.

6. ἀλλότριόν τι] We are not to suppose that in the case of the Divine πνεῦμα something foreign has an influx from without (ἔξωθεν ἐπιρρεῖν) into God, and that this becomes in Him the Spirit.

14. οὔσιωδῶς ὑφεστῶτα] The Divine Word has no mere transitory existence. It does not come to exist in the Godhead as the result of instruction. It is not a mere utterance of the voice, passing away

after it has been uttered. It 'exists after the manner of real being' (οὔσιωδῶς ὑφεστῶτα). Cp. c. 4 οὔσιωδῶς ὑφεστῶσας δυνάμεις. In both places the phrase οὐσ. ὑφ. denotes that the existence is real and not merely relative or contingent.

15. μεμαθηκότες] 'having learnt that there is a Breath or Spirit of God.' Τὸ συμπαραμοαρτοῦν is an explanatory clause, 'which accompanies' &c.

17. πνοὴν ἄσθ.] 'we do not conceive of it as an emission of breath.' The sentence is resumed by ἀλλά below, the clause ἢ γὰρ...ὑπονοοῖτο being parenthetical.

18. ταπεινότητα] Cf. *antea* c. 1 πρὸς τὸ τῆς φύσεως τῆς ἡμετέρας μέτρον συνταπεινοῦνται.

ib. μεγαλεῖον] Cp. c. 1, p. 8.

καθ' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ ἡμετέρου καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ πνεῦμα ὑπονοοῖτο· ἀλλὰ δύναμιν οὐσιώδη αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐν ἰδιαζούσῃ ὑποστάσει θεωρουμένην, οὔτε χωρισθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἔστιν, ἢ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ θεοῦ, ᾧ παρομαρτεῖ, δυναμένην· οὔτε πρὸς τὸ ἀνύπαρκτον ἀναχεομένην, ἀλλὰ 5 καθ' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου καθ' ὑπόστασιν οὔσαν, προαιρετικὴν, αὐτοκίνητον, ἐνεργόν, πάντοτε τὸ ἀγαθὸν αἰρουμένην καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν πρόθεσιν σὺνδρομον ἔχουσαν τῇ βουλήσει τὴν δύναμιν.

3. Ὡστε τὸν ἀκριβῶς τὰ βᾶθη τοῦ μυστηρίου διασκο- 10 πούμενον ἐν μὲν τῇ ψυχῇ κατὰ τὸ ἀπόρητον μετρίαν τινὰ κατανόησιν τῆς κατὰ τὴν θεογνωσίαν διδασκαλίας λαμβάνειν, μὴ μέντοι δύνασθαι λόγῳ διασαφεῖν τὴν ἀνέκφραστον ταύτην τοῦ μυστηρίου βαθύτητα· πῶς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἀριθμητὸν ἐστὶ καὶ διαφεύγει τὴν ἐξαριθμησιν, 15

1 om το d 3. 13 λαβειν fl vulg || διασαφῆσαι fg<sup>1</sup> vulg

2. δύναμιν οὐσιώδη] 'as a power really in being, to be regarded as existing in its own right in a subsistence of its own.' For ὑπόστασις in this sense cp. c. 1 *init.* διακρίσιν ὑποστάσεων.

5. ἀναχεομένην] 'dissolving into non-existence.' Cp. Greg. Naz. Or. xxviii 13 λόγον... χεόμενον; ὁκνῶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν λυόμενον. Ἀνύπ. Cp. c. 1, p. 8 μεταχωρῶν εἰς ἀνύπαρκτον.

6. καθ' ὑπόστασιν] 'after the manner of an individual subsistence,' almost = 'as a person.'

3. This doctrine of God is full of mystery. Yet it is the mean between the opposing doctrines of Judaism and Hellenism. With Judaism it preserves the unity of the Divine nature. With Hellenism it teaches the distinction of Persons. At the same time it is a safeguard against the errors of both.

11. ἐν μὲν τ. ψ.] The corresponding clause is μὴ μέντοι. It is possible to have an inner, secret

(κατὰ τὸ ἀπόρητον) apprehension of the nature of Deity in the mind (ψυχῇ), without being able to express it in words.

*ib.* ψυχῇ] used here as comm. in Plato for the organ of the νοῦς. Cp. Plat. *Tim.* 30 B νοῦν δ' αὐ χωρὶς ψυχῆς ἀδύνατον παραγενέσθαι τῷ.

*ib.* μετρίαν τινὰ] 'a moderate degree of apprehension.' Gr. is conscious that the doctrine of the Trinity is a mystery. He does not claim that his argument is in any sense a 'proof' of it. His analysis of man's nature is only an illustration.

15. ἀριθμητὸν] 'admits of being numbered.' Cp. Just. Mart. *Dial.* 128, where the Son is spoken of as ἀριθμῷ ἕτερον τι, and *ibid.* 52, where he says that the God Who appeared to Moses ἕτερός ἐστὶ τοῦ τὰ πάντα ποιήσαντος θεοῦ, ἀριθμῷ λέγω ἄλλ' οὐ γνώμη. Such expressions are intended to mark the individual existence of the Persons in the God-head.

καὶ διηρημένως ὀράται καὶ ἐν μονάδι καταλαμβάνεται, καὶ διακέκριται τῇ ὑποστάσει καὶ οὐ διώρισταί τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ. ἄλλο γάρ τι τῇ ὑποστάσει τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ ἕτερον ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἄλλο πάλιν ἐκείνο, οὐ καὶ ὁ λόγος 5 ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν τὸ διακεκριμένον ἐν τούτοις κατανοήσης, πάλιν ἢ τῆς φύσεως ἐνότης τὸν διαμερισμὸν οὐ προσίεται, ὡς μήτε τὸ τῆς μοναρχίας σχίζεσθαι κράτος εἰς θεότητας διαφόρους κατατεμνόμενον, μήτε τῷ Ἰουδαϊκῷ δόγματι συμβαίνειν τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ 10 διὰ μέσου τῶν δύο ὑπολήψεων χωρεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν,

2 διωρ.] μεμερισται [sg<sup>1</sup>] vulg || τω υποκειμενω] τη φυσει euth 16 τη ουσια euth 24 || 3-4 αλλο γαρ...ετερον ο λογος] desunt in 1\* vulg || 7 ως] ωστε I vulg || 10 μεσου vulg

1. διηρημένως] *'is perceived in a way that involves division.'*

2. διακέκριται] *'it is distinct as regards person, and not divided as regards subject-matter.'* Cp. Greg. Naz. *Or.* xxxi 14 (Mason, p. 163) ἀμέριστος ἐν μεμερισμένοις, εἰ δεῖ συντόμως εἰπεῖν, ἢ θεότης.

*ib.* τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ] Τὸ ὑποκ. is used in Aristotle to denote 'subject' or 'subject-matter.' For instances of such use in the *Or. Cat.* cp. *prol.*, c. 1 *sub fin.*, and c. 5. The Stoic writers used the word to denote the 'substratum' of things, the real existence lying behind that which was perceived by the senses. Cp. Sextus *A. M.* 7, 346 sq. αἰσθήσεσι μὲν ὄν μοναίς λαβεῖν τάληθές οὐ δύναται...συνέσεώς τε δεῖ καὶ μνήμης πρὸς ἀντίληψιν τῶν ὑποκειμένων, οἷον ἀνθρώπου, φυτοῦ, τῶν εὐκότων. Thus it comes to be a synonym for οὐσία. The glosses τῇ οὐσίᾳ and τῇ φύσει found in some MSS of Euthymius, where this passage is quoted, are attempts to interpret τὸ υποκείμενον.

7. οὐ προσίεται] *'does not admit of division,'* in the sense of the polytheists, who are here in view, although the Arian opinion led to

the same result.

*ib.* τὸ τῆς μον.] *'the might of the Divine sovereignty is not split up by being divided into different kinds of Godhead.'* Gr. has to be on his guard against the charge of tritheism, which was actually brought against his teaching. His two works, *Quod non sint tres Dii* and the *de Communibus Notionibus*, are intended to guard against misconceptions of the Tripersonality of the Godhead. On the μοναρχία see *Ath. c. Ar.* iv 1 ὥστε δύο μὲν εἶναι Πατέρα καὶ Υἱόν, μονάδα δὲ θεότητος ἀδιαίρετον καὶ ἄσχιστον. λεχθῆλη δ' ἂν καὶ οὕτω μία ἀρχὴ θεότητος, καὶ οὐ δύο ἀρχαί· ὅθεν κυρίως καὶ μοναρχία ἐστίν. Cp. Greg. Naz. *Or.* xxix 2, where the μοναρχία is defined as οὐχ ἦν ἐν περιγραφῇ πρόσωπον... ἀλλ' ἦν φύσεως ὁμοτιμία συνίστησι, καὶ γνώμης σύμπνοια, καὶ ταυτότης κινήσεως, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐν τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ σύννευσις.

9. συμβαίνειν] *'agree with.'* For this use of the word see c. 17 τὴν λύσιν τοῖς προλαβοῦσι συμβαίνουσιν. Cp. c. 27.

10. διὰ μέσου] Acc. to Gr. the Christian doctrine of God mediates between opposite errors. Its strength



ἐκατέραν τε τῶν αἰρέσεων καθαιρούσαν καὶ ἀφ' ἐκατέρας παραδεχομένην τὸ χρήσιμον. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ Ἰουδαίου καθαιρεῖται τὸ δόγμα τῇ τε τοῦ λόγου παραδοχῇ καὶ τῇ πίστει τοῦ πνεύματος· τῶν δὲ ἑλληνιζόντων ἡ πολυθεὸς ἐξαφανίζεται πλάνη, τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐνότητος 5 παραγραφομένης τὴν πληθυντικὴν φαντασίαν. πάλιν δὲ αὐτὴ ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ὑπολήψεως ἢ τῆς φύσεως ἐνότητος παραμενέτω· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ ἢ κατὰ τὰς ὑποστάσεις διάκρισις μόνη, θεραπευθείσης ἐκατέρωθεν καταλλήλως τῆς ἀσεβοῦς ὑπονοίας· ἔστι γὰρ ὡσπερ θεραπεία 10 τῶν μὲν περὶ τὸ ἐν πλανωμένων ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῆς τριάδος, τῶν δὲ εἰς πλῆθος ἐσκεδασμένων ὁ τῆς ἐνότητος λόγος.

4. Εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγοι τούτοις ὁ Ἰουδαῖος, οὐκέτ' ἂν ἡμῖν

6 σημασιαν d || 10 ὡσπερ] + τις l vulg || 12 λογος] desinit euth 4. 13 αντιλεγει vulg

lies in presenting truth in its proper proportion, and in setting forth both sides of the antithesis exhibited by the Tripersonality and Unity of God. Cp. Bern. *Tract. de Errone Abael.* 3. 7 Novit pietas fidei... medium iter tenens, regia incedere via.

1. αἰρέσεων] *Αἴρ.* is here used in its earlier and non-ecclesiastical sense = 'a school of thought,' 'a sect of philosophy.'

3. καθαιρεῖται] 'is overthrown.' This passage is reproduced by Io. Damasc. *de Fid. Orth.* i 7.

6. παραγραφομένης] *Παραγράφειν* = 'to draw a line across,' 'cancel,' 'annul.'

*ib.* πλῆθ. φαντ.] 'fancy of a plurality.' *Φαντασία*, a term found both in Plato and Aristotle, is the process by which objects are presented to the mind, so that it may receive impressions from them. Then it is used of impressions received in this way. It is a favourite word with Stoic writers, who distinguish *φαντασία*, which may be fallible and have no real object behind it, from

*καταληπτικὴ φαντασία*, which is infallible and the equivalent of *κατάληψις*. In the present passage the word suggests an unreal imagination.

9. καταλλήλως] 'an appropriate remedy being found for the wrong opinion entertained on either side.' For *κατάλλῃως* cp. c. 1 *κατάλλῃλον* ...τῇ φύσει τὸν λόγον.

12. ἐσκεδ.] 'the doctrine of the unity is a remedy for those whose allegiance has been divided amongst a plurality,' lit. 'who have been scattered amongst a plurality.' The word *ἐσκεδ.* as compared with the preceding *πλανωμένων* may suggest the thought that polytheists had not merely 'wandered' from the truth, but had become 'scattered' by the very nature of their creed. There is possibly also the thought of a distraction of mind. Cp. *prol.* p. 5 τὸ ἐσκεδασμένον τῆς διανοίας εἰς πλῆθος θεῶν.

4. *The Jew may be further convinced by an appeal to Scripture. To take one passage out of many, the words 'By the Word of the Lord*

ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου δύσκολος ὁ πρὸς ἐκείνον γενήσεται λόγος. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν συντρόφων αὐτῷ διδαγμάτων ἢ τῆς ἀληθείας ἔσται φανέρωσις. τὸ γὰρ εἶναι λόγον θεοῦ καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ, οὐσιωδῶς ὑφεστώσας δυνάμεις, ποιητικὰς τε τῶν  
 5 γεγεννημένων καὶ περιεκτικὰς τῶν ὄντων, ἐκ τῶν θεο-  
 πνεύστων γραφῶν ἐναργέστερον δείκνυται. ἀρκεῖ δὲ μιᾶς  
 μαρτυρίας ἐπιμνησθέντας τοῖς φιλοτιμοτέροις καταλιπεῖν  
 τῶν πλειόνων τὴν εὔρεσιν. Τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ κυρίου, φησίν,  
 οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἔστερεώθησαν καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος  
 10 αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν. ποίῳ λόγῳ καὶ ποίῳ  
 πνεύματι; οὔτε γὰρ ῥῆμα ὁ λόγος, οὔτε ἄσθμα τὸ πνεῦμα.  
 ἢ γὰρ ἂν καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως καὶ τὸ  
 θεῖον ἐξανθρωπίζοιτο, εἰ τοιοῦτῳ κεχρηῆσθαι λόγῳ καὶ  
 τοιοῦτῳ πνεύματι τὸν τοῦ παντὸς ποιητὴν δογματίζοιεν.

1 ἴσου] ἴδιου vulg || 7 φιλοπονωτεροις f<sup>g</sup>\* vulg || 8 εὔρεσιν] εφεσιν f ||  
 13 εἰ] και vulg

were the heavens established, and all the power of them by the breath of His mouth' point to the existence of the Word and the Spirit as personal, self-subsistent powers.

1. γενήσεται] For this use of ἂν with Fut. Indic. see Goodwin *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 37.

4. οὐσιωδῶς ὑφ.] Cp. *antea* c. 2 [λόγον] οὐσιωδῶς ὑφεστώτα with note.

5. περιεκτικὰς τῶν ὄντων] 'containing all things which exist.' The single quotation which Gr. gives only illustrates the existence of λόγος and πνεῦμα as ποιητικὰ δυνάμεις. But he is thinking of other passages of the O.T. which speak of the Divine Spirit as upholding and containing all things. Cp. Ps. civ (ciii) 29, 30, cxxxix (cxxxviii) 7, Job xxxiii 4, and esp. Wisd. i 7.

7. φιλοτιμοτέροις] i.e. more ambitious for complete investigation. The Paris edd. read φιλοπονωτέροις which is a correction of the text.

8. Τῷ λόγῳ] from Ps. xxxiii (xxxii) 6. In the original passage there

is no reason to suppose that a reference to a personal Word is intended, though the passage may have influenced the Logos doctrine. The word for 'breath' is identical with that for 'spirit' in Gen. i 2, but the parallelism suggests that the 'breath of His mouth' is synonymous with 'word.' Gr. interprets the passage acc. to the methods of his time.

10. δύναμις] in the original passage means 'host' and refers to sun, moon, and stars.

11. ῥῆμα] The Word is not mere 'utterance,' neither is the Spirit mere 'breath.' These ideas he has refuted in cc. 2 and 3.

13. ἐξανθρωπίζοιτο] further defined by καθ' ὁμ. τ. ἡ. φύσεως. Cp. *infra* τὸ θεῖον κατὰγοντες. Translate 'would be lowered to the level of man.'

14. δογματίζοιεν] used freq. by Gr. with reference to the doctrines held by heretics. Cp. c. 9 (*sub fin.*), c. 15.

τίς δὲ καὶ δύναμις ἀπὸ ῥημάτων καὶ ἄσθματος τηλικαύτη, ὡς ἐξαρκεῖν πρὸς οὐρανῶν σύστασιν καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις δυνάμεων; εἰ γὰρ ὅμοιος τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ῥήματι καὶ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ πνεύματι, ὁμοία πάντως ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων ἢ δύναμις· καὶ ὅσῃν ὁ ἡμέτερος, τοσαύτην καὶ 5 ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχει. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀνευέργητά τε καὶ ἀνυπόστατα τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν ῥήματα καὶ τὸ τοῖς ῥήμασι συνδιεξερχόμενον πνεῦμα. ἄπρακτα πάντως καὶ ἀνυπόστατα κἀκεῖνα κατασκευάσουσιν οἱ πρὸς τὴν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν λόγου τὸ θεῖον κατάγοντες. εἰ δέ, 10 καθὼς λέγει Δαβὶδ, ἐστερεώθησαν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν σύστασιν ἔσχον, ἄρα συνέστηκε τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας μυστήριον, λόγον ἐν οὐσίᾳ καὶ πνεῦμα ἐν ὑποστάσει λέγειν ὑφηγούμενον. 15

5. Ἄλλὰ τὸ μὲν εἶναι λόγον θεοῦ καὶ πνεῦμα διὰ τε

1 δε και] δαι και dr δ οιχεται vulg || 2 ουρανου deghlnp || 7 om παρ ημιν ρηματα και το I\* vulg || 8 συνδιεξερχομενα πνευματα vulg || παντως] παντα f || 9 κατασκευαζουσιν eg<sup>1</sup> vulg || 11 ο Δ. e || om του ep || 12 πνευματι] λογω g\* || 13 εχουσιν e || 14 πνευμα] πνευματι e 5. 16 λογον] om p

1. τίς δέ] Mere 'utterances' and 'breath' would not suffice for the framing (σύστασιν) of heaven and the powers therein.

6. ἀλλὰ μὴν] In our case the utterances and the breath which accompanies them are 'inoperative' and 'unsubstantial.' Cp. *antea*, c. 1, of the power of the Word, *δυναμένην δὲ μὴ ἀνευέργητον εἶναι*.

9. κἀκεῖνα] i.e. the Divine λόγος and πνεῦμα:—'*prove that the Divine Word and Spirit are absolutely in-*

*active and unsubstantial.*' For *κατασκευάζειν* cp. c. 1 *κατασκευάσει* (note) and *κατασκευαῖς* (*prol.*).

13. συνέστηκε] '*is established.*'

14. ὑποστάσει] used here as a synonym for οὐσία. Cp. the anathema of the Nicene Creed *ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας*. '*Teaching us to speak of a Word in actual being and a Spirit in subsistence.*'

15. ὑφηγούμενον] Ἰφ. = 'to guide,' 'instruct.' Cp. Plat. *Rep.* 403 E *ἡμεῖς δὲ ὅσον τοὺς τύπους ὑφηγησάμεθα*.

## CHAPS. V—VIII. THE CREATION OF MAN AND THE ORIGIN OF EVIL.

5. Our next step is to vindicate the Incarnation against the objections of Greeks and Jews. Man, like the

rest of Creation, owes his existence to the activity of the self-subsistent Word of God. The motive of man's crea-

τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν ὁ Ἕλληνας καὶ διὰ τῶν γραφικῶν ὁ Ἰουδαῖος ἴσως οὐκ ἀντιλέξει· τὴν δὲ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομίαν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου κατὰ τὸ ἴσον ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν ἀποδοκιμάσει ὡς ἀπίθανόν τε καὶ ἀπρεπῆ περὶ θεοῦ  
5 λέγεσθαι. οὐκοῦν ἐξ ἑτέρας ἀρχῆς καὶ εἰς τὴν περὶ τούτου πίστιν τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας προσαξόμεθα. λόγῳ τὰ πάντα γεγενῆσθαι καὶ σοφία παρὰ τοῦ τὸ πᾶν

1 γραφικῶν] γραφῶν h\* || 2 τον ἀνθρωπον fl vulg || 4 ἀπρεπες eg || 5 ἑτερας] ἐκατερας f || 6 προσαξόμεθα degnp

*tion was not any necessity, but the superabundance of love, and the desire to impart the perfections of the Divine Being. Man's nature accordingly was fashioned in a way that fitted him to participate in those perfections. Thus man was equipped with various gifts and amongst them with immortality. The Scriptural expression 'the image of God' and the account of Creation indicate these truths, and show that man's nature was originally good and surrounded with good. To the objection that man's actual state is the reverse of this we reply that man's present evil condition is due to another cause than the will of God. Being in 'the image of God' involved the possession of free-will and self-determination, so that the participation in the Divine blessings should be the reward of virtue. Whence then did evil spring? Not from the Divine will, but from man's free choice and his withdrawal from good. For evil has no substantive existence, but is the absence of good.*

1. κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν] 'general ideas.' The expression κοινὰ ἐννοιαὶ occurs freq. in Origen in the sense of moral or religious notions which are common to mankind. Cp. *Philocal.* ix 2 (p. 56 ed. Rob.) ὁ γὰρ γραπτὸς ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις νόμος καὶ ἐν ἔθνοικὸς φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιούσιν οὐκ ἄλλος ἐστὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς ἐννοίας φύσει ἐγγεγραμμένου τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ ἡμῶν.

In the present passage Gr. is referring to the illustrations, derived from the facts of human nature, given in cc. 1—3. On the points of contact between Greek thought and Christian theology see *Introd.* pp. xi, xvii.

2. τὴν δ. κ. ἄ. οἰκονομίαν] Οἰκ. is used commonly in patristic writers of the plan or 'dispensation' of God in the Incarnation. Hence Theodoret *Dial.* ii p. 129 (Migne) says τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου καλούμεν οἰκονομίαν. The source of the phrase is Eph. i 10. See Lightfoot *Notes on Eph.* p. 319, for a valuable note on the word. The fuller expression ἡ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομία occurs also twice in c. 20 and in *Eph. ad Eustathiam*, p. 1020 (Migne). The expression κατὰ ἄνθρωπον refers to the form which the οἰκονομία took. It was a dispensation κατ' ἄνθρωπον 'after a human manner' i.e. in the form of an Incarnation. Other expressions to denote the Incarnation found in patristic writers are ἡ κατὰ σάρκα οἰκονομία (Greg. Nyss.), ἡ ἐνσαρκος οἰκονομία (Chrys., Ath., Thdr.), ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη οἰκονομία (Chrys.). The gen. in τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου is subjective, and the whole expression is equivalent to 'the Incarnation of God the Word.'

5. ἀρχῆς] i.e. a starting point or basis of proof. Cp. *prol.* ἀρχὰς τινὰς καὶ προτάσεις.

6. λόγῳ] here = 'reason.'

συστησαμένου πιστεύουσιν, ἢ καὶ πρὸς ταύτην δυσ-  
 πειθῶς ἔχουσι τὴν ὑπόληψιν. ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ δοῖεν λόγον  
 καθηγείσθαι καὶ σοφίαν τῆς τῶν ὄντων συστάσεως,  
 ἀλογίαν τε καὶ ἀτεχνίαν τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιστή-  
 σουσιν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἄτοπὸν τε καὶ ἀσεβές, ὁμολογεῖται 5  
 πάντως ὅτι λόγον τε καὶ σοφίαν ἡγεμονεύειν τῶν ὄντων  
 ὁμολογήσουσιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐν τοῖς φθάσασιν ἀποδέδεικται  
 μὴ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ῥῆμα ὦν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, ἢ ἕξις ἐπιστήμης  
 τινὸς ἢ σοφίας, ἀλλὰ κατ' οὐσίαν τις ὑφεστῶσα δύναμις,  
 προαιρετικὴ τε παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἐν ἰσχύι πᾶν τὸ κατὰ 10  
 προαίρεσιν ἔχουσα· ἀγαθοῦ δὲ ὄντος τοῦ κόσμου τὴν τῶν  
 ἀγαθῶν προεκτικὴν τε καὶ ποιητικὴν δύναμιν αἰτίαν εἶναι.  
 εἰ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἡ ὑπόστασις τῆς τοῦ λόγου  
 δυνάμεως ἐξήπται, καθὼς ἡ ἀκολουθία παρέδειξεν, ἀνάγκη  
 πᾶσα καὶ τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν μὴ ἄλλην ἐπινοεῖν αἰτίαν 15  
 τινὰ τῆς συστάσεως, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν λόγον αὐτόν, δι' οὗ τὰ  
 πάντα τὴν εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι πάροδον ἔσχε. τοῦτον δὲ εἴτε  
 λόγον, εἴτε σοφίαν, εἴτε δύναμιν, εἴτε θεόν, εἴτε ἄλλο τι  
 τῶν ὑψηλῶν τε καὶ τιμίων ὀνομάζειν τις ἐθέλοι, οὐ  
 διοισόμεθα. ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν εἰρεθῇ δεικτικὸν τοῦ ὑπο- 20

4 του π. τ. αρχη f || 8 εξ επιστημης efl vulg || 12 προεκτικην]  
 ορεκτικην fl ορεκτην vulg || 15 τινα αιτιαν g || 17 τουτο vulg

4. ἐπιστήσουσιν] 'they will set up  
 unreason and unskilfulness to rule  
 over the beginning of the Universe.'

7. φθάσασιν] i.e. in c. 1. Αὐτὸ  
 τ. ῥ. i.e. 'just this—an utterance,'  
 and nothing more.

8. ἕξις] 'possession.' Cp. c. 6,  
 where blindness is called προλαβού-  
 σης ἕξις στέρησιν. The exact phrase  
 ἕξις ἐπιστήμης in the sense of 'having  
 possession of knowledge' occurs in  
 Plat. *Theaet.* 197 A (cp. Arist. *Eth.*  
 vii 3. 7) where ἕξις is contrasted  
 with κτήσις.

11. ἀγαθοῦ δέ] 'and it has been  
 shown that, since the world is good,  
 its cause is the power which offers  
 and creates all good things.' The  
 MSS are divided between δρεκτικὴν

and προεκτικὴν. The former is ob-  
 viously a correction. Hesychius (i  
 376) and Suidas (ed. Gaisford,  
 p. 3091) regard the form προεκτικός  
 as a corruption of προετικός. But  
 here it may quite well be derived  
 from προέχειν or προέχεσθαι in the  
 sense of 'hold forth,' 'offer.' Its  
 sense would thus be similar to προ-  
 ετικὴν. So it appears to have been  
 understood by P. Morel, who in his  
 Latin version has 'vim illam, quae  
 bona largitur et efficit.'

14. ἐξήπται] 'depends on.' Cp.  
 c. 25 τοῦ γὰρ ὄντος ἐξήπται τὰ ὄντα.

19. οὐ διοισόμεθα] in pass. sense,  
 'we shall not differ' or 'quarrel.'

20. ὅ τι γὰρ κτλ.] i.e. whatever  
 'word' or 'name' we use to express

κειμένου ῥῆμα ἢ ὄνομα, ἔν ἐστι τὸ διὰ τῶν φωνῶν  
σημαινόμενον, ἢ αἰδῖος τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμις, ἢ ποιητικὴ  
τῶν ὄντων, ἢ εὐρετικὴ τῶν μὴ ὄντων, ἢ συνεκτικὴ τῶν  
γεγονότων, ἢ προορατικὴ τῶν μελλόντων. οὗτος τοίνυν  
5 ὁ θεὸς λόγος, ἢ σοφία, ἢ δύναμις, ἀπεδείχθη κατὰ τὸ  
ἀκόλουθον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ποιητής, οὐκ ἀνάγκη  
τινὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευὴν ἐναχθεῖς, ἀλλ'  
ἀγάπης περιουσία τοῦ τοιούτου ζῶου δημιουργήσας τὴν  
γένεσιν. ἔδει γὰρ μῆτε τὸ φῶς ἀθέατον, μῆτε τὴν δόξαν  
10 ἀμάρτυρον, μῆτε ἀναπόλαυστον εἶναι τὴν ἀγαθότητα,  
μῆτε τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, ὅσα περὶ τὴν θείαν καθορᾶται φύσιν,  
ἀργὰ κείσθαι, μὴ ὄντος τοῦ μετέχοντός τε καὶ ἀπολαύοντος.  
εἰ τοίνυν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ ἀνθρώπος εἰς γένεσιν ἔρχεται, ἐφ'  
ὧ̄ τε μέτοχος τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν γενέσθαι, ἀναγκαίως  
15 τοιούτος κατασκευάζεται, ὡς ἐπιτηδείως πρὸς τὴν τῶν  
ἀγαθῶν μετουσίαν ἔχειν. καθάπερ γὰρ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς διὰ

5 ο λογος l vulg || 7 ενεχθεις g<sup>1</sup> || 9 αθεατον] ασυστατον d ||  
10 αναπολ.] + αυτου fl vulg

the idea of God. For τὸ ὑπ.= 'subject' cp. *prol.* εἰ γὰρ τὸ τέλειον ἐν παντὶ δόξη περὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ὁμολογεῖσθαι.

3. συνεκτικῆ] fr. συνέχειν, 'to hold together.' 'maintain.' Cp. *Greg. Naz. Or.* xxviii 6, with Dr Mason's note.

5. ὁ θεὸς λόγος] This is the correct reading. The variant ὁ λόγος arose from a desire to bring the passage into closer harmony with the preceding words τοῦτου δὲ εἶτε λόγον, εἶτε σοφίαν κτλ. The expression ὁ θεὸς λόγος is common in Athanasius, e.g. *de Inc.* cc. 18, 19. Cp. also *οἰκονομίαν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον* in this chapter. 'So then this Being, who is God the Word, Wisdom, Power.'

6. οὐκ ἀνάγκη] The world and man are not parts of some necessary evolution from the Divine Being, as in the Gnostic theories of emanations.

8. ἀγάπης περιουσία] The love of God is with Gr. not only the cause of man's creation, but it also renders possible the self-humiliation of the Word in the Incarnation, in which there was exhibited *συγκεκραμένη τῇ φιλανθρωπία ἡ δύναμις* (c. 24). Cp. also cc. 19, 20. The same standpoint is taken by Athanasius *de Inc.* cc. 4, 6.

13. ἐπὶ τούτοις] 'for these ends,' 'for this purpose.' Cp. *infra* ἐπὶ τῆ...ἀπολαύσει.

15. ἐπιτηδείως...ἔχειν] In what follows Gr. shews that man is fitted to enjoy Divine blessings by his possession of reason, wisdom, and, above all, immortality. He illustrates this from the way in which the natural organs and the life of animals are adapted to their surroundings.

16. καθάπερ γάρ] 'For just as the eye by means of the bright beam which is planted by nature in it

τῆς ἐγκειμένης αὐτῷ φυσικῶς αὐγῆς ἐν κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ φωτὸς γίνεται, διὰ τῆς ἐμφύτου δυνάμεως τὸ συγγενὲς ἐφελκόμενος, οὕτως ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἐγκραθῆναί τι τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει συγγενὲς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ὡς ἂν διὰ τοῦ καταλλήλου πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον τὴν ἔφεσιν ἔχοι. καὶ γὰρ 5 καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀλόγων φύσει, ὅσα τὸν ἔνυδρον καὶ ἐναέριον ἔλαχε βίον, καταλλήλως ἕκαστον τῷ τῆς ζωῆς εἶδει κατεσκευάσται, ὡς οἰκεῖον ἐκατέρου καὶ ὁμόφυλον διὰ τῆς ποιᾶς τοῦ σώματος διαπλάσεως τῷ μὲν τὸν ἀέρα, τῷ δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ εἶναι. οὕτως οὖν καὶ τὸν ἀνθρωπον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν 10 θείων ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσει γενόμενον ἔδει τι συγγενὲς ἐν τῇ φύσει πρὸς τὸ μετεχόμενον ἔχειν. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ζωῆ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς θεοπρεπέσιν ἀγαθοῖς κατεκοσμήθη, ὡς ἂν δι' ἐκάστου τούτων πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχοι. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τῶν περὶ τὴν θείαν φύσιν 15 ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἡ ἀιδιότης ἐστίν, ἔδει πάντως μηδὲ τούτου τὴν κατασκευὴν εἶναι τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἀπόκληρον, ἀλλ' ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῇ τὸ ἀθάνατον, ὡς ἂν διὰ τῆς ἐγκειμένης

6 και εν.] η τον αεριον sg<sup>1</sup> || 7 κατεσκευασθη fl vulg || 8 εκατερον f || 10 το υδωρ] om το η || ουτω γων f

comes to partake of the light, attracting by its innate capacity that which is akin to it.' Gr. conceives of the eye as possessing a light within itself, by which it is enabled to attract light from without. The idea is found in Plato *Tim.* 45 B—D, and is commented on by Aristotle *de Sensu* c. ii. Dr H. Jackson, to whom I am indebted for the above references, has also called my attention to a passage in a fragment of Theophrastus *de Sensibus* § 5 (see Diels *Doxographi Graeci*, p. 500) where Plato's view is set forth.

4. διὰ τ. κατ.] 'in order that by means of this corresponding gift it might have a desire for that which is akin to it.' For καταλλ. cp. c. 1 κατάλληλον...τῇ φύσει ὁ λόγος. The possession of the higher faculties leads man to seek after communion with God and the divine life.

6. ἀλόγων] In irrational animals we find the same adaptation to their intended environment. Each is constituted in a way that corresponds with (καταλλήλως) its manner of life.

8. ὡς οἰκεῖον] 'so that in consequence of the particular formation of the body, each finds its own proper and kindred element, the one in the air, the other in the water.' For this use of the indefinite adj. ποιός cp. *de Hom. Op.* c. 27 αἱ ποιαὶ τῆς κράσεως παραλλαγαί.

ib. ὁμόφυλον] 'kindred' i.e. corresponding with its manner of life.

10. ἐπὶ τῇ] Cp. *supra* ἐπὶ τούτοις.

13. θεοπρεπ.] 'appropriate to God.'

18. τὸ ἀθάνατον] is that part of man which is immortal, while ἀιδιότης denotes the actual possession of immortality which belongs to God.

ib. ὡς ἂν] Man's innate capacity

δυνάμεως γνωρίζοι τε τὸ ὑπερκείμενον καὶ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῆς θείας ἀιδιότητος εἶη. ταῦτά τοι περιληπτικῆ φωνῇ δι' ἐνὸς ῥήματος ὁ τῆς κοσμογονίας ἐνεδείξατο λόγος, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον γεγενῆσθαι λέγων· ἐν γὰρ τῇ  
5 ὁμοιώσει τῇ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν τὸ θείου χαρακτηριζόντων ἢ ἀπαρίθμησις, καὶ ὅσα περὶ τούτων ἱστορικώτερον ὁ Μωσῆς διεξέρχεται, ἐν διηγήσεως εἶδει δόγματα ἡμῖν παρατιθέμενος, τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχεται διδασκαλίας. ὁ γὰρ παράδεισος ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἡ τῶν καρπῶν  
10 ἰδιότης, ἃν ἡ βρώσις οὐ γαστρὸς πλησμονήν, ἀλλὰ γνώσιν καὶ ἀιδιότητα ζωῆς τοῖς γευσάμενοις δίδωσι, πάντα ταῦτα συνάδει τοῖς προτεθεωρημένοις περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὡς

1 γνωριζοιτο f vulg || 2 τοι] τη g<sup>11</sup> vulg || 3 κοσμογενειας degl\*nr || 4 γεγ. τ. ανθρ. f || 5 παντως vulg || om των 1\* || 7-8 ιστορικ...παρατιθεμενος desunt in 1\* vulg || 8 αυτης] τοιαυτης 1\*<sup>vid</sup> vulg || 10 αιδιοτης ef<sup>1</sup>h || πλησμονην] ηδονην f || 11 ταυτα παντα d

(ἐγκειμένης δυνάμεως) for immortality was intended to enable him to recognize that which transcended his nature (τὸ ὑπερκείμενον), and lead him to desire the immortal life of God. For τὸ ὑπερκείμενον cp. *prol. δύναμιν...τοῦ παντὸς ὑπερκειμένην*.

2. περιληπτικῆ] 'comprehensive.' The phrase κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ (Gen. i 27) sums up all that Gr. has been saying.

5. ὁμοιώσει...εἰκόνα] 'in the likeness according to the image there is the enumeration of all that characterizes the Divine Being.' Gr. does not appear to observe the clear distinction between εἰκῶν, the natural image of God in man, and ὁμοίωσις, the supernatural likeness resulting from grace, which is found in Origen. This distinction is, indeed, attributed to Gr. by Hilt (*Des hl. Greg. v. Nyssa Lehre von Menschen*, pp. 77 sq.), but the only passage which can be quoted in support of it is *In verba Faciāmus*, p. 273 (Migne), where the writer says κατ' εἰκόνα γὰρ ἔχω τὸ λογικὸς εἶναι, καθ' ὁμοίωσιν δὲ γίνομαι ἐν τῷ Χριστιανῶς γενέσθαι. But this work, though quoted as

Gr.'s by Harnack (*Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. Tr. iii 277, note 2), is of very doubtful authorship, and Bardenhewer (*Patrol.* p. 260 f.) thinks that it cannot be assigned either to Basil or to Gregory. In c. 21 *infra*, Gr. certainly uses ὁμοίωσις with reference to the natural endowments of man, and especially free-will, without any necessary reference to moral likeness.

6. ἀπαρίθμ.] almost = 'the sum total.'

8. δόγματα] 'setting before us doctrines in the form of narrative.' This is an instance of the application of ἀναγωγή to the narrative of the O.T. See note on ἀναγωγικῶς c. 2 *init.* For a similar treatment of the narratives in Genesis see Origen *de Princ.* iv 16 (*Philocal.*, ed. Rob. p. 24).

*ib.* ἔχεται] 'belongs to the same teaching.'

9. ὁ γὰρ παράδ.] The story of Paradise is a representation of the truth that man's nature as created was good and surrounded by good (ἐν ἀγαθοῖς).



ἀγαθῆς τε καὶ ἐν ἀγαθοῖς οὔσης κατ' ἀρχὰς ἡμῖν τῆς φύσεως. ἀλλ' ἀντιλέγει τυχὸν τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὁ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα βλέπων καὶ οἶεται διελέγχειν τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἀληθεύοντα τῷ μὴ ἐν ἐκείνοις νῦν, ἀλλ' ἐν πᾶσι σχεδὸν τοῖς ὑπειναντίοις, ὁρᾶσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ποῦ γὰρ τῆς 5 ψυχῆς τὸ θεοειδές; ποῦ δὲ ἡ ἀπάθεια τοῦ σώματος; ποῦ τῆς ζωῆς τὸ αἰδιον; ὠκύμορον, ἐμπαθές, ἐπίκηρον, πρὸς πᾶσαν παθημάτων ιδέαυ κατὰ τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἐπιτῆδειον, ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγων καὶ κατατρέχων τῆς φύσεως, ἀνατρέπειν τὸν ἀποδοθέντα περὶ τοῦ ἀν- 10 θρώπου λόγον οἰήσεται. ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν μηδαμοῦ τῆς ἀκολουθίας ὁ λόγος παρατραπέιη, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐν ὀλίγοις διαληψόμεθα. τὸ νῦν ἐν ἀτόποις εἶναι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ζωὴν οὐχ ἰκανός ἐστιν ἔλεγχος τοῦ μηδέποτε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν ἀγαθοῖς γεγενῆσθαι. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ θεοῦ 15 ἔργον ὁ ἄνθρωπος, τοῦ δι' ἀγαθότητα τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο παραγαγόντος εἰς γένεσιν, οὐκ ἂν τις εὐλόγως, οὐ ἡ αἰτία τῆς συστάσεως ἀγαθότης ἐστί, τοῦτον ἐν κακοῖς γεγενῆσθαι παρὰ τοῦ πεποιηκότος καθυποπτεύσειεν. ἀλλ' ἔτερόν ἐστιν αἴτιον τοῦ ταῦτά τε νῦν περὶ ἡμᾶς εἶναι καὶ 20

2 ἀντιλεγῶι dh || 8 ψυχην και σωμα l vulg || 10 λογον π. τ. ανθρωπου deghrp || 11 ποιησεται f || του ακολουθου vulg || 13 το νυν] exstant seqq in euth 124:56 || ατοποις] κακοις euth 16 || 18-19 τουτον...πεποιηκοτος desunt in l\* vulg || 20 αιτ. εστω ετ. l

2. ἀλλ' ἀντιλέγει] It may be objected that man's present condition is the reverse of good. In what follows Gr. argues that man's actual state is due to another cause than the creative agency of God. The evil in man springs from within (ἐμφύεται ἐνδοθεν), and is the result of his possession of free-will.

6. ἀπάθεια] i.e. freedom from 'passions' rather than from 'suffering.'

7. ὠκύμορον] 'Man is a fleeting being, subject to passions, a prey to death, exposed to every form of suffering in body and soul.' The adjs.

are neuter, and the subject has to be supplied from the preceding τὸν ἄνθρωπον. For ὠκύμορον cp. c. 1 ὠκύμορος ἡ ζωή.

9. κατατρέχων] 'inveighing against.' Cp. c. 15 κατατρέχειν τῆς πίστεως.

13. τὸ νῦν κτλ.] The remainder of this chap. is quoted by Euthym. Zig. *Pan. Dogm.* pt i, tit. 6.

17. οὐκ ἂν τις] 'one could not with any good reason suspect that he, whose constitution has its source in goodness, was created by his Maker in a state of evil.'

19. ἀλλ' ἔτερον] The fact that

τῶν προτιμοτέρων ἐρημωθῆναι. ἀρχὴ δὲ πάλιν καὶ πρὸς  
 τοῦτον ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἔξω τῆς τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ἐστὶ  
 συγκαταθέσεως. ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ μετουσίᾳ τῶν ἰδίων ἀγαθῶν  
 ποιήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ πάντων αὐτῷ τῶν καλῶν τὰς  
 5 ἀφορμὰς ἐγκατασκευάσας τῇ φύσει, ὡς ἂν δι' ἐκάστου  
 καταλλήλως πρὸς τὸ ὅμοιον ἢ ὄρεξις φέροιτο, οὐκ ἂν τοῦ  
 καλλίστου τε καὶ τιμιωτάτου τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπεστέρησε,  
 λέγω δὴ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀδέσποτον καὶ αὐτεξούσιον χάριτος.  
 εἰ γὰρ τις ἀνάγκη τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπεστάτει ζωῆς,  
 10 διεψεύσθη ἂν ἢ εἰκὼν κατ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος, ἄλλοτριωθείσα  
 τῷ ἀνομοίῳ πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον· τῆς γὰρ βασιλευούσης  
 φύσεως ἢ ἀνάγκαις τισὶν ὑπεξευγμένη τε καὶ δουλεύουσα  
 πῶς ἂν εἰκὼν ὀνομάζοιτο; οὐκοῦν τὸ διὰ πάντων πρὸς τὸ

1 προτερων 1<sup>1</sup> euth || 2 εξωθεν fl vulg || 4 om τας euth || 6 om  
 καταλλήλως fl vulg || 9 τη ανθρωπινη...ζωη l vulg

man is in his present condition (ταῦτα νῦν περὶ ἡμᾶς εἶναι), and that he has lost his more desirable estate (τῶν προτιμοτέρων ἐρημωθῆναι) is due to a different cause than the creative action of God.

3. συγκαταθέσεως] 'assent.' The argument starts from a principle with which Gr.'s opponents will find themselves in agreement.

5. ἀφορμὰς] Krab. translates 'occasiones.' Ἀφορμὴ is freq. used by St Paul in the sense of 'occasion,' 'opportunity.' Cp. Rom. vii 8, 2 Cor. xii 12, Gal. v 13, 1 Tim. v 14. In the military sense it = 'a base of operations.' In the present passage Gr. is referring to man's possession of the higher faculties, which become the 'starting-point' or 'means' of acquiring all forms of excellence. For its use in this passage cp. c. 6 *sub fin.* τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης τοῦ τοιούτου τέλους τὰς ἀφορμὰς παρασχούσης.

ib. δι' ἐκάστου] i.e. through each endowment of his nature which is an ἀφορμὴ τῶν καλῶν. The following word καταλλήλως is omitted by one

important group of mss. But its presence here is in accordance with the language of Gr. in this same chapter. Cp. *antea* διὰ τοῦ καταλλήλου πρὸς τὸ οἰκείον τὴν ἔφεσιν ἔχει. That passage determines the meaning here. It is not 'vicissim' as Krab. renders, but rather 'through a corresponding-movement.' Τὸ ὅμοιον, i.e. that attribute of God which corresponds to the human endowment.

9. εἰ γάρ] The possession of free-will is a necessary part of the εἰκὼν in which man was made, and which would have been falsified (διεψεύσθη), had it not resembled its archetype in this respect. Cf. *de Mortuis*, p. 524 (Migne) ἰσόθεον γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον.

11. ἀνομοίῳ πρὸς] Cp. c. 2, p. 13 ἄλλοτριου...πρὸς (note).

13. οὐκοῦν] The effect of the gift of free-will is to make man's participation in good the reward of virtue. How then, it is asked, did man come to exchange good for evil? This leads Gr. to a discussion of the origin of evil, which he maintains

θείου ὁμοιωμένον ἔδει πάντως ἔχειν ἐν τῇ φύσει τὸ αὐτοκρατὲς καὶ ἀδέσποτον, ὥστε ἄθλον ἀρετῆς εἶναι τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν μετουσίαν. πόθεν οὖν, ἔρεῖς, ὁ διὰ πάντων τοῖς καλλίστοις τετιμημένος τὰ χεῖρω τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀντηλλάξατο; σαφῆς καὶ ὁ περὶ τούτου λόγος. οὐδεμία κακοῦ 5 γέनेσις ἐκ τοῦ θείου βουλήματος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν· ἢ γὰρ ἂν ἔξω μέμψεως ἦν ἡ κακία, θεὸν ἑαυτῆς ἐπιγραφομένη ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα· ἀλλ' ἐμφύεται πῶς τὸ κακὸν ἔνδοθεν, τῇ προαιρέσει τότε συνιστάμενον, ὅταν τις ἀπὸ τοῦ καλοῦ γένηται τῆς ψυχῆς ἀναχώρησις. καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ ὄρασις 10 φύσεώς ἐστιν ἐνέργεια, ἡ δὲ πῆρωσις στέρησις ἐστι τῆς φυσικῆς ἐνεργείας, οὕτω καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ πρὸς τὴν κακίαν

5 σαφῆς] + δε el<sup>\*vid</sup> vulg || 6 om του fl vulg || 8 εκφυεται vulg

has no substantive existence but is ἀπὸ τοῦ καλοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀναχώρησις.

5. οὐδεμία] In the margin of MSS *b* and *c*, opposite the passage which follows, are written the words κατὰ Μανιχαίων. All through the *Or. Cat.* Gr. has the Manichaeans in view. For his treatment of the problem of evil see further a fine passage in *de Virg.* c. 12. Cp. also *de Anima et Res.* p. 93 (Migne), *de Infant.* p. 176 (Migne). The idea is emphasized still further in c. 6 of the *Or. Cat.* Cp. also Plato *Rep.* ii 379 C, x 617 E.

7. ἐπιγραφομένη] 'if it could claim God as its creator and father.' 'Ἐπιγρ.' is used here as in the phrase προστάτην ἐπιγράφεσθαι 'to choose a patron' by enrolling under his name on the register. The idea is that evil might shelter itself under the name of God, if it could be ascribed to Him. With the application of the words ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα to God cp. Plato *Tim.* 28 C.

8. ἐμφύεται] For the idea cp. James i 13—15.

9. συνιστάμενον] 'arising in the will whenever.'

ιδ. τοῦ καλοῦ] 'the good.' Τὸ

καλόν is the Greek term for moral beauty or virtue, translated by Cicero 'honestum.'

10. ἀναχώρησις] For the idea of evil as the negation of good (ἀρετῆς ἀπουσίαν *infra*) cf. Basil *Hom.* ii in *Hex.* § 4 τὸ κακὸν οὐχὶ οὐσία ζῶσα καὶ ἐμψυχος ἀλλὰ διάθεσις ἐν ψυχῇ ἐναντίως ἔχουσα πρὸς ἀρετὴν. Similarly Aug. *Ench.* xi 'cum omnino mali nomen non sit nisi privationis boni.' Cp. *de Civ. Dei* xii 6 seq. Cp. also Ath. *contra Gentes* 5—7, *de Inc.* 4. The conception is a piece of Platonism and has its roots in the teaching of the *Timaeus* which profoundly influenced the later Platonists. Cp. Plotinus *Enn.* iii 2. 5 ὄλως δὲ τὸ κακὸν ἔλλειψιν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θετέον. Its adoption by later fathers is due to the influence of Origen. Cp. *de Princ.* ii 9. 2 'Recedere a bono non aliud est quam effici in malo. Certum namque est, malum esse bono carere.' Cp. also in *Ioann.* ii 7, c. *Celsum* iv 65—66.

11. πῆρωσις] here = 'blindness.' Πῆρωσις is used of anything which incapacitates man's faculties. See J. A. Robinson *Journal of Theol. Studies* iii 9 p. 90 ff. In cc. 6 and

ἀντικαθέστηκεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλως κακίας γένεσιν ἐννοῆσαι, ἢ ἀρετῆς ἀπουσίαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τοῦ φωτὸς ὑφαιρεθέντος ὁ ζόφος ἐπηκολούθησε, παρόντος δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὕτως, ἕως ἂν παρῆ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν τῇ φύσει, 5 ἀνύπαρκτόν τί ἐστι καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἢ κακία· ἢ δὲ τοῦ κρείττονος ἀναχώρησις τοῦ ἐναντίου γίνεται γένεσις. ἐπεὶ οὖν τοῦτο τῆς αὐτεξουσιότητός ἐστι τὸ ἰδίωμα, τὸ κατ' ἐξουσίαν αἰρεῖσθαι τὸ καταθύμιον, οὐχ ὁ θεὸς σοι τῶν παρόντων ἐστὶν αἴτιος κακῶν, ἀδέσποτόν τε καὶ 10 ἄνετόν σοι κατασκευάσας τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἀβουλία τὸ χεῖρον ἀντὶ τοῦ κρείττονος προελομένη.

6. Ζητεῖς δὲ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τυχὸν τῆς κατὰ τὴν βουλήν διαμαρτίας· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἢ ἀκολουθία τὸν λόγον φέρει. οὐκοῦν πάλιν ἀρχὴ τις ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸ εὐλογον εὐρεθήσεται, 15 ἢ καὶ τοῦτο σαφηνίσει τὸ ζήτημα. τοιοῦτόν τινα λόγον παρὰ τῶν πατέρων διεδεξάμεθα· ἔστι δὲ ὁ λόγος οὐ

1 ἀνθεστηκεν l vulg || ἀλλην fl vulg || 2 ἀπουσία n euth || 4 παρη] η fl vulg || 5 ἀνυπ. τι] om τι l euth 456 vulg || καθ' ἑαυτο g l vulg || 6 γιν. τ. ε. γενεσις fl vulg || 8 ἀναίρεισθαι vulg || om σοι e euth 45 || 11 ἀπο του κρειττ. euth 16 || προελομενη] ελομενη f: desinit euth 6. 12 om δε dehn || βουλην] βουλησιν g<sup>1</sup> l || 13 των λογων l vulg

7 Gr. uses the illustration of a man shutting his eyes to the sunlight, to show that evil is the refusal of good.

5. ἀνύπαρκτον] Cp. c. 1, p. 8, and c. 2, p. 15.

8. καταθύμιον] a common word in Gr. = τὸ ἡδύ here. Cp. c. 8.

10. ἄνετον] 'free,' 'uncontrolled.' *ib.* ἢ ἀβουλία] It is not God, but man's folly in preferring evil to good, which is the cause of man's present misery.

6. We must now consider the causes which led man's judgment astray. The natural creation comprises two worlds, the world of intelligence and the world of sense. But though these are opposite to each other, yet, just as Nature exhibits a general harmony embracing indi-

vidual differences, so the Divine wisdom has ordained a means of blending the intelligent and sensible elements by creating man. Man's nature excited the envy of one of the created spirits, for in a nature that was created and subject to change, like Satan's, such a passion was possible, involving the turning away from his Creator and the inclination to evil. Thus the rebellious spirit sank lower and lower in evil, and finally beguiled man to turn away from God, mingling evil with his will.

12. κατὰ τ. βουλ.] referring to ἢ ἀβουλία at the close of c. 5.

14. ἀρχή] used as in *prol.* p. 3, and c. 5, p. 20 (see note).

16. πατέρων] Among earlier writ-

μυθώδης διήγησις, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν τὸ πιστὸν ἐπαγόμενος. διπλῆ τίς ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς οὖσις ἡ κατανόησις, εἰς τὸ νοητὸν τε καὶ αἰσθητὸν τῆς θεωρίας διηρημένης. καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν παρὰ ταῦτα καταληφθεῖη ἐν τῇ τῶν ὄντων φύσει τῆς διαιρέσεως ταύτης ἔξω φερόμενον. 5 διήρηται δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς ἄλληλα πολλῶ τῷ μέσῳ, ὡς μήτε τὴν αἰσθητὴν ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς εἶναι γνωρίσμασι, μήτε ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ἐκείνην, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐκατέραν χαρακτηρίζεσθαι. ἡ μὲν γὰρ νοητὴ φύσις ἀσώματόν τι χρῆμά ἐστι καὶ ἀναφῆς καὶ ἀνείδεον· ἡ δὲ αἰσθητὴ 10 κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα ἐντός ἐστι τῆς διὰ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων κατανόησεως. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ αἰσθητῷ κόσμῳ, πολλῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν στοιχείων οὔσης ἐναντιώσεως,

2 η καταν.] om η vulg || 4 ληφθειη dgrp || 5 φερομενον] φερομενης ε φαινομενον fg<sup>1</sup> || 6 διαιρειται f || 10 ανειδεον] αιδιον g

ers, teaching to the same effect is found in Justin *Dial.* c. 119, p. 205, *Iren.* v 22. 2. Cp. also Ath. *contra Gentes* 3, *de Inc.* 4, 25. In spite of the influence of Origen's thought on Gr., the latter does not adopt Origen's idea of a pre-temporal fall of souls. Cp. Origen *de Princ.* iii 5.

1. μυθώδης διήγησις] 'a mythical account,' i.e. an account given in some such form as the *μῦθοι* of Plato, which present truth in the form of poetic fiction. Gr. claims that his account of the origin of sin is one which invites credence (τὸ πιστὸν ἐπαγόμενος), owing to the very constitution of our nature (ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν). It is possible that in μυθώδης διήγησις Gr. is thinking of the account in Genesis, which, like Origen, he interpreted (cp. cc. 5, 8) by ἀναγωγή. In accordance with the plan of the *Or. Cat.* he illustrates the origin of sin from human experience, i.e. the existence in man of τὸ νοητὸν and τὸ αἰσθητὸν, whose harmony has been disturbed. In the same way he has illustrated the

doctrine of the Trinity from human consciousness.

2. διπλῆ] 'a twofold classification may be discerned.' For διπλῆ κατανόησις cp. Plat. *Tim.* 82c δευτέρα κατανόησις.

3. νοητὸν...αἰσθητὸν] 'the world of intelligence' (i.e. apprehended by intelligence), 'the world of sense' (i.e. that falls under the observation of the senses). For the idea of *νοῦς* see note on *διανοητικὴν δύναμιν infra*. In what follows Gr. adopts a twofold division of human nature, and so departs from Origen, who retained St Paul's division of σῶμα, ψυχὴ, πνεῦμα (1 Thess. v 23).

6. πολλῶ τῷ μέσῳ] 'by a considerable distance' or 'interval.'

7. ἐν τ. ν. εἶναι] For εἶναι ἐν cp. c. 1 ἐν ζῳῇ...εἶναι.

8. ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν.] Ἄπό denotes here the source. 'But each of them receives its particular character from qualities opposite to those of the other.'

12. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ] Gr. illustrates the unity of man's nature, in spite of its combination of the opposites τὸ νοητὸν and τὸ αἰσθητὸν, from the

ἐπιεινότητά τις ἄρμονία διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἄρμοζομένη  
 παρὰ τῆς τοῦ παντός ἐπιστατούσης σοφίας, καὶ οὕτως  
 πάσης γίνεται πρὸς ἑαυτὴν συμφωνία τῆς κτίσεως,  
 οὐδαμοῦ τῆς φυσικῆς ἐναντιότητος τὸν τῆς συμπίοιαι  
 5 εἰρμόν διαλυούσης· κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοῦ  
 αἰσθητοῦ πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν γίνεται τις κατὰ θείαν σοφίαν  
 μίξις τε καὶ ἀνάκρασις, ὡς ἂν πάντα τοῦ καλοῦ κατὰ τὸ  
 ἴσον μετέχοι καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ὄντων ἀμοιροίη τῆς τοῦ  
 10 κρείττου φύσεως. διὰ τοῦτο τὸ μὲν κατάλληλον τῇ  
 νοητῇ φύσει χωρίον ἢ λεπτή καὶ εὐκίνητος ἐστὶν οὐσία,  
 κατὰ τὴν ὑπερκόσμιον λῆξιν πολλὴν ἔχουσα τῷ ἰδιάζοντι  
 τῆς φύσεως πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν τὴν συγγένειαν, προμηθεία  
 δὲ κρείττου πρὸς τὴν αἰσθητὴν κτίσιν γίνεται τις τοῦ

8 om του fl vulg || 10 λεπτη] λευκη l+λογικη vulg || 13 κτισιν] φυσιν  
 l vulg

harmony in diversity exhibited in the visible Universe.

1. ἐπιεινότηται] 'a certain harmony has been devised by the wisdom which presides over the Universe, a harmony effected by means of opposites.'

5. εἰρμόν]=*seriem*. 'A chain of agreement,' which is not broken by the individual differences of the constituent parts.

7. μίξις τε καὶ ἀνάκρασις] 'mixture and blending.' For this idea of the interpenetration of spirit and matter, which is a characteristic feature in Gr. cp. *de Orat. Dom.* iv p. 1165 (Migne).

*ib.* ὡς ἂν πάντα] Acc. to Gr. it is in and through man, whose nature is the meeting point of the worlds of spirit and of sense, that Creation reaches its final goal.

8. τῆς τ. κ. φύσεως] Krab. takes this as equiv. to 'ejus quod natura praestantius est.' Cp. Mayor's note on James iii 7. The whole phrase is synonymous with τοῦ καλοῦ above.

9. τὸ μὲν κατάλλ.] 'though the proper sphere for the intelligent na-

ture is the realm of subtle and mobile essence, having, by virtue of its dwelling above the Universe, considerable affinity with the intelligible element, in consequence of the peculiarity of its nature, yet &c.' The clause introduced by μὲν is best taken as concessive. Ἡ λεπτή...οὐσία is the subject, and χωρίον the predicate. The idea is that λεπτή καὶ εὐκίνητος οὐσία is the natural abode for ἡ νοητὴ φύσις, but that God accomplished His purpose of bringing all things into union with Himself by a blending of the intelligent and sensible elements in man.

11. λῆξιν] 'Lot,' 'appointed place' (λαγχάνω). Moeller (*Greg. Nyss. doctr. de hominis natura*, p. 19) has a long discussion of this expression, in which he says 'a nonnullis veritibus, a nonnullis locis sive regio. Et vera utrumque inest. Significat enim certam vitae sortem atque consuetudinem certo loco inhaerentem.' Other examples of Gr.'s use of the word are *de Orat. Dom.* iv p. 1165 (Migne) ἡ μὲν οὖν νοητὴ [sc. φύσις] τὴν ἄνω λῆξιν ἐπιπορεύεται, where he

νοητοῦ συνανάκρασις, ὡς ἂν μηδὲν ἀπόβλητον εἴη τῆς κτίσεως, καθὼς φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, μηδὲ τῆς θείας κοινωνίας ἀπόκληρον. τούτου χάριν ἐκ νοητοῦ τε καὶ αἰσθητοῦ τὸ κατὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον μίγμα παρὰ τῆς θείας ἀναδείκνυται φύσεως, καθὼς διδάσκει τῆς κοσμογονίας ὁ 5 λόγος· Λαβὼν γὰρ ὁ θεός, φησιν, χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔπλασε καὶ διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἐμπνεύσεως τῷ πλάσματι τὴν ζωὴν ἐνεφύτευσε, ὡς ἂν συνεπαρθείη τῷ θείῳ τὸ γήινον καὶ μία τις κατὰ τὸ ὁμότιμον διὰ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως ἢ χάρις διήκοι, τῆς κάτω φύσεως πρὸς τὴν ὑπερ- 10 κόσμιον συγκιρναμένης. ἐπεὶ οὖν τῆς νοητῆς κτίσεως προουποστάσης, καὶ ἐκάστη τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων πρὸς

5 κοσμογενειας elp vulg || 6 φησιν ο θ. dl vulg || 8 ενεφουσησεν d vulg || 9 om της f || 10 διηκει p διηκη dgn

is speaking of the angels. In *contra Eunom.* v p. 681 (Migne) he speaks of τὴν τε γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ὑποχθόνιον λῆξιν. Cp. *de Hom. Op.* c. 17; *contr. Eunom.* xii p. 1004 (Migne). Moeller concludes 'Patet etiam ex hoc vocabulo, Gr. sicut reliquos patres fere omnes nullum creaturarum licet intelligibilium vitae statum loci finibus prorsus exemptum docuisse.'

1. συνανάκρασις] 'commingling.' In *de Hom. Op.* c. 12 Gr. discusses the relations of mind and matter in man and denies that the former can be limited to any particular part of the body. 'Ο νοῦς δι' ὅλου τοῦ ὀργάνου διήκων, καὶ καταλλῆως ταῖς νοητικαῖς ἐνεργείαις, καθὼ πέφυκεν, ἐκάστῳ τῶν μερῶν προσαπτόμενος, ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν κατὰ φύσιν διακειμένων τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐνήργησεν. Cp. *de An. et Resurr.* p. 69 (Migne) ψυχῆν δὲ ἀσώματον οὐσαν μηδεμίαν ἀνάγκην ἔχειν ἐκ φύσεως τόποις τισὶν ἐγκατέχεσθαι. The nearest approach to these views is to be found in Plotinus. See *Enn.* iv 3. 20 sq.

*ib.* ἀπόβλητον] 1 Tim. iv 4 'that no part of creation might be rejected.'

There is a similar passage in the *de Infant. qui praem.* pp. 172 sq. (Migne).

5. ἀναδείκνυται] in the sense of 'appoint,' 'constitute,' 'make.'

6. χοῦν] Gen. ii 7.

8. ἐνεφύτευσε] 'planted.' Cp. *Plat. Tim.* 42 A ὅποτε δὴ σώμασιν ἐμφυτευθεῖεν (sc. αἱ ψυχαί). The reading ἐνεφύσησεν is due to a desire to bring the passage into closer accord with Gen. ii 7, where ἐνεφύσησεν is found in the LXX.

*ib.* ὡς ἂν συνεπ.] The object in creating such a being as man was that the earthly nature might be carried up by union with (συνεπαρθείη) the Divine, so that the Divine grace in one even course as it were (μία τις) might equally extend through the whole creation.

11. ἐπεὶ οὖν] The protasis begun in the clause ἐπεὶ... ἦν τις is continued by the following clause εἶτα κατεσκενάσθη, and again resumed, after the parenthesis τοῦτο δέ, in the clause καὶ ἦν. The apodosis begins with δεῖνὸν ποιεῖται.

*ib.* νοητῆς κτίσεως] refers to τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων which follows.

τὴν τοῦ παντὸς σύστασιν ἐνεργείας τινὸς παρὰ τῆς τῶν πάντων ἐπιστατούσης ἐξουσίας προσνεμηθείσης, ἦν τις δύναμις καὶ ἡ τὸν περίγειον τόπον συνέχειν τε καὶ περικρατεῖν τεταγμένη, εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο δυναμωθεῖσα παρὰ τῆς  
 5 τὸ πᾶν οἰκονομούσης δυνάμεως· εἶτα κατεσκευάσθη τὸ γήινον πλάσμα, τῆς ἄνω δυνάμεως ἀπεικόνισμα· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ζῶον ὁ ἄνθρωπος· καὶ ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ θεοειδὲς τῆς νοητῆς φύσεως κάλλος, ἀρρήτῳ τινὶ δυνάμει συγκεκραμένον· δεινὸν ποιεῖται καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ὁ τὴν περίγειον  
 10 οἰκονομίαν λαχὼν, εἰ ἐκ τῆς ὑποχειρίου αὐτῷ φύσεως ἀναδειχθήσεται τις οὐσία πρὸς τὴν ὑπερέχουσαν ἀξίαν ὁμοιωμένη. τὸ δ' ὅπως ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος κατερρῦη τοῦ φθόνου ὁ ἐπὶ μηδενὶ κακῷ κτισθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ πᾶν ἐν ἀγαθότητι συστησαμένου, τὸ μὲν δι' ἀκριβείας ἐπέξιέναι

3 om. και efl vulg || 12 ομοιονομνη g || οπως] οπερ vulg || 14 επεξι.] διεξ. l vulg

2. προσνεμηθείσης] The angelic powers are represented as having each been assigned some activity in the constitution of the Universe. The idea is found in Methodius *de Resurr.* i 37 (ed. Bonw. p. 130), and still earlier in Origen *c. Celsum* v 30—31. Its source is to be found in the later Judaism. Cp. Rev. xiv 18, xvi 5. For σύστασις cp. c. 4 πρὸς οὐρανῶν σύστασιν.

3. περίγειον τόπον] One such angel was appointed to maintain and govern the region about the earth. For this epic notion cp. Methodius *l. c.*; also Rufin. *in Symb. Ap.* art. 4; Basil *Hom.* ix 8 sq.; Io. Damasc. *de Fid. Orth.* ii 4. See further Schwane *Dogmengesch.* ii p. 218; Godet *Bibl. Studies: Old Testament* (ed. Lyttleton), p. 16 ff. For συνέχειν see note on συνεκτική c. 5.

4. δυναμωθεῖσα] 'empowered.' Cp. *infra* διὰ τῆς θείας εὐλογίας δυναμωθεὶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

7. καὶ ἦν] The clause ἀρρήτῳ τινὶ δυνάμει συγκεκραμένον is an explanatory addition to the main

clause. 'In him there was the god-like beauty of the intelligent nature, blended with a certain ineffable potency.' Δύναμις refers to the latent capacity of man as having been made κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ.

9. δεινὸν ποιεῖται] The angel of the earth takes it amiss that out of the nature subject to him (τῆς ὑποχειρίου φύσεως = τῆς αἰσθητῆς φύσεως) there should be produced any being resembling in dignity the Supreme Being.

11. ἀναδειχθήσεται] Cp. *supra* ἀναδείκνυται (note).

ib. οὐσία] The οὐσία of man is that which constitutes him ἄνθρωπος, and which he shares with every other member of the race. Similarly Gr. argues in the *de Comm. Not.* that the word θεός is ὄνομα οὐσίας σημαντικόν and not ὄνομα προσώπων δηλωτικόν.

13. ἐπὶ μηδένι κακῷ] 'created for no evil end.' Cp. c. 5, p. 22 ἐπὶ τούτοις, and *ibid.* p. 23 ἐπὶ τῇ...ἀπολαύσει.



οὐ τῆς παρούσης πραγματείας ἐστί, δυνατὸν δ' ἂν εἶη καὶ δι' ὀλίγου τοῖς εὐπειθεστέροις παραθέσθαι τὸν λόγον. τῆς γὰρ ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς κακίας οὐχ ὡς δύο τινῶν καθ' ὑπόστασιν φαινομένων ἢ ἀντιδιαστολῇ θεωρεῖται· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀντιδιαίρεται τῷ ὄντι τὸ μὴ ὄν καὶ οὐκ ἔστι καθ' ὑπόστασιν εἶπειν τὸ μὴ ὄν ἀντιδιαστέλλεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ὄν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀνυπαρξίαν ἀντιδιαίρεῖσθαι λέγομεν πρὸς τὴν ὑπαρξιν, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἡ κακία τῷ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντικαθέστηκε λόγῳ, οὐ καθ' ἑαυτὴν τις οὐσα, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ νοουμένη τοῦ κρείττονος· καὶ ὥσπερ φαμὲν ἀντιδιαίρεῖσθαι τῇ ὀράσει τὴν πῆρωσιν, οὐ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐσαν τῇ φύσει τὴν πῆρωσιν, ἀλλὰ προλαβούσης ἕξω στερῆσιν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν κακίαν ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ στερῆσει θεωρεῖσθαι λέγομεν, οἶόν τινα σκιάν τῇ ἀναχωρήσει τῆς ἀκτίνος ἐπισυμβαίνουσαν. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ

2 απειθεστεροις I\* vulg || 12 εν τη φυσει [g<sup>1</sup>] vulg || 12-13 om αλλα προλ. εξ. στερησιν f || 14 διαχωρησει I\*<sup>vid</sup> vulg

1. πραγματείας] used here of a literary treatise = 'our present work.'

3-4. καθ' ὑπόστασιν φαιν.] 'two things which appear as actually existing.'

4-14. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ] 'but just as the non-existent is logically opposed to that which exists, and it is not possible to say that the non-existent is distinguished, so far as actual subsistence is concerned, from that which exists, but we say that non-existence is logically opposed to existence; in the same way also "vice" is distinguished from "virtue," not because it has some independent existence, but because it is conceived of as arising from the absence of that which is good; and just as we say that blindness is logically opposed to sight, not because blindness belongs to nature as something having an existence of its own, but because it is the deprivation of a former possession, so also we say that vice is found where there is a

deprivation of good.' The argument is that the distinction which we make between the non-existent and the existent is a logical distinction only. They are not to be conceived of as two things on the same plane or possessing the same reality, any more than sight and blindness, the latter being merely the defect of the former. For ἀντιδιαίρεσθαι in the sense of 'logical division' cp. c. 15.

14. σκιάν] Evil is like some shadow which follows upon the withdrawal of the sun's ray.

15. ἐπειδὴ] In what follows Gr. proceeds to show how it was possible for a created spirit to be subject to such a passion as envy. It arose out of the possibility of change involved in possessing a created nature. Only an uncreated being is free from the movement expressed in such words as 'variation,' 'alteration' or 'change.'

ἄκτιστος φύσις τῆς κινήσεως τῆς κατὰ τροπὴν καὶ μεταβολὴν καὶ ἀλλοιώσιν ἐστὶν ἀνεπίδεκτος, πᾶν δὲ τὸ διὰ κτίσεως ὑποστὰν συγγενῶς πρὸς τὴν ἀλλοιώσιν ἔχει, διότι καὶ αὐτὴ τῆς κτίσεως ἢ ὑπόστασις ἀπὸ ἀλλοιώσεως  
 5 ἤρξατο, τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι θεία δύναμις μετατε-  
 θέντος· κτιστὴ δὲ ἦν καὶ ἡ μνημονευθεῖσα δύναμις, αὐτεξουσίῳ κινήματι τὸ δοκοῦν αἰρουμένη· ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ ἄφθονον ἐπέμυσεν ὄμμα, ὥσπερ ὁ ἐν ἡλίῳ τοῖς βλεφάροις τὰς ὄψεις ὑποβαλὼν σκότος ὀρά,  
 10 οὕτω κἀκείνος αὐτῷ τῷ μὴ θελήσει τὸ ἀγαθὸν νοῆσαι τὸ ἐναντίον τῷ ἀγαθῷ κατενόησε. τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ φθόνος. ὁμολογεῖται δὲ παντὸς πράγματος ἀρχὴν τῶν

8 ὄμμα] νοημα fg<sup>1</sup> vulg || 9 ἐπιβαλων τ. οψ. l vulg τ. οψ. ἐπιβαλων efg<sup>1</sup> αποβαλων dhn || 10 αυτο f || το fp || κατανοησαι deg<sup>hup</sup> || 12 ὁμολογει l vulg || αρχη f

2. πᾶν δέ] *'Whereas everything which came into being through an act of creation has a natural tendency to such change, because even the very subsistence of creation owed its beginning to change.'* Τῆς κτίσεως is of course 'the created Universe.' The idea of creation, Gr. maintains, carries with it the idea of mutability.

7. αὐτεξουσίῳ] *'choosing whatever it thinks fit by a movement of free-will.'*

8. ἄφθονον] *'free from envy,' 'ungrudging,'* as opposed to the φθόνος with which the evil spirit viewed man's participation in Divine blessings.

ib. ἐπέμυσεν ὄμμα] The reading νόημα is plainly a corruption.

9. ὑποβαλῶν] There is a considerable variation of reading here. Ἀποβαλῶν is plainly a corruption of ὑποβαλῶν. It is not so easy to decide between ὑποβαλῶν and ἐπιβαλῶν, as there appear to be no exact parallels to the use of either word in such a connexion as the present passage affords. The phrase

τὰ βλέφαρα ἐπιβάλλειν in the sense of 'closing the eyelids' occurs in Arist. *Physiog.* 6. 813 a, and also in Adamant. *Soph. Physiog.* i 23 where it is found in the phrase οἱ ἠλλώπτοντες καὶ τὰ βλέφαρα ἐπιβάλλοντες, but these instances do not justify such an expression as ἐπιβαλῶν τὰς ὄψεις. On the other hand the occurrence of such an expression as τὰ βλέφαρα ἐπιβάλλειν may have led to the alteration of ὑποβαλῶν into ἐπιβαλῶν. There is exactly the same variation of reading in c. 7 *sub fin.* in the expression ὑποβάλοι τοῖς βλεφάροις τὴν ὄρασιν.

11. κατενόησε] *'came to apprehend,' 'learned to know,'* stronger than νοῆσαι.

11-12. ὁ φθόνος] For the idea cp. *infra* τῇ ἀποστροφῇ τῆς ἀγαθότητος ἐν ἐαυτῷ γεννήσας τὸν φθόνον. There is similar language on φθόνος in *de Vita Moysis* p. 409 (Migne). The whole passage is doubtless traceable to Wisdom ii 23, 24.

12. ὁμολογ.] The first cause of anything is responsible for all the consequences flowing from it. So

μετ' αὐτὴν κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἐπισυμβαινόντων αἰτίαν εἶναι, οἷον τῇ ὑγείᾳ τὸ εὐεκτεῖν, τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι, τὸ καθ' ἡδονὴν βιοτεύειν· τῇ δὲ νόσῳ τὸ ἀσθενεῖν, τὸ ἀνεέργητον εἶναι, τὸ ἐν ἀηδία τὴν ζωὴν ἔχειν. οὕτω καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ταῖς οἰκείαις ἀρχαῖς κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἔπεται. 5 ὥσπερ οὖν ἡ ἀπάθεια τῆς κατ' ἀρετὴν ζωῆς ἀρχὴ καὶ ὑπόθεσις γίνεται, οὕτως ἡ διὰ τοῦ φθόνου γενομένη πρὸς κακίαν ῥοπή τῶν μετ' αὐτὴν πάντων ἀναδειχθέντων κακῶν ὁδὸς κατέστη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἅπαξ πρὸς τὸ κακὸν τὴν ῥοπήν ἔσχεν ὁ τῇ ἀποστροφῇ τῆς ἀγαθότητος ἐν ἑαυτῷ 10 γεννήσας τὸν φθόνον, ὥσπερ λίθος ἀκρωρείας ἀπορραγείς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου βάρους πρὸς τὸ πρηνὲς συναυνεται, οὕτω κἀκείνος, τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν συμφύιας ἀποσπασθεὶς καὶ πρὸς κακίαν βρίσας, αὐτομάτως οἷόν τι βίρει πρὸς τὸν ἔσχατον τῆς πονηρίας ὄρον συνωσθεὶς ἀπηνέχθη, καὶ τὴν 15 διανοητικὴν δύναμιν, ἣν εἰς συνέργειαν τῆς τοῦ κρείττονος μετουσίας ἔσχε παρὰ τοῦ κτίσαντος, ταύτην εἰς εὕρεσιν τῶν κατὰ κακίαν ἐπινοουμένων συνεργῶν ποιησάμενος,

1 μετ' αὐτὴν κατὰ] μεθ' ἑαυτὴν l vulg μετὰ (om αὐτὴν κατὰ) d || 3-4 το ἀνε...ζῶν ἐχειν desunt in h || 7-8 οὕτως...κακίαν ῥοπή desunt in h || γενομένη l γεγεννημένη f || 8 ῥοπή] ὁρμη f || μεθ' ἑαυτὴν l vulg || κακῶν] τῶν κακῶν f || 14 βρίσας] βαρησας καὶ καταρευσας l vulg || 16 εἰς συνέργειαν] om εἰς fh τὴν συνέργειαν el vulg συνεργίαν dnp || τοῦ κρείττονος] om τοῦ f

the inclination to vice resulting from the envy displayed by the devil was responsible for the train of evils which followed.

2. τῇ ὑγείᾳ] We must supply some such word as ἔπεται which occurs in the following sentence. As on health there follows a good bodily condition (τὸ εὐεκτεῖν), activity, and an enjoyable life, while disease is followed by weakness, inactivity, and lack of enjoyment, so other results follow in natural sequence their own proper causes.

6. ἀπάθεια] 'freedom from passion.' Cp. *antea* c. 5.

11. ὥσπερ λίθος] 'just as a rock,

*breaking away from the ridge of a mountain, is carried headlong by its own weight.'*

13. συμφύιας] 'torn away from his natural affinity to good.'

15-16. τὴν διανοητικὴν δύναμιν] 'the faculty of mind.' Διάνοια, as distinguished from νοῦς, is 'the process of rational thought,' while νοῦς is the intuitive and speculative reason. See Westcott on 1 John v 20. 'The faculty of mind, which he received from the Creator in order that he might cooperate with Him in imparting good (i.e. to the creatures under him), he employed to assist him in discovering evil devices.'

εὐμηχάνως περιέρχεται δι' ἀπάτης τὸν ἄνθρωπον, αὐτὸν  
 ἐαυτοῦ γενέσθαι πείσας φονέα τε καὶ αὐτόχειρα. ἐπειδὴ  
 γὰρ διὰ τῆς θείας εὐλογίας δυναμωθεὶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὑψηλὸς  
 μὲν ἦν τῷ ἀξιώματι· βασιλεύειν γὰρ ἐτάχθη τῆς γῆς τε  
 5 καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς πάντων· καλὸς δὲ τὸ εἶδος· ἀπεικό-  
 νισμα γὰρ τοῦ ἀρχετύπου ἐγεγόνει κάλλους· ἀπαθῆς δὲ  
 τὴν φύσιν· τοῦ γὰρ ἀπαθοῦς μίμημα ἦν· ἀνάπλεως δὲ  
 παρρησίας, αὐτῆς κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς θείας ἐμφανείας  
 κατατρυφῶν· ταῦτα δὲ τῷ ἀντικειμένῳ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν  
 10 φθόνον πάθους ὑπεκκαύματα ἦν· ἰσχύι δέ τι καὶ βία  
 δυνάμεως κατεργάσασθαι τὸ κατὰ γνώμην οὐχ οἷός τε  
 ἦν· ὑπερίσχυε γὰρ ἢ τῆς εὐλογίας τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμις τῆς  
 τούτου βίας· διὰ τοῦτο ἠποστήσαι τῆς ἐνισχυούσης αὐτὸν  
 15 ἐπιβουλήν κατασταίη. καὶ ὡσπερ ἐπὶ λύχνου τοῦ πυρὸς  
 τῆς θρυαλλίδος περιδεδραγμένου, εἴ τις ἀδυνατῶν τῷ  
 φυσήματι σβέσαι τὴν φλόγα ὕδωρ ἐμίξειε τῷ ἐλαίῳ

1 διερχεται l vulg || 2 πείσας γενεσθαι l vulg || 5 αυτη f || 16 επιδεδραγ-  
 μενου f || 17 εμψυσηματι d || 17—p. 37. 1 υδωρ...φλογα om h || εμμιξειεν f  
 εμμιξει εν l vulg εμμιξει g εμμιξας e || ελαιω]+ και fln

1. περιέρχεται] 'circumvents,'  
 'overreaches.'

2-3. ἐπειδὴ γάρ] The clause introduced by ἐπειδὴ is broken up by a series of parentheses. The apodosis of the sentence begins with διὰ τοῦτο ἀποστήσαι. In what follows Gr. shows how the capacities and privileges bestowed upon man by God excited the envy of the adversary and led him to plot for man's ruin.

4. ἀξιώματι] 'rank,' 'position.'

ib. βασιλεύειν] Gen. i 28—30.

6. ἀπαθῆς] See note on ἀπάθεια  
 c. 5.

8. παρρησίας] Παρρ. denotes the 'giving utterance to every thought and feeling and wish.' Cp. Heb. iv 16 (with Westcott's note), x 19, 35.

ib. τῆς θείας ἐμφ.] based on the narrative of Gen. iii.

9. κατατρυφῶν] 'revelling in the manifestation of Deity even face to face.'

ib. ταῦτα δέ] 'and since this served as fuel.' The sentence forms part of the protasis begun by ἐπειδὴ.

10-11. βία δυνάμεως] 'violent exercise of power,' 'main force.'

14. εὐάλωτος] 'an easy prey to his plotting.'

15. καὶ ὡσπερ] What the adversary could not accomplish by force he attempted by craft, mingling evil with man's will. 'And as in the case of a lamp, when the flame has caught the wick, if any one, being unable to blow out the flame, mixes water with the oil, he will by this device render the flame dull.'

16. περιδεδραγμ.] 'grasped,' 'laid hold of.'

διὰ τῆς ἐπινοίας ταύτης ἀμαυρώσει τὴν φλόγα, οὕτως δι' ἀπάτης τῇ προαιρέσει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὴν κακίαν ἐμίξας ὁ ἀντικείμενος σβέσιν τινὰ καὶ ἀμαύρωσιν τῆς εὐλογίας ἐποίησεν, ἧς ἐπιλειπούσης ἕξ ἀνάγκης τὸ ἀντικείμενον ἀντεισέρχεται. ἀντίκειται δὲ τῇ ζωῇ μὲν ὁ 5 θάνατος, ἡ ἀσθένεια δὲ τῇ δυνάμει, τῇ εὐλογία δὲ ἡ κατάρρα, τῇ παρρησίᾳ δὲ ἡ αἰσχύνῃ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τὰ κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον νοούμενα. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐστὶ νῦν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης τοῦ τοιοῦτου τέλους τὰς ἀφορμὰς παρασχοῦσης. 10

7. Καὶ μηδεὶς ἐρωτάτω, εἰ προειδὼς τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην συμφορὰν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀβουλίας αὐτῷ συμβησομένην ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ κτίσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ᾧ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἴσως ἢ τὸ ἐν κακοῖς εἶναι λυσιτελέστερον ἦν. ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ τοῖς Μανιχαικοῖς δόγμασι δι' ἀπάτης 15 παρασυρέντες εἰς σύστασιν τῆς ἑαυτῶν πλάνης προβάλ-

5 ἐπεισερχεται g<sup>1</sup> || 9 om του l vulg  
ap....συστασιν om f

7. 14 εἶναι] γενεσθαι f || 15-16 δι

3. σβέσιν] 'succeeded in extinguishing and obscuring in a way (τινὰ) the Divine blessing.'

4-5. τὸ ἀντικείμενον] sc. τῇ εὐλογία. The term is explained in the following sentence.

9. τῆς ἀρχῆς] i.e. the φθόνος of the Devil which he has been describing.

10. τὰς ἀφορμὰς] Cp. c. 5 p. 26 (note).

7. In this and in the following chapter Gr. deals at length with the objection 'Why did God create man, if He foresaw the evils which would result from his fall? How was such an act consistent with goodness?' In answering this objection Gr. first of all draws a distinction between the two senses in which the word evil is used with reference to man. There is physical evil i.e. the pain resulting from suffering and sickness, and there is moral evil i.e. wickedness. The latter alone deserves the name of

evil. Moral evil consists in the loss of good, and has no substantive existence. Neither can God be its author, for He is the source of positive good, and it is only man's self-will in withdrawing from good, which constitutes evil.

11. εἰ προειδὼς] The emphasis of the sentence rests on the participle. 'Whether God foresaw the calamity...when He came to create man.'

12. ἀβουλίας] cf. 6 init. τῆς κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν διαμαρτίας. Αὐτῷ anticipates τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

15. οἱ τοῖς Μανιχαικοῖς] 'they who have been deceived and led away by the doctrines of the Manichees.' The evils of man's present condition might be urged to prove that the Author of man's being was not good. Acc. to the Manichaeans the creation of man was due to the prince of darkness. See Harnack *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. Tr. iii 325.

λουσιν, ὡς διὰ τούτου πονηρὸν εἶναι τὸν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως κτίστην ἀποδεικνύοντες. εἰ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖ μὲν τῶν ὄντων οὐδὲν ὁ θεός, ἐν κακοῖς δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οὐκέτ' ἂν ὁ τῆς ἀγαθότητος τοῦ θεοῦ διασώζοιτο λόγος, εἴπερ ἐν  
 5 κακοῖς μέλλοντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ζήσεσθαι πρὸς τὸν βίον παρήγαγεν. εἰ γὰρ ἀγαθῆς φύσεως ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνέργεια πάντως ἐστίν, ὁ λυπηρὸς οὗτος καὶ ἐπίκηρος βίος οὐκέτ' ἂν, φησίν, εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δημιουργίαν ἀνάγοιτο, ἀλλ' ἕτερον χρὴ τῆς τοιαύτης ζωῆς αἴτιον οἶεσθαι, ᾧ πρὸς  
 10 πονηρίαν ἢ φύσις ἐπιρρεπῶς ἔχει. ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς μὲν ἐν βάθει καθάπερ τινὰ δευσοποιὸν βαφὴν τὴν αἰρετικὴν παραδεδεγμένοις ἀπάτην ἰσχύν τινα διὰ τῆς ἐπιπολαίου πιθανότητος ἔχειν δοκεῖ· τοῖς δὲ διορατικωτέροις τῆς ἀληθείας σαθρὰ ὄντα καὶ πρόχειρον  
 15 τὴν τῆς ἀπάτης ἀπόδειξιν ἔχοντα σαφῶς καθορᾶται. καί μοι δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν τὸν ἀπόστολον ἐν τούτοις συνήγορον τῆς κατ' αὐτῶν κατηγορίας προστήσασθαι. διαιρεῖ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Κορινθίους λόγῳ τὰς τε σαρκώδεις καὶ τὰς πνευματικὰς τῶν ψυχῶν καταστάσεις, δεικνύς, οἶμαι, διὰ

1 τουτων fl τουτο vulg || 3 ο θεος ουδεν l vulg || 6 om το f vulg || 7 λυπηρος] οδινηρος f || 9 ω] ου ehn ο p || 10 παντα γαρ ταυτα e || 11 δευσοπ.] ψευδοποιον l\* vulg || 12 αναιρετικην h || 13 επιπολου f || 17 κατ αυτον l vulg || παρηγοριας l\*vid vulg || συστησασθαι f || διαιρειται f || 18-19 και τας πν.] και τας ψυχικας καταστασεις e

4. λόγος] 'the doctrine of the goodness of God.'

6. εἰ γὰρ ἀγαθῆς] 'For if activity in good is the characteristic of a nature that is good.'

8. ἀνάγοιτο] 'traced back,' 'referred.'

9. ἕτερον] e.g. such as the Manichaean evil principle.

11. τοῖς μὲν] 'to those who are deeply tinged with the deceit of heresy, as with some indelible dye.' For ἐν βάθει cp. c. 8 τὴν ἐν βάθει... γενομένην πρὸς τὸ κακὸν οἰκειότητα. Δευσ. is found in Plat. *Rep.* 429 E—430 A, a passage which Gr. may

have had in mind, as it contains a similar comparison to that of the present passage and concludes ἵνα δευσοποιὸς αὐτῶν ἢ δόξα γίγνοιτο.

14. σαθρὰ] lit. 'rotten,' 'unsound.' Hence 'ineffective,' 'weak.' Πρόχειρον, 'afford a ready proof of their fallacious character.'

17. προστήσασθαι] 'to put forward the Apostle in these matters as supporting us in our condemnation of them.' The gen. κατηγορίας is governed by συνήγορον.

18. πρὸς Κορ.] 1 Cor. ii 14—15.

19. καταστάσεις] 'dispositions' or 'conditions.'

τῶν λεγομένων, ὅτι οὐ δι' αἰσθήσεως τὸ καλὸν ἢ τὸ κακὸν κρίνειν προσήκει, ἀλλ' ἔξω τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα φαινομένων τὸν νοῦν ἀποστήσαντας, αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς τοῦ καλοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ ἐναντίου διακρίνειν τὴν φύσιν. ὁ γὰρ πνευματικός, φησί, ἀνακρίνει τὰ πάντα. ταύτην οἶμαι τὴν 5 αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν δογμάτων τούτων μυθοποιίας τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα προφέρουσιν ἐγγεγενῆσθαι, ὅτι πρὸς τὸ ἡδὺ τῆς σωματικῆς ἀπολαύσεως τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὀριζόμενοι διὰ τὸ πάθεισι καὶ ἀρρωστήμασιν ὑποκείσθαι κατ' ἀνάγκην τὴν τοῦ σώματος φύσιν σύνθετον οὔσαν καὶ εἰς διάλυσιν 10 ῥεοῦσαν, ἐπακολουθεῖν δέ πως τοῖς τοιούτοις παθήμασιν ἀλγεινὴν τινα αἴσθησιν, πονηροῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀνθρωποποιίαν ἔργον εἶναι νομίζουσιν. ὡς εἶγε πρὸς τὸ ὑψηλότερον ἔβλεπεν αὐτοῖς ἡ διάνοια, καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς διαθέσεως τὸν νοῦν ἀποικίσαντες ἀπαθῶς ἐπεσκόπουν 15

2 προσήκει κρίνειν l vulg || 3 ἀποστήσαντα l vulg || αφ εαυτ. f || 4 του εναντ.] om του f || ο γαρ] ο δε f || 5 διακρίνει f || 7 προσφεροσιν g<sup>1</sup>lp || γεγενησθαι e αν γεγενησθαι vulg || 11 om πως d || 12 om θεου l\* vulg

1. δι' αἰσθήσεως] It is not by 'sense perception' that good and evil are judged. The intelligence (νοῦς) must be withdrawn from bodily phenomena (τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα φαιν.) and discern in its own distinctive character (αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς) the nature of good and the opposite.

6. μυθοποιίας] Cp. *prol.* τὰς ἡπατημένας περὶ τῶν δογμάτων μυθοποιίας.

7. ἐγγεγενῆσθαι] 'This, I suppose, was the cause of the fabrication of these fabulous doctrines in the case of those who put forward such views.' Ἐγγίγνεσθαι is used in the sense of *inesse* or *innasci*. Cf. Xen. *Comm.* 1. 2. 21 τοῖς ἀμελοῦσι λήθην ἐγγινομένην.

ib. ὅτι πρὸς τό] Krab.'s punctuation is bad here. "Οτι governs *νοῦς* and *βουλοσιν*, while ἐπακολ. is closely

attached to ὑποκείσθαι and belongs to διὰ τό.

ib. πρὸς τὸ ἡδύ] 'defining good with reference to the pleasure of bodily enjoyment.' Σωμ. is contrasted with the πνευματικός in the quotation.

9. πάθεισι καὶ ἀρρωστήμασιν] Here both words are used of bodily ailments. In c. 8 Gr. speaks of τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρρωστήματα. In this latter sense the word ἀρρώστημα was employed by the Stoics and is defined by Cicero *Tusc.* iv 10.

13. ὡς εἶγε] 'Since if their thought had turned its gaze in a loftier direction, and if, separating the intelligence from the disposition to care about pleasures, they had contemplated, free from the influence of the passions, the nature of existing things.' On the words διάνοια and νοῦς see *antea* c. 6 p. 35.

τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν, οὐκ ἂν ἄλλο τι κακὸν εἶναι παρὰ τὴν ποιηρίαν ᾤθησαν. πονηρία δὲ πᾶσα ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ στερήσει χαρακτηρίζεται, οὐ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὔσα, οὐδὲ καθ' ὑπόστασιν θεωρουμένη· κακὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔξω  
 5 προαιρέσεως ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ κεῖται, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὴ εἶναι τὸ ἀγαθὸν οὕτω κατονομάζεται. τὸ δὲ μὴ ὄν οὐχ ὑφέστηκε, τοῦ δὲ μὴ ὑφεστώτος δημιουργὸς ὁ τῶν ὑφεστώτων δημιουργὸς οὐκ ἔστιν. οὐκοῦν ἔξω τῆς τῶν κακῶν αἰτίας ὁ θεὸς ὁ τῶν ὄντων, οὐχ ὁ τῶν μὴ ὄντων ποιητὴς ὢν· ὁ τὴν  
 10 ὄρασιν, οὐ τὴν πῆρῳσιν δημιουργήσας· ὁ τὴν ἀρετὴν, οὐ τὴν στέρησιν αὐτῆς ἀναδείξας· ὁ ἄθλον τῆς προαιρέσεως τὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν γέρας τοῖς κατ' ἀρετὴν πολιτευομένοις προθείς, οὐκ ἀνάγκη τινὶ βιαίᾳ πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῷ δοκοῦν ὑποζεύξας τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν, καθάπερ τι σκεῦος  
 15 ἄψυχον ἀκουσίως πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ἐφέλκόμενος. εἰ δὲ τοῦ φωτὸς ἐξ αἰθρίας καθαρῶς περιλάμποντος ἐκουσίως τις

5 υφ εαυτου g\*ρ η αφ ε. f || το μη ειναι p || 5-6 το αγαθον] om το f ||  
 11 ο αθλον] om ο fl vulg || 12 γερας] περας l\*vid vulg || 13 προσθεις deglhp ||  
 15 εμψυχον vulg || 16 επιλαμποντος e

1. οὐκ ἂν ἄλλο] The principle that moral evil is alone κακόν is a leading thought of Gr. throughout the present treatise. Cp. c. 9 where he argues that the Incarnation was no degradation to God, for only moral evil can bring degradation. Similarly in cc. 15 and 16 he says that it was physical, not moral weakness which Christ took upon Him. The Divine goodness was unchanged by the Incarnation, for the only thing that could have changed it would have been the participation in vice. The conception, which is also found in Origen, has its roots in the importance assigned by both Origen and Gr. to the will, as the seat of evil. So in the present chapter Gr.

says κακὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔξω προαιρέσεως ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ κεῖται.

3. χαρακτηρίζεται] *'The characteristic feature of all wickedness is to be found in the deprivation of good.'*

5. τῷ μὴ εἶναι] *'but it receives its name from the non-existence of the good.'*

6. τὸ δὲ μὴ ὄν] In what follows Gr. urges that God is the Creator of that which exists positively. That which is a mere negation of existence, such as evil has been defined to be, cannot be attributed to Him.

11. ὁ ἄθλον] The effect of this view of the relation of evil to man's free-will is to make the enjoyment of Divine blessings the reward of virtue.



ὑποβάλοι τοῖς βλεφάροις τὴν ὄρασιν, ἔξω τῆς τοῦ μὴ βλέποντος αἰτίας ὁ ἥλιος.

8. Ἄλλ' ἀγανακτεῖ πάντως ὁ πρὸς τὴν διάλυσιν βλέπων τοῦ σώματος, καὶ χαλεπὸν ποιεῖται τῷ θανάτῳ τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν διαλύεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτό φησι τῶν κακῶν ἔσχατον 5 εἶναι, τὸ τὸν βίον ἡμῶν τῇ νεκρότητι σβέννυσθαι. οὐκοῦν ἐπισκεψάσθω διὰ τοῦ σκυθρωποῦ τούτου τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς θείας εὐεργεσίας· τάχα γὰρ ἂν μᾶλλον διὰ τούτων προσαχθεῖ θυμαῖσαι τὴν χάριν τῆς περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ κηδεμονίας. τὸ ζῆν διὰ τὴν τῶν καταθυμίων 10

1 υποβαλλοι p επιβαλοι (-βαλλ- l vulg) εστ<sup>1</sup> αποβαλοι (-βαλλ- hn) d ||

8. 3 διαλυσιν] αναλ. 1\*<sup>vid</sup> vulg || 5-6 και τουτο...σβεννυσθαι om l\* vulg || 8 μαλλον αν deghnp || τουτου l\* vulg || 9 προσερχθειη e προαχθειη g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>1</sup> || 10 om των vulg

1. ὑποβάλοι] cp. *antea* c. 6 p. 34 (note).

1-2. ἔξω τῆς...αἰτίας] 'is free from blame on the part of him who fails to see.' For ἔξω τῆς αἰτίας cp. c. 8.

8. Gr. is still discussing the objection stated in the previous chapter. One of the evils of man's present condition, it is urged, is the prevalence of physical death. In reply Gr. maintains that the dissolution of the body was really a merciful provision made by God after man's fall in order to undo its effects. The coats of skin in Genesis indicate mystically this truth. As it was into the sentient (i.e. bodily) part of man that the poison of evil was received, so it was fitting that that part should be dissolved in order that it might be remoulded by the resurrection. Gr. illustrates his meaning by the simile of an earthen vessel, which some ill-disposed person renders useless by filling it with molten lead, but which the potter, in order to remove the lead, breaks up with a view to remodelling it.

The dissolution of the body, however, does not affect the soul. That

too has been stained by sin, and it too has its appointed remedies, the practice of virtue in this life, the sifting judgment and painful discipline of purification in the after-life. Thus God not only foresaw man's fall, but provided for its remedy. It was better to restore man by penitence and suffering than never to have created him at all. The work of restoration was a task possible and fitting for Him alone who had created man. And so He who was man's Creator became also his Deliverer.

5-6. ζῶν...βίον] By the 'dissolution' of the ζῶν Gr. refers to the dissolution in death of the component parts of man's nature. By the extinction of the βίος he means the cessation of the outward activities of the life.

7. τοῦ σκυθρωποῦ] 'this dismally-looking necessity.'

8. εὐεργεσίας] Death, as Gr. proceeds to show, was a beneficent provision made by God, after man's fall, to enable the body to escape from the consequences of the Fall.

10. καταθυμίων] = 'acceptable,' 'pleasing.' Cp. c. 5.

ἀπόλαυσιν αἰρετόν ἐστι τοῖς τοῦ βίου μετέχουσιν. ὡς εἴ  
 γέ τις ἐν ὀδύναϊς διαβιώη, παρὰ πολὺ τῷ τοιούτῳ τὸ μὴ  
 εἶναι τοῦ ἀλγεινῶς εἶναι προτιμότερον κρίνεται. οὐκοῦν  
 ἐξετάσωμεν εἰ ὁ τῆς ζωῆς χορηγὸς πρὸς ἄλλο τι βλέπει,  
 5 καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἂν ἐν τοῖς καλλίστοις βιώημεν. ἐπειδὴ  
 γὰρ τῷ αὐτεξουσίῳ κινήματι τοῦ κακοῦ τὴν κοινωνίαν  
 ἐπεσπασάμεθα, διὰ τινος ἡδονῆς οἶόν τι δηλητήριον μέλιτι  
 παραρτυθεν τῇ φύσει τὸ κακὸν καταμίξαντες, καὶ διὰ  
 τοῦτο τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀπαθὲς νοουμένης μακαριότητος ἐκ-  
 10 πεσόντες, πρὸς τὴν κακίαν μετεμορφώθημεν, τούτου ἕνεκεν  
 οἶόν τι σκεῦος ὀστράκινον πάλιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς γῆν ἀνα-  
 λύεται, ὅπως ἂν τῆς νῦν ἐναπειλημμένης αὐτῷ ῥυπαρίας  
 ἀποκριθείσης εἰς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς σχῆμα διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως  
 ἀναπλασθῆι. τὸ δὲ τοιούτου δόγμα ἱστορικώτερον μὲν

4 βλεπη vulg || 7 ἐξεσπασαμεθα ]\*vid vulg || 8 παραμιξαντες d || 12 απει-  
 λημ. dghnp απειλημ. e || 14 αναπλασθειη] +ει γε το κατ εικονα εν τη  
 παρουση ζωη διεσωσατο deghl'np

7. ἐπεσπασάμεθα] Used here in the sense of 'acquire,' 'contract.' *We brought upon ourselves.*

ib. διὰ τινος] 'by some indulgence in pleasure mingling evil with our nature like some deadly potion sweetened with honey.'

9. κατὰ τὸ ἀπαθὲς νοουμένης] 'the blessedness which the mind associates with freedom from passion.'

12. ὅπως ἂν] 'in order that the foulness which is now included in his nature may be separated out, and he may be restored by the resurrection to his original form.' After these words one group of MSS insert the words εἴ γε τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα ἐν τῇ παρουσίῃ ζωῇ διεσώσατο, and Krabinger has given them a place in the text. But the words are not found in the MSS *f*, *l*, and they have a suspicious ring, introducing an idea which is not appropriate to the context. They are probably a later addition to the text, their object being to guard against an Universal-

istic interpretation of the passage.

14. ἱστορικ.] 'after the manner of history and in veiled language.' For αἰνigma cp. Numb. xii 8 (LXX) στόμα κατὰ στόμα λαλήσω αὐτῷ, ἐν εἶδει καὶ οὐ δι' αἰνιγμάτων. Cp. also 1 Cor. xiii 12. This passage is another instance of Gr.'s use of the allegorical interpretation of Scripture. Cp. *antea* c. 2 (note on ἀναγωγικῶς) and c. 5. The ref. is to Gen. iii 21. This interpretation of the coats of skin is found in Methodius *de Resurr.* i. 37 (ed. Bonw. p. 130) and still earlier in Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii 14) and Origen (*c. Cels.* iv 40, in *Let. Hom.* vi 2). It appears to have been derived from the Gnostics. See *Iren. c. Haer.* 1. 5. 5; *Tert. de Res. Carnis* 7. Its ultimate source was Rabbinic. Cp. Bigg *Christian Platonists*, p. 204 note. Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* xxxviii p. 670 D) also makes use of it.

καὶ δι' αἰνιγμάτων ὁ Μωσῆς ἡμῖν ἐκτίθεται. πλὴν ἔκ-  
 δηλον καὶ τὰ αἰνίγματα τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἔχει. ἐπειδὴ  
 γάρ, φησίν, ἐν τοῖς ἀπηγορευμένοις ἐγένοντο οἱ πρῶτοι  
 ἄνθρωποι καὶ τῆς μακαριότητος ἐκείνης ἀπεγυμνώθησαν,  
 δερματίνους ἐπιβάλλει χιτῶνας τοῖς πρωτοπλάστοις ὁ 5  
 κύριος· οὐ μοι δοκεῖ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα δέρματα τοῦ  
 λόγου τὴν διάνοιαν φέρων· ποίων γὰρ ἀποσφαγέντων τε  
 καὶ δαρέντων ζώων ἐπινοεῖται αὐτοῖς ἡ περιβολή; ἀλλ',  
 ἐπειδὴ πᾶν δέρμα χωρισθὲν τοῦ ζώου νεκρὸν ἐστὶ, πάντως  
 οἶμαι τὴν πρὸς τὸ νεκροῦσθαι δύναμιν, ἢ τῆς ἀλόγου 10  
 φύσεως ἐξαίρετος ἦν, ἐκ προμηθείας μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς  
 ἀνθρώποις ἐπιβεβληκῆναι τὸν τὴν κακίαν ἡμῶν ἰατρού-  
 οντα, οὐχ ὡς εἰς αἰὲ παραμένειν· ὁ γὰρ χιτῶν τῶν ἔξωθεν  
 ἡμῖν ἐπιβαλλομένων ἐστί, πρὸς καιρὸν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χρῆσιν  
 παρέχων τῷ σώματι, οὐ συμπεφυκῶς τῇ φύσει. οὐκοῦν 15  
 ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀλόγων φύσεως ἢ νεκρότης οἰκονομικῶς περι-

1 ημιν] υμιν vulg || 7 φερων] φερειν gr || om τε el || 12 om τον e ||  
 13 eis aei] aei h || 15 του σωματος vulg || 16 οικονομ. η νεκ. g

3. ἐν τοῖς ἀπ.] 'became involved  
 in what was forbidden.'

4. ἀπεγυμν.] The δερματίνος  
 χιτῶν takes the place of the ἀπάθεια.

5. πρωτοπλάστοις] a word ap-  
 plied to the first man in Wisd. vii 1,  
 x 1.

6. οὐ μοι δοκεῖ] 'not, I think,  
 intending to apply the sense of the  
 word to these literal skins.' Φέρων  
 belongs to the subject of φησίν, i.e.  
 Μωσῆς, δοκεῖ being parenthetical.

8-9. ἀλλ', ἐπειδὴ] The skins, acc.  
 to Gr., represent that capacity of  
 dying, which was the peculiar cha-  
 racteristic of the irrational nature.  
 In *de An. et Resurr.* p. 148 (Migne)  
 Gr. explains δέρμα as τὸ σχῆμα τῆς  
 ἀλόγου φύσεως, ᾧ πρὸς τὸ πάθος οἰ-  
 κειωθέντες περιεβλήθημεν. In *de*  
*Virg.* c. 12 the coats of skin are τὸ  
 φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός. Cp. *de Mortuis*

iii p. 524 (Migne).

13. εἰς αἰὲ παραμένειν] Acc. to  
 Gr. the first man had received  
 the blessing of immortality and  
 incorruption. Cp. c. 5. Cp. also  
*de Hom. Op.* c. 4, *de Vita Moysis*  
 p. 397 (Migne). Hence he says  
 below of the χιτῶν that it was οὐ  
 συμπεφυκῶς τῇ φύσει. Death is a  
 temporary provision, a 'coat' with  
 which man is invested for a time.

16. οἰκονομικῶς] here opposed to  
 that which naturally belongs to man.  
 Death was assigned to man by way  
 of 'accommodation' to his circum-  
 stances. Cp. for this use of οἰκο-  
 νομικῶς in *Christi Resurr. Or.* ii  
 p. 649 (Migne) ἃ γὰρ εἶχε φυσικῶς ὡς  
 θεός, ταῦτα λέγεται λαμβάνειν ὡς  
 γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος οἰκονομικῶς. See  
 further Suicer *Thesaurus*.

ετέθη τῇ εἰς ἀθανασίαν κτισθείσῃ φύσει, τὸ ἕξωθεν αὐτῆς περικαλύπτουσα, οὐ τὸ ἔσωθεν, τὸ αἰσθητὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μέρος διαλαμβάνουσα, αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς θείας εἰκόνας οὐ προσαπτομένη. λύεται δὲ τὸ αἰσθητὸν, οὐκ ἀφανίζεται. 5 ἀφανισμὸς μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἢ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν μεταχώρησις· λύσις δὲ ἢ εἰς τὰ τοῦ κόσμου στοιχεῖα πάλιν, ἀφ' ὧν τὴν σύστασιν ἔσχε, διάχυσις. τὸ δὲ ἐν τούτοις γενόμενον οὐκ ἀπόλωλε, καὶ ἐκφεύγη τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς ἡμετέρας αἰσθήσεως. ἢ δὲ αἰτία τῆς λύσεως δήλη διὰ τοῦ ῥηθέντος 10 ἡμῖν ὑποδείγματος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἢ αἰσθησις πρὸς τὸ παχύ τε καὶ γήινου οἰκείως ἔχει, κρείττων δὲ καὶ ὑψηλότερα τῶν κατ' αἰσθησιν κινήματων ἢ νοερὰ φύσις, διὰ τοῦτο τῆς περὶ τὸ καλὸν κρίσεως ἐν τῇ δοκιμασίᾳ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀμαρτηθείσης, τῆς δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ διαμαρτίας 15 τὴν τῆς ἐναντίας ἕξεως ὑπόστασιν ἐνεργησίσης, τὸ ἀχρειωθὲν ἡμῶν μέρος τῇ παραδοχῇ τοῦ ἐναντίου λύεται. ὁ δὲ τοῦ ὑποδείγματος λόγος τοιοῦτός ἐστι. δεδόσθω τι σκεῦος ἐκ πηλοῦ συνεστηκέναι, τοῦτο δὲ πλήρες ἐπιβουλήσ γεγενῆσθαι τετηκότος μολίβδου, τὸν δὲ μολίβδου

2 και το αισθ. l vulg || 2-3 μέρος τ. ανθρ. f || 7 διαλυσις efg<sup>1</sup>hl || 10 om ημιν d || 11 παχυ τε] παχυτερον h || 11-12 κρειττωνος δ. κ. υψηλοτερας vulg || 12-13 κατ αισθησιν...δια τουτο της om l\* vulg || 19 μολιβδου...μολυβδου dehn

1. τὸ ἕξωθεν] This garment of 'mortality' enfolded only the outward and sentient part of man. It did not affect the higher life which constituted the Divine image in man.

4. λύεται] The physical, sentient part of man only suffers dissolution. It does not cease to exist.

7. διάχυσις] 'diffusion.' The word has been altered by some MSS.

10. ὑποδείγματος] i.e. the σκεῦος ὀστράκων spoken of above, an illustration which he develops in what follows.

10-11. τὸ παχύ] 'the gross and earthy element.'

13. δοκιμασία] 'as it was by the arbitrament of the senses that our judgment about that which is good went astray.'

14. διαμαρτίας] 'deviation from the good.'

15. ἕξεως] 'state,' 'condition.'  
ib. ἀχρειωθέν] 'disabled,' 'rendered useless.'

17. λόγος] 'the point of our illustration.' The same illustration occurs in Methodius *de Resurr.* i 44 (ed. Bonw. p. 146).

18. ἐκ τινος ἐπιβουλήσ] The filling of the vessel with lead is represented as an act of spite.

ἐγχεθέντα παγῆναι καὶ μένειν ἀπρόχυτον, ἀντιποιεῖσθαι δὲ τοῦ σκεύους τὸν κεκτημένον, ἔχοντα δὲ τοῦ κεραμεύειν τὴν ἐπιστήμην περιθρύψαι τῷ μολίβδῳ τὸ ὄστρακον· εἶθ' οὕτως πάλιν κατὰ τὸ πρότερον σχῆμα πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἑαυτοῦ χρῆσιν ἀναπλάσαι τὸ σκεῦος, κενὸν τῆς ἐμμιχ- 5 θείσης ὕλης γενόμενον. οὕτως οὖν καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἡμετέρου σκεύους πλάστης, τῷ αἰσθητικῷ μέρει, τῷ κατὰ τὸ σῶμά φημι, τῆς κακίας καταμιχθείσης, διαλύσας τὴν παραδεξαμένην τὸ κακὸν ὕλην, πάλιν ἀμιγῆς τοῦ ἐναντίου διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀναπλάσας, πρὸς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κάλλος 10 ἀναστοιχειώσει τὸ σκεῦος. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σύνδεσις τις καὶ κοινωνία τῶν κατὰ ἀμαρτίαν παθημάτων γίνεται τῇ τε ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι, καὶ τις ἀναλογία τοῦ σωματικοῦ θανάτου πρὸς τὸν ψυχικόν ἐστι θάνατον· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν σαρκὶ τὸ τῆς αἰσθητῆς χωρισθῆναι ζωῆς προσαγορεύομεν 15

1 ἐγχυθεντα ehl<sup>1</sup> vulg εκχεθεντα f || ἀπροχυτον] ἀπροσχυτον 1\*<sup>vid</sup> vulg || 1-2 ἀντιποιεῖσθαι δε] om δε e || 3 μολιμβδω dehn || 7 αἰσθητω l vulg || το κατα vulg || 12 ἀμαρτ.] την αμ. f

1. ἀπρόχυτον] a word not found in the Lexicons. The Paris editions read ἀπρόσχυτον, but all the best MSS support the text. 'So that it cannot be poured out.'

ib. ἀντιποιεῖσθαι] 'lay claim to.' The owner claims the vessel and, as he has some knowledge of the potter's art, breaks it up and remodels it. The vessel is represented as unbaked. It is still πηλός and can be broken up.

5. κενόν] In *Or. in funere Pulch.* p. 876 (Migne) Gr. says οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλο τί ἐστιν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὁ θάνατος, εἰ μὴ κακίας καθάρσιον.

11. ἀναστοιχειώσει] lit. 're-combine the elements of,' 're-form,' 'fashion afresh.' Cp. *Or. in funere Pulch.* p. 877 (Migne) τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνάστασις, ἢ εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἀναστοιχειώσις. The words ἀναμόρφωσις, μεταμόρφωσις, μετάθεσις, μεταβολή, μεταποίησις, μεταστοιχειώσις and ἀνα-

στοιχειώσις are all used by Gr. to denote the restoration of human nature by Christ. Elsewhere Gr. applies the term ἀποθέωσις to this restoration. See *Or. Cat.* c. 37 συναποθεωθῆ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον.

ib. ἐπειδὴ κτλ.] The sentence is broken by a parenthesis ὥσπερ γὰρ and resumed by ἐπεὶ οὖν. The apodosis begins with διὰ τοῦτο.

ib. σύνδεσις] For the idea cp. *de Hom. Orif.* c. 15 ἢ δὲ τοῦ νοῦ πρὸς τὸ σωματικὸν κοινωνία ἄφραστον τε καὶ ἀνεπινόητον τὴν συνάφειαν ἔχει... πλὴν ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον αὐτῆς εἰρμὸν εὐδοουμένης τῆς φύσεως, καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἐνεργὸς γίνεται. εἰ δὲ τι πλημμέλημα περὶ ταύτην συμπέσοι, σκάζει κατ' ἐκεῖνο καὶ τῆς διανοίας ἡ κίνησις. See also note on ἀνάκρασις c. 6.

13. ψυχῇ] not used here in its N.T. sense, but as a general term for the higher faculties included in τὸ νοητὸν and opposed to τὸ αἰσθητὸν.

θάνατον, οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν τῆς ἀληθοῦς ζωῆς  
χωρισμὸν θάνατον ὀνομάζομεν· ἐπεὶ οὖν μία τίς ἐστὶν  
ἢ τοῦ κακοῦ κοινωνία, καθὼς προεῖρηται, ἐν ψυχῇ τε  
θεωρουμένη καὶ σώματι· δι' ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ πρόεισιν τὸ  
5 πονηρὸν εἰς ἐνέργειαν· διὰ τοῦτο ὁ μὲν τῆς διαλύσεως  
θάνατος ἐκ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν δερμάτων ἐπιβολῆς τῆς ψυχῆς  
οὐχ ἄπτεται. πῶς γὰρ ἂν διαλυθείη τὸ μὴ συγκεείμενον;  
ἐπεὶ δὲ χρεῖα τοῦ κάκεινης τὰς ἐμφυείσας ἐξ ἁμαρτιῶν  
κηλίδας διὰ τινος ἰατρείας ἐξαιρηθῆναι, τούτου ἕνεκεν ἐν  
10 μὲν τῇ παρούσῃ ζωῇ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς φάρμακον εἰς θερα-  
πείαν τῶν τοιούτων προστετέθη τραυμάτων. εἰ δὲ ἀθερά-  
πευτος μένοι, ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ τεταμίνονται ἢ θεραπεία.  
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἰσὶ τινες κατὰ τὸ σῶμα τῶν παθημάτων  
διαφοραί, ὧν αἱ μὲν ῥῆον, αἱ δὲ δυσκολώτερον τὴν θερα-  
15 πείαν προσίενται, ἐφ' ὧν καὶ τομαὶ καὶ καυτήρια καὶ

3 om η el vulg || 4-5 eis εν. τ. πονηρον l vulg || 8 επειδη δε g<sup>1</sup> om δε l  
vulg || 11 προετηθη dghnr || 11-12 αθεραπευτος μενοι] μενει g\* l αθεραπευτοι  
μεινοιεν f || 12 ταμινευεται l vulg (in d deletum) || 13 των παθ. κ. τ.  
σωμα c || 15 καυτηριαi degl

5. διαλύσεως] The *gen.* defines θάνατος, 'death consisting in dissolution.'

6. ἐκ τῆς ... ἐπιβ.] 'resulting from.'

7. τὸ μὴ συγκ.] The soul is not composite like the body, and cannot be dissolved by death. Other remedies must therefore be provided for it.

10. τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς φάρμακον] i.e. the influence of a virtuous life in remedying the disorder produced in man's nature by sin. The language of this and the following passages shows marked traces of the Platonic teaching on *κάθαρσις*. Gr. discusses the question of the purification of souls without any reference to the Christian doctrine of redemption, and, in this passage at least, seems to teach a purely moral improvement effected during the present life from

within by the practice of virtue, and in the after-life by a purificatory discipline. Such teaching must of course be modified by his subsequent language in this book on the effects of the Incarnation and their application through Sacraments. For a further treatment of the *κάθαρσις* see cc. 26 and 35 (*sub fin.*). The influence of Origen may be traced throughout. See especially Origen, *de Princ.* ii 10. 4-6, iii 1. 14-17. For Plato's teaching see especially *Gorg.* 477-8, 525, *Prot.* 324 B, *Rep.* ii 380, ix 591 etc.

12. τεταμίνονται] The reading *ταμίνευεται* is a correction found in inferior MSS. *Ταμίνεω* here = 'to lay up in store.' The *perf.* indicates that God has laid it up already, though it is to be applied after judgment.

15. τομαὶ κτλ.] 'applications of

πικραὶ φαρμακοποσίαι πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ ἐνσκήψαντος τῷ σώματι πάθους παραλαμβάνονται, τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ ἢ μετὰ ταῦτα κρίσις εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρρωστημάτων κατεπαγγέλλεται, ὃ τοῖς μὲν χαννοτέροις ἀπειλὴ καὶ σκυθρωπῶν ἐστὶν ἐπανόρθωσις, ὡς 5 ἂν φόβῳ τῆς τῶν ἀλγεινῶν ἀντιδόσεως πρὸς τὴν φυγὴν τῆς κακίας σωφρονισθείημεν· τοῖς δὲ συνετωτέροις ἰατρεία καὶ θεραπεία παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἴδιον πλάσμα πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπανάγοντος χάριν εἶναι πιστεύεται. ὡς γὰρ οἱ τοὺς ἥλους τε καὶ τὰς ἀκροχορδόνας παρὰ φύσιν ἐπιγενο- 10 μένας τῷ σώματι διὰ τομῆς ἢ καύσεως ἀποξύνοντες οὐκ ἀνώδυνον ἐπίγουσι τῷ εὐεργετουμένῳ τὴν ἴασιν, πλὴν οὐκ ἐπι βλάβῃ τοῦ ὑπομένουτος τὴν τομὴν ἄγουσιν, οὕτως καὶ ὅσα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς τῶν παθημάτων κοινωνίας

2 παθους τ. σωματι l vulg || 4 αρρωστ.] αμαρτηματων f || 5 σκυθρ.] των σκ. e || 6 επανορθ.] επαναστασις fl vulg || 10 om τε vulg || τας ακροχ.] τους el vulg || 10-11 επιγενομενους el vulg επιγινομενας dg\* hnp || 13 επαγουσιν fg<sup>1</sup>

*the knife and caustics, and bitter draughts of medicine.'*

3-4. ἢ μετὰ τ. κρίσις...κατεπ.] This shews that Gr. is not thinking of a purgatory between death and the judgment, but of one which follows upon that judgment.

4. ἀρρωστημάτων] See note c. 7 p. 39.

ib. τοῖς μὲν χαννοτέροις] The thought of the painful discipline of the future acts as a deterrent to the 'more thoughtless.' By those who are 'more discerning' such discipline is believed to be remedial and restorative. Χαῖνος, 'porous,' 'spongy,' hence 'empty,' 'frivolous.'

5. σκυθρωπῶν ἐπ.] The *gen.* is subjective, 'a correction consisting in stern methods.' Similarly Origen (*c. Cels.* vii 70) speaks of οἱ δῆμοι ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ οἱ τεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τῶν σκυθρωπῶν μὲν, ἀναγκαίων δὲ ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις πραγμάτων.

7. σωφρονισθ.] 'we might be

*brought to our senses and induced to flee from vice.'*

9. ὡς γάρ] Such pains, like those inflicted by physicians, are remedial and beneficent in their aim. 'For just as those who remove by the knife or caustics moles and warts, which have come unnaturally upon the body, do not apply to him whom they benefit a method of healing that is painless.' Similarly Origen says (*c. Cels.* v 15) 'Ὅτι δὲ οὐχ ὡς μάγειρόν φαμεν τὸ πῦρ ἐπιφέρειν τὸν Θεόν, ἀλλ' ὡς Θεὸν εὐεργέτην τῶν χρηζόντων πόνου καὶ πύρρος μαρτυρήσει καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἡσαίας.

14. ὅσα] 'whatever material excrescences become encrusted upon our souls when they have been rendered carnal through participation in the body's sufferings.' For this sense of ἀποσαρκῶν cf. Theophanes *Hom.* viii p. 269 (Migne) εἴ τις ὅλος δι' ὅλου ἀποσαρκωθείη τῇ διανοίᾳ. On the words πῶρος, πωροῦν see J. A.

ἀποσαρκωθείσαις ὑλώδη περιπτώματα ἐπιπωροῦται, ἐν τῷ  
 καιρῷ τῆς κρίσεως τέμνεται τε καὶ ἀποξέεται τῇ ἀρρήτῳ  
 ἐκείνῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ, καθὼς λέγει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον,  
 τοὺς κακοὺς ἰατροῦντος. οὐ χρεῖαν γὰρ ἔχουσι, φησίν,  
 5 οἱ ὑγαιίνοντες ἰατροῦ, ἀλλ' οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες. διὰ δὲ  
 τὸ πολλὴν γεγενῆσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς τὸ κακὸν συμφύειαν  
 ὡσπερ ἡ τῆς μυρμηκίας τομὴ δριμύσσει τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν·  
 τὸ γὰρ παρὰ φύσιν ἐμφυὲν τῇ φύσει διὰ τινος συμπα-  
 θείας τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ προσίσχεται, καὶ τις γίνεται τοῦ  
 10 ἀλλοτρίου πρὸς τὸ ἡμέτερον παράλογος συνανάκρασις,  
 ὡς λυπεῖσθαι καὶ δάκνεσθαι τοῦ παρὰ φύσιν χωριζομένην  
 τὴν αἴσθησιν· οὕτω καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπολεπτινομένης τε  
 καὶ ἐκτηκομένης ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἐλεγμοῖς,

2 περιτεμνεται d || om τε l vulg || 3 καθως λ. τ. ευαγγ. του l vulg ||  
 4 κακοις] κακως εχοντας fl vulg || om φησω f || 5 υγαιινοντες] ισχυοντες l  
 vulg || 6 γενεσθαι d || 13 ελεγχοις vulg

Robinson *Journal of Theol. Studies*,  
 iii 9 p. 81 ff.

*ib.* παθημ.] Cp. *supra* κοινωνία  
 τῶν κατὰ ἀμαρτίαν παθημάτων.

1-2. ἐν τῷ κ. τῆς κρ.] Probably  
 Gr. based this teaching, as Origen  
 did before him, on 1 Cor. iii 13.

3. λέγει] Luke v 31. The  
 words are also found with the varia-  
 tion ἰσχύοντες (see v.l. here) in Mk  
 ii 17, Mt ix 12.

6. συμφύειαν] Cp. *antea* c. 6.

7. μυρμηκίας] There is the fol-  
 lowing scholium on this word in  
 the margin of the MSS *b* and *c*.  
 Πάθος τι περὶ τὸ δέρμα τοῦ σώματος  
 ἡμῶν γίνεται, ὃ μυρμηκία καλεῖται·  
 σαρκώδης γὰρ τις ἐπίφυσις μικρὰ  
 ἐπανίσταται τῷ δέρματι, ἥτις δοκεῖ  
 μὲν μέρος εἶναι τοῦ δέρματος, ὡς προσ-  
 πεφυκνία αὐτῷ, οὐ μὴν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν  
 οὕτως ἔχει, ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἄρσιν πρὸς  
 τὴν θεραπείαν ἐπιζητεῖ. τοῦτω ὑπο-  
 δείγματι ἐχρήσατο πρὸς τὸ προκειμενον

σφίδρα καταλλήλῳ. The word μυρ-  
 μηκία occurs also in *de An. et Res.*  
 p. 56 (Migne), where the same  
 scholium is found. 'The excision  
 of a wart gives a sharp sensation to  
 the surface (of the body).'

*ib.* ἐπιφάνειαν] 'surface.' Cp.  
 c. 23.

8. τὸ γὰρ παρὰ φύσιν] An ex-  
 planation of the pain experienced at  
 the amputation of such bodily ex-  
 crescences. The means by which  
 such an unnatural growth affects the  
 subject, to which it is attached, is a  
 kind of sympathy. The man feels  
 for the alien growth as if it were  
 really part of himself. While ἐμ-  
 φυέν denotes the physical attach-  
 ment, προσίσχεται denotes the rela-  
 tion which it bears to the personality.

12. ἀπολεπτ.] a paraphrase of  
 Ps. xxxviii [xxxix] 12 LXX, where  
 the phrases ἐξέτηξας and ἐν ἐλεγμοῖς  
 ὑπὲρ ἀνομίας occur.



καθώς πού φησιν ἡ προφητεία, διὰ τὴν ἐν βάθει γενομένην πρὸς τὸ κακὸν οἰκειότητα κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐπακολουθοῦσιν ἄρρητοί τινες καὶ ἀνέκφραστοι ἀλγηδόνες, ὧν ἡ διήγησις ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου τὸ ἀφραστον ἔχει τῇ τῶν ἐλπιζομένων ἀγαθῶν φύσει. οὔτε γὰρ ταῦτα, οὔτε ἐκεῖνα τῇ δυνάμει τῶν 5 λόγων ἢ τῷ στοχασμῷ τῆς διανοίας ὑπάγεται. οὐκοῦν πρὸς τὸ πέρας τις ἀποσκοπῶν τῆς σοφίας τοῦ τὸ πᾶν οἰκονομοῦντος οὐκέτ' ἂν εὐλόγως κακῶν αἴτιον τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων δημιουργὸν ὑπὸ μικροψυχίας κατονομάζοι, ἢ ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν τὸ ἐσόμενον λέγων, ἢ εἰδότα καὶ πεποιη- 10 κότα μὴ ἔξω τῆς πρὸς τὸ πονηρὸν ὀρμῆς εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ἤδει τὸ ἐσόμενον καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ γινόμενον ὀρμὴν οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν· ὅτι γὰρ ἐκτραπήσεται τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, οὐκ ἠγνόησεν ὁ πάντα ἐμπερικρατῶν τῇ γνωστικῇ 15 δυνάμει καὶ τὸ ἐφεξῆς τῷ παρωχηκότι κατὰ τὸ ἴσον 15 βλέπων. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὴν παρατροπὴν ἐθεάσατο, οὔτω καὶ τὴν ἀνάκλησιν αὐτοῦ πάλιν τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν κατενόησε. τί οὖν ἄμεινον ἦν, καθ' ὅλου μὴ ἀγαγεῖν τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν εἰς γέनेσις, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ καλοῦ διαμαρτήσεσθαι προεώρα τὸν γενησόμενον, ἢ ἀγαγόντα καὶ νενοσηκότα 20

1 φησιν που dfg || 6 των στοχασμων hnr τον στοχασμον l<sup>1</sup> vulg || 7 om της σοφιας f || 11 προς το πονηρον] πονηρας e || 13 οτι γαρ] exstant seqq in euth 12456 || 14 τα παντα περικρατων f || προορατικη l vulg || 15-16 βλέπων κ. τ. ισον l vulg || 20 τον γενησ.] το γενησ. l vulg || νενοσηκυαν euth

1-2. τὴν ἐν βάθει...οἰκ.] 'our deeply rooted connection with evil.' For ἐν βάθει cp. c. 7 τοῖς...ἐν βάθει καθάπερ τινὰ δεισοποιῶν βαφὴν τὴν αἰρετικὴν παραδεδεγμένους ἀπάτην.

4-5. τῇ...φύσει] is governed by ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου. It is as impossible to describe the pains of the future purification as it is to describe the future blessings which man hopes for.

9. μικροψυχίας] Such accusations against the Creator show 'a little mind.' Cp. c. 9 τῶν μικροψυχότερων

τὴν πίστιν.

11. ἔξω τῆς...ὀ.] Cp. c. 7 ἔξω τῆς αἰτίας (his).

13. ὅτι γάρ] The following passage as far as χώραν οὐκ ἔχει, p. 50, is quoted in Euthymius Zigabenus *Pan. Dogm.* pt i tit. vi pp. 201 sq. (Migne).

20. ἀγαγ...νενοσ.] ἀγ. refers to God, νενοσ. to man (τὸν γενησόμενον). The text of Euth., in order to make the sense clearer, reads νενοσηκυαν (sc. τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν). Καὶ νενοσ., 'even when he was diseased.'

πάλιν πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς χάριν διὰ μετανοίας ἀνακαλέ-  
 σασθαι; τὸ δὲ διὰ τὰς σωματικὰς ἀλγηδόνας, αἱ τῷ  
 ῥευστῷ τῆς φύσεως κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐπισυμβαίνουσι, κακῶν  
 ποιητὴν τὸν θεὸν ὀνομάζειν, ἢ μηδὲ ὅλως ἀνθρώπου  
 5 κτίστην αὐτὸν οἶεσθαι, ὡς ἂν μὴ καὶ τῶν ἀλγυνόντων  
 ἡμᾶς αἴτιος ὑπονοοῖτο, τοῦτο τῆς ἐσχάτης μικροψυχίας  
 ἐστὶ τῶν τῇ αἰσθήσει τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν διακρινόντων,  
 οἳ οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅτι ἐκείνο τῇ φύσει μόνον ἐστὶν ἀγαθόν, οὗ  
 ἢ αἰσθησις οὐκ ἐφάπτεται, καὶ μόνον ἐκείνο κακὸν ἢ τοῦ  
 10 ἀληθινοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀλλοτριώσις. πόνοις δὲ καὶ ἡδοναῖς τὸ  
 καλὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ καλὸν κρίνειν τῆς ἀλόγου φύσεως ἰδίον  
 ἐστίν, ἐφ' ὧν τοῦ ἀληθῶς καλοῦ ἢ κατανόησις διὰ τὸ μὴ  
 μετέχειν αὐτὰ νοῦ καὶ διανοίας χώραν οὐκ ἔχει. ἄλλ'  
 ὅτι μὲν θεοῦ ἔργον ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καλόν τε καὶ ἐπὶ καλ-  
 15 λίστοις γενόμενον, οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων δῆλόν ἐστίν,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ μυρίων ἐτέρων, ὧν τὸ πλῆθος διὰ τὴν ἀμε-  
 τρίαν παραδραμούμεθα. θεὸν δὲ ἀνθρώπου ποιητὴν ὀνο-  
 μάσαντες οὐκ ἐπιλελήσμεθα τῶν ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ πρὸς τοὺς  
 "Ἕλληνας ἡμῖν διευκρινηθέντων, ἐν οἷς ἀπεδείκνυτο ὁ τοῦ  
 20 θεοῦ λόγος οὐσιώδης τις καὶ ἐνυπόστατος ὧν αὐτὸς εἶναι  
 καὶ θεὸς καὶ λόγος, πᾶσαν δύναμιν ποιητικὴν ἐμπεριει-  
 ληφώς, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτοδύναμις ὧν καὶ πρὸς πᾶν ἀγαθὸν  
 τὴν ὀρμὴν ἔχων καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι περ ἂν θελήσῃ κατεργαζό-  
 μενος τῷ σύνδρομον ἔχειν τῇ βουλήσει τὴν δύναμιν, οὗ καὶ  
 25 θέλημα καὶ ἔργον ἐστὶν ἢ τῶν ὄντων ζωὴ, παρ' οὗ καὶ ὁ

1 om δια μετανοιας fl\* vulg || 9 η αισθ.] om η deghnp euth 1246 || 10 αληθ.  
 αγαθου] om αληθινου g1\*n1 αληθ. καλον deg\*hp euth || 11 μη καλον] κακον  
 vulg || διακρινειν euth 245 || 12 αληθινον καλον d αληθους καλον ef || 13 αυτο e ||  
 εχει] desinit euth || 21 εκπεριειληφως hnp || 22 αγαθον] εργον αγαθον l vulg ||  
 23 om την l vulg || 24 το συνδρ. fr || βουλησει] θελησει dn

2-3. τῷ ῥευστῷ] Bodily pain is  
 the result of the unstable character  
 of man's nature.

7. τῇ αἰσθήσει] Cp. *antea* c. 7  
 πρὸς τὸ ἡδὺ τῆς σωματικῆς ἀπολαύσεως

τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὀριζόμενοι.

14. ἐπὶ καλλ.] Cp. c. 5 ἐπὶ  
 τούτοις (note).

16. ἀμετρίαν] 'countless number.'

18. προοιμ.] i.e. in c. 1.

ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸ ζῆν παρήχθη, πᾶσι τοῖς καλλίστοις θεο-  
 ειδῶς κεκοσμημένους. ἐπειδὴ δὲ μόνον ἀναλλοιώτῳ ἐστὶ  
 κατὰ τὴν φύσιν τὸ μὴ διὰ κτίσεως ἔχον τὴν γένεσιν, τὰ  
 δ' ὅσα παρὰ τῆς ἀκτίστου φύσεως ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ὑπέστη,  
 εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τροπῆς τοῦ εἶναι ἀρξάμενα, πάντοτε δι' ἀλ- 5  
 λοιώσεως πρόεισιν, εἰ μὲν κατὰ φύσιν πράττοι, πρὸς τὸ  
 κρεῖττον αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀλλοιώσεως εἰς αἰὲν γιγνομένης, εἰ δὲ  
 παρατραπείη τῆς εὐθείας, τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον αὐτὰ δια-  
 δεχομένης κινήσεως· ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τούτοις καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος  
 ἦν, ᾧ τὸ τρεπτὸν τῆς φύσεως πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον παρῶ- 10  
 λισθεν, ἅπαξ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀναχωρήσεως δι' ἀκο-  
 λούθου πᾶσαν ἰδέαν κακῶν ἀντεισαγοῦσης, ὡς τῇ μὲν  
 ἀποστροφῇ τῆς ζωῆς ἀντισταχθῆναι τὸν θάνατον, τῇ δὲ  
 στερήσει τοῦ φωτὸς ἐπιγενέσθαι τὸ σκότος, τῇ δὲ τῆς  
 ἀρετῆς ἀπουσίᾳ τὴν κακίαν ἀντισταχθῆναι καὶ πάσῃ τῇ 15  
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἰδέᾳ τὸν τῶν ἐναντίων ἀνταριθμηθῆναι κατὰ-  
 λογον, τὸν ἐν τούτοις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐξ ἀβουλίας  
 ἐμπεπτωκότα· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν δυνατὸν ἐν φρονήσει εἶναι τὸν  
 ἀεστραμμένον τὴν φρόνησιν καὶ σοφὸν τι βουλευσασθαι  
 τὸν τῆς σοφίας ἀναχωρήσαντα· διὰ τίνος ἔδει πάλιν 20  
 πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς χάριν ἀνακληθῆναι; τίνι διέφερον  
 ἢ τοῦ πεπτωκότος ἀνόρθωσις, ἢ τοῦ ἀπολωλότος ἀνά-

4 om του vulg || 6 προεισιν]+και l vulg || 7 γιγνομενης ef γιν- vulg ||  
 11 του αγαθου d || 12 πασαν κακ. ιδ. e || 16 om ιδεα l\* vulg || καταριθμη-  
 θηναι g<sup>1</sup> vulg || 20 δια τινος] exstant seqq in euth 12456 || παλιν] τον ανθρω-  
 πον euth 12 || 21 τινι δε διεφερεν f τινι δε επρεπεν l vulg

5. ἀπὸ τροπῆς] Cp. c. 6 ἀπὸ  
 ἀλλοιώσεως ἤρξατο.

6. εἰ μὲν κατὰ φύσιν] The natural  
 development of man would have  
 been δι' ἀλλοιώσεως in the direction  
 of improvement. By his departure  
 from good it became a progressive  
 deterioration.

8. τῆς εὐθείας] sc. ὁδοῦ.

16. ἀνταριθμηθῆναι] 'over against  
 every kind of good there was set down  
 the list of opposite evils.'

17-18. τὸν...ἐμπεπτ.] Here begins  
 the apodosis. The acc. is the sub-  
 ject of the *inf.* ἀνακληθῆναι below.

18. φρονήσει] 'practical wisdom,'  
 'prudence.' On φρόνησις and σοφία  
 see Lightfoot on Col. i 10.

20. διὰ τίνος] The following pas-  
 sage, as far as the words τό τε σῶμα  
 τῆς ψυχῆς διακρίνεται in c. 16, is  
 reproduced in Euth. Zig. *Pan.*  
*Dogm.* pt i tit. vii pp. 213 sq.  
 (Migne).

κλησις, ἢ τοῦ πεπλανημένου χειραγωγία; τίνι ἄλλῳ ἢ τῷ κυρίῳ πάντως τῆς φύσεως; τῷ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν ζωὴν δεδωκότι μόνῳ δυνατὸν ἦν καὶ πρέπον ἅμα καὶ ἀπολομένην ἀνακαλέσασθαι. ὁ παρὰ τοῦ μυστηρίου τῆς ἀλη-  
5 θείας ἀκοίουμεν, θεὸν πεποιηκέναι κατ' ἀρχὰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ σεσωκέναι διαπεπτωκότα μανθάνοντες.

9. Ἀλλὰ μέχρι μὲν τούτων συνθήσεται τυχὸν τῷ λόγῳ ὁ πρὸς τὸ ἀκόλουθον βλέπων διὰ τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἔξω τι τῆς θεοπρεποῦς ἐννοίας τῶν εἰρημένων εἶναι· πρὸς δὲ τὰ  
10 ἐφεξῆς οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔξει, δι' ὧν μάλιστα τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἀληθείας κρατύνεται· γένεσις ἀνθρωπίνη καὶ ἡ ἐκ νηπίου πρὸς τελείωσιν αὔξησις, βρώσις τε καὶ πόσις, καὶ κόπος, καὶ ὕπνος, καὶ λύπη, καὶ δάκρυον, συκοφαντία τε καὶ δικα-

3 απολλυμενην l vulg || 5 ἐξ αρχης l vulg || 6 μανθανομεν e 9. 8 om o l vulg || 9-10 το εφεξ. ghir euth || 11 αληθειας] ευσεβειας f οικονομιας euth 1456 || γεννησιν ανθρωπινην λεγω euth || 11-12 την...αυξησιν, βρωσιν... ποσιν...κοπον euth || 13 υπνον...λυπην...συκοφαντιαν euth

#### CHAPS. IX—XXXII. ON THE INCARNATION AND REDEMPTION.

9. *In this and the two following chapters Gr. discusses some of the objections urged against the method employed by God in the Incarnation. One such objection arises out of the alleged degradation to the Divine Nature involved in it. The submission to the processes of birth and growth, the acceptance of the conditions of human life, and, finally, the dishonour attaching to the trial, death and burial of Christ, these, it is urged, were unworthy of God. In reply Gr. maintains that vice is the only degradation. The Incarnation, in that it was marked by absolute freedom from contact with vice, was an exhibition of moral perfection (καλόν).*

9. θεοπρεποῦς ἐννοίας] 'a conception which is worthy of God.' Τῶν εἰρημ. depends on τι.

9-10. πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐφεξῆς] The

sentence which follows is difficult. The text of Euth. is the result of an attempt to simplify the construction. The antecedent to δι' ὧν is τὰ ἐφεξῆς, which refers to γένεσις ἀνθρωπίνη κτλ., these latter words being in loose apposition to τὰ ἐφεξῆς. For a similar instance of a broken construction see c. 1 *sub fin.* with note.

10. οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔξει] The subject is either the same as that of συνθήσεται, 'he will not think the same' or impersonal 'the case will not be the same.'

10-11. τὸ μυστήριον τ. ἀ.] i.e. the doctrine of the Incarnation, which rests upon and is established by γένεσις κτλ., although these latter are likely at first to be a stumbling-block to the catechumen.

13. συκοφαντία] = 'false accusation.' Δικαστ. 'place of judgment.'

στήριον, καὶ σταυρός, καὶ θάνατος, καὶ ἡ ἐν μνημείῳ θέσις· ταῦτα γὰρ συμπαραλαμβανόμενα τῷ μυστηρίῳ ἀμβλύνει πως τῶν μικροψυχοτέρων τὴν πίστιν, ὡς μηδὲ τὸ ἐφεξῆς τῶν λεγομένων διὰ τὰ προειρημένα συμπαραδέχασθαι. τὸ γὰρ θεοπρεπὲς τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως διὰ τὸ περὶ 5 τὸν θάνατον ἀπρεπὲς οὐ προσίενται. ἐγὼ δὲ πρότερον οἶμαι δεῖν μικρὸν τῆς σαρκικῆς παχύτητος τὸν λογισμὸν ἀποστήσαντας, αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸ μὴ τοιοῦτον κατανοῆσαι, ποίοις γνωρίσμασιν ἐκάτερον τούτων καταλαμβάνεται. οὐδένα γὰρ ἀντερεῖν οἶμαι τῶν λελο- 10 γισμένων, ὅτι ἐν κατὰ φύσιν μόνον τῶν πάντων ἐστὶν αἰσχρὸν τὸ κατὰ κακίαν πάθος, τὸ δὲ κακίας ἐκτὸς παντὸς αἰσχρὸς ἐστὶν ἀλλότριον· ὃ δὲ μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν καταμέμικται, τοῦτο πάντως ἐν τῇ τοῦ καλοῦ μοίρα καταλαμβάνεται, τὸ δὲ ἀληθῶς καλὸν ἀμιγές ἐστι τοῦ ἐναντίου. 15 πρέπει δὲ θεῷ πᾶν ὅ τι περ ἐν τῇ τοῦ καλοῦ θεωρεῖται χώρα. ἡ τοίνυν δειξάτωσαν κακίαν εἶναι τὴν γέννησιν, τὴν ἀνατροφήν, τὴν αὔξησιν, τὴν πρὸς τὸ τέλειον τῆς

1 και σταυρος] σταυρον (om και) euth || θανατον euth || την... θεσιν euth || 3 τα εφεξης en euth || 6 προσιεται g<sup>1</sup> vulg || 7 δευ]+αιτους g<sup>11</sup> || 10 παραλαμβανεται d || 12-13 το κατα κακιαν...αισχρον om l\* || 13-15 εστιν αλλοτρ...αμιγες εστ. τ. εναντιου om euth 1 et (exceptis εστ. αλλοτρ.) 2 || 13 αισχρον] εναντιου vulg || μεμικται vulg || 14 παραλαμβ. ehn || 16 τω θεω l\*<sup>vid</sup> vulg || ο τι περ]+αν deghnr || θεωρηται en euth 25 || 17 γενεσιν fg<sup>1</sup>

2. συμπαραλαμβ.] 'when taken along with the revelation.'

ib. ἀμβλύνει] 'blunt,' 'weaken.' Μικροψυχ. cp. c. 8 ὑπὸ μικροψυχίας.

3. τὸ ἐφεξῆς] i.e. the Resurrection.

7-8. τὸν λογ. ἀποστ.] Cp. c. 7 τὸν νοῦν ἀποστήσαντας.

8. αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν] See note c. 5 p. 27.

10. τῶν λελογ.] The *perf.* is intensive, 'no one who has carefully

pondered the matter.'

12. τὸ δὲ κακίας ἐκτὸς] 'that which is free from moral evil.'

14. μοίρα] For this periphrastic use of μοίρα (= *in numero...esse*) cp. Plat. *Phileb.* 54 C ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μοίρα ἐκεῖνό ἐστι. Καταλ. is a mere variation of phrase for the usual θεωρεῖσθαι which follows, while μοίρα is followed by the equivalent χώρα. 'This is assuredly found to be good.'

φύσεως πρόοδον, τὴν τοῦ θανάτου πείραν, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου ἐπάνοδον· ἢ εἰ ἔξω κακίας εἶναι τὰ εἰρημέια συντίθενται, οὐδὲν αἰσχροὺν εἶναι τὸ κακίας ἀλλότριον ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁμολογήσουσι. καλοῦ δὲ πάντως ἀναδεικνυμένου  
 5 τοῦ πάσης αἰσχροτήτος καὶ κακίας ἀπηλλαγμένου, πῶς οὐκ ἔλεεινοὶ τῆς ἀλογίας οἱ τὸ καλὸν μὴ πρέπειν ἐπὶ θεοῦ δογματίζοντες;

10. Ἄλλὰ μικρόν, φησί, καὶ εὐπερίγραπτον ἢ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις, ἄπειρον δὲ ἢ θεότης, καὶ πῶς ἂν περιελήφθη  
 10 τῷ ἀτόμῳ τὸ ἄπειρον; καὶ τίς τοῦτό φησιν, ὅτι τῇ περιγραφῇ τῆς σαρκὸς καθάπερ ἀγγείῳ τινὶ ἢ ἀπειρία τῆς θεότητος περιελήφθη; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ζωῆς ἐντὸς κατακλείεται τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς ὄρων ἢ νοερά φύσις.

1 om του vulg || 2 η ει] om ει n euth 25 || των ειρημεων e om τα ειρ. p || 3 συντιθεται l euth 1 || ουδεν] και ουδεν euth 25 || 4 αποδεικ. euth 25 || 5 του...απηλλαγ. om l\* vulg 10. 8 απεριγραπτ. l\* vid euth 16 περιγραπτ. vulg || 10 φησειεν q φησι εν r || 11 αγγειω] εν αγγ. g<sup>1</sup> εν αγγιω fqr || το απειρον e Thdrt || 12 θεοτητος] σαρκος Thdrt<sup>rom</sup>

6. ἐλεεινοὶ τῆς ἀλ.] ‘to be pitied for their folly.’

10. A second objection is ‘How can the finite contain the infinite? How can the Divine Nature be contained within the limits of human nature?’ Gr. replies that a fallacy underlies such questions. The Divine Nature is not confined within human nature as though the latter were a vessel. Even the soul of man, when engaged in the movements of thought, ranges at will far beyond the limits of the body. The relations of the human and Divine natures may be illustrated by those of the flame and the wick.

8. Ἄλλὰ κτλ.] The passage which follows is quoted by Leontius of Byzantium *c. Nest. et Eutych.* bk iii. See Galland *Bibl. Vet. Patr.* xii p. 699.

*ib.* εὐπερίγραπτον] The com-

mon text has περιγραπτόν, ‘circumscribed.’ Εὐπερίγραπτον means ‘easily circumscribed,’ ‘narrow,’ ‘small.’ Gr. uses the word in *Hex., proem* p. 64 (Migne) ἐν ὀλίγοις τε καὶ εὐπερίγραπτοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν.

10. ἀτόμῳ] ‘how the infinite could have been contained in the atom.’

*ib.* τίς τοῦτό φ.] This passage is quoted by Theodoret *Dial.* ii (Inconfusus) p. 194 (Migne), to prove the two natures in Christ, although Gr.’s purpose is quite different, and the words are intended to correct a false conception of the union of the two natures.

13. ἐντός] For the separation of the prep. from the noun cp. c. 11 ἐντός γενέσθαι τῆς σῆς καταλήψεως. For the relations of soul and body see an interesting passage in Plotinus *Enn.* 4. 3. 20 sq., which Gr.

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὄγκος τοῦ σώματος τοῖς οἰκείοις μέρεσι περιγράφεται, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ τοῖς τῆς διανοίας κινήμασι πάση κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐφαπλοῦται τῇ κτίσει, καὶ μέχρις οὐρανῶν ἀνιούσα, καὶ τῶν ἀβύσσων ἐπιβατεύουσα, καὶ τῷ πλατεῖ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπερχομένη, καὶ πρὸς τὰ καταχθόνια διὰ 5 τῆς πολυπραγμοσύνης εἰσδύνουσα, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τῶν οὐρανίων θαυμάτων ἐν περινοίᾳ γίνεται, οὐδὲν βαρυνόμενη τῷ ἐφορκίῳ τοῦ σώματος. εἰ δὲ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ κατὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκην συγκεκραμένη τῷ σώματι πανταχοῦ κατ' ἐξουσίαν γίνεται, τίς ἀνάγκη τῇ φύσει τῆς 10 σαρκὸς τὴν θεότητα λέγειν ἐμπεριείργεσθαι καὶ μὴ διὰ τῶν χωρητῶν ἡμῖν ὑποδειγμάτων στοχασμόν τινα πρέ-

4 ανιουσα] φθανουσα qf || τα πλατη euth 45 || 5 ἐπερχομενη] περιπολευουσα qf || 7 υπερουρ. dgnp euth επουρ. eh || 10 η αναγκη vulg || 12 χωρητικων q χωρικων r || στοχασμον]+ημιν l vulg

may have had in his mind, as the illustration of the ἀγγείον, which Gr. has employed, occurs in it.

1. ὁ μὲν ὄγκος] The 'bulk' of the body is limited by its own particular parts and confined to them.

3. ἐφαπλοῦται] 'but the soul by the movements of its thought deploys over the whole creation at will.' Gr. has probably in mind a passage of the *Phaedrus* of Plato (246 B): ἡ ψυχὴ πᾶσα παντὸς ἐπιμελείται τοῦ ἀψύχου, πάντα τε οὐρανὸν περιπολεῖ, ἄλλοτε ἐν ἄλλοις εἶδεσι γιγνομένη. τελέα μὲν οὖν οἶσα καὶ ἐπτερωμένη μετεωροπορεῖ τε καὶ ἀπαντα τὸν κόσμον διοικεῖ.

4. ἐπιβατεύουσα] lit. 'setting foot on,' 'entering.' Cf. *c. Eunom.* i p. 292 (Migne) ὑπερορισμὸς οὐ φοβήσεται τὸν πάσης τῆς γῆς μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἐπιβατεύοντα.

ib. τῷ πλατεῖ] 'traversing the wide expanse of the world.' The nearest approach to this use of ἐπέρχεσθαι with the *dat.* is in a passage of the *in Psalmos* (ii 14 *init.*) where Gr. says τούτοις ἐπελθὼν τοῖς

νοήμασιν. The text of Euth. has the correction πλατῆ.

6. πολυπραγμοσύνης] 'in its unwearying pursuit of truth.' For πολυπραγμονεῖν in this sense cp. Cyril Al. *de Adorat.* i p. 145 (Migne) πολυπραγμονῶμεν εὐ μάλα τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ κάλλος.

7. περινοία] 'is engaged in comprehending the wonders of the heavens.' *Περινοία* occurs in Plat. *Ax.* 370 C, where it is similarly used of the comprehension of the wonders of the heavens and the processes of nature. For the phrase ἐν π. γίν. cp. Greg. Naz. *Or.* xxviii 6 with Dr Mason's note.

8. τῷ ἐφορκίῳ] 'burdened by the appendage of the body.' Ἐφορκ. lit. 'a ship that is taken in tow.' Plotinus (*de Pulchr.* 54 E) similarly uses ὀγκῆ of that which drags down the soul.

12. χωρητῶν] 'illustrations which we can comprehend.'

ib. στοχασμόν] 'conjecture.' Cp. c. 8 τῷ στοχασμῷ τῆς διανοίας. For οἰκονομ. see *antea* c. 5 *init.* note.

ποντα περὶ τῆς θείας οἰκονομίας λαβεῖν; ὡς γὰρ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τῆς λαμπάδος ὀράται τῆς ὑποκειμένης περιδεδραγμένου ὕλης, καὶ λόγος μὲν διακρίνει τό τε ἐπὶ τῆς ὕλης πῦρ καὶ τὴν τὸ πῦρ ἐξάπτουσαν ὕλην, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπ' 5 ἀλλήλων ταῦτα διατεμόντας, ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς δεῖξαι τὴν φλόγα διεξευγμένην τῆς ὕλης, ἀλλ' ἐν τὰ συναμφότερα γίνεται, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου· καὶ μοι μηδεὶς τὸ φθαρτικὸν τοῦ πυρὸς συμπαραλαμβανέτω τῷ ὑποδείγματι, ἀλλ' ὅσον εὐπρεπές ἐστι μόνον ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι δεξιόμενος, τὸ ἀπεμφαῖνον ἀποποι- 10 εἴσθω· τὸν αὐτὸν οὖν τρόπον, ὡς ὀρώμεν καὶ ἐξημμένην τοῦ

2 λαμπηδονος e || 5 εφ εαυτης] εφ εαυτην vulg || 7 ουτω] om e euth || και επι τουτου] om deghlnp vulg || και μοι] om μοι fl vulg || 9 το ανοικειον και απεμφ. l vulg || 10 om ουν g<sup>1</sup> euth 12

1. ὡς γάρ] The illustration of the flame and the wick which follows has been criticized as a touch of unconscious Eutychianism. But the purpose of Gr. in using the illustration is simply to show that the flame is inseparably connected with the wick and yet is not enclosed in it. Any further parallelism is foreign to his intention.

2. ὑποκειμένης] 'the material supplied to it' i.e. for the flame to feed upon.

ib. περιδεδρ.] Cp. c. 6 p. 36.

3. λόγος διακρ.] The distinction between the flame and the wick, which reason (λόγος) makes, does not exist practically (ἔργῳ), as it is not possible to exhibit the flame separate from the wick.

7. οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου] The text is in some confusion here. The reading adopted most easily explains the origin of the variations. Gr. begins to apply the comparison in the words οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου, and then introduces a parenthesis καὶ μοι.....ἀποποιείσθω to safeguard his illustration from being misconceived, afterwards resuming the main sentence with τὸν αὐτὸν οὖν τρόπον.

ib. τὸ φθαρτικόν] Gr. guards against any material conceptions

which may be associated with his illustration, such as may arise from the perishable character of the flame. His readers are to reject what is incongruous in the illustration. For ἀπεμφαῖνον see c. 1 p. 10 (note). 'Ἀποποιείσθαι' = 'reject' is found in Job viii 20 (LXX) and in other passages of the same book.

10. ἐξημμένην] 'we see the flame clinging to that which is supplied to it and not included in the material.' 'Ἐξημμ.' is variously rendered in the different versions. Zinus, the Latin translator of Euthymius, renders 'flammam attingere subjectam materiam.' Similarly Hervetus 'quae subjectum attingit et apprehendit.' Fronto Ducaeus suggests two renderings: (1) *conjungi et dependere*, which is adopted by Krab.; (2) *accendi*, which yields the sense 'quae ex subjecta materia accensa est.' The justification for this second rendering is the preceding phrase τὴν τὸ πῦρ ἐξάπτουσαν ὕλην. But the absence of a preposition with τοῦ ὑποκειμένου is against it. The rendering given above suits the context and the general sense of ἐξάπτεσθαι. Τὸ ὑποκείμ. is the wick, which Gr. has referred to *supra* as ἡ ὑποκειμένη ὕλη.



ὑποκειμένου τὴν φλόγα καὶ οὐκ ἐναποκλειομένην τῇ ὕλῃ, τί κωλύει θείας φύσεως ἔνωσίν τινα καὶ προσεγγισμὸν κατανοήσαντας πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, τὴν θεοπρεπῆ διάνοιαν καὶ ἐν τῷ προσεγγισμῷ διασώσασθαι, πάσης περιγραφῆς ἐκτὸς εἶναι τὸ θεῖον πιστεύοντας, κὰν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ᾗ; 5

11. Εἰ δὲ ζητεῖς πῶς κατακρινᾶται θεότης πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, ὥρα σοι πρὸ τούτου ζητεῖν τί πρὸς τὴν σάρκα τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ συμφυία. εἰ δὲ τῆς σῆς ἀγνοεῖται ψυχῆς ὁ τρόπος, καθ' ὃν ἐνοῦται τῷ σώματι, μηδὲ ἐκεῖνο πάντως οἴου δεῖν ἐντὸς γενέσθαι τῆς σῆς καταλήψεως· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα 10 καὶ ἕτερον εἶναί τι παρὰ τὸ σῶμα τὴν ψυχὴν πεπιστεύκαμεν ἐκ τοῦ μονωθείσαν τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν σάρκα νεκρὰν τε καὶ ἀνερέργητον γίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸν τῆς ἐνώσεως οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκομεν τρόπον, οὕτω κἀκεῖ διαφέρειν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον τὴν θείαν φύσιν πρὸς τὴν θνητὴν καὶ 15 ἐπίκληρον ὁμολογοῦμεν, τὸν δὲ τῆς ἀνακράσεως τρόπον τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον συνιδεῖν οὐ χωροῦμεν. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν γεγενῆσθαι θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει διὰ τῶν ἱστορουμένων θαυμάτων οὐκ ἀμφιβάλλομεν, τὸ δ' ὅπως, ὡς

2 της θειας euth 12 || κατανοησαντας] γνωρισαντας Thdr<sup>trism</sup> || 4 εν τη ενωσει f || διασωζεσθαι l vulg Thdr<sup>rom</sup> || 5 θειον] οσιον f || εν ανθρωποις Thdr<sup>tr</sup> και εν τω λαβειν δουλου μορφην [ || η] ην vulg 11. 6 ζητειν προ τουτου l vulg || 8 συναφεια g<sup>1</sup> || 13 γενεσθαι l vulg || 16-17 του θ. τρ. f || 17 τον ανθρ.] το ανθρωπινον [g<sup>1</sup> l vulg || 19 το δ οπως] το δε πως el vulg

2. θείας φύσεως] The absence of the article emphasizes the force of the adj. 'a nature which is Divine.'

3. θεοπρεπῆ διάνοιαν] 'the right and proper thought of God.'

11. To the objection 'In what manner is the Godhead united to the manhood?' Gr. replies that man does not know how in his own nature the soul is united to the flesh. The fact of the union of the Godhead and the manhood in Christ is attested by miracles, but the manner is inscrutable.

10. ἐντός] For the separation from the noun cp. c. 10 p. 54, note.

14-15. ἐπὶ τὸ μεγαλοπ.] lit. 'in the direction of greater majesty,' 'as possessing greater majesty.'

16. ἀνακράσεως] Cp. *supra* κατακρινᾶται and c. 16 ἀνεκφράστου συνακράσεως. On the use of such terms with reference to the Incarnation see Petavius *de Inc.* iii 2, and cp. Mason *Five Or. of Greg. Naz.* pp. 103, 112.

17. οὐ χωροῦμεν] 'we are not capable of perceiving.'

18. διὰ τῶν ἱστορ.] Gr. rests his argument for the union of the Godhead and manhood in Christ on facts. It is attested by the miracles recorded.

μείζον ἢ κατὰ λογισμῶν ἔφοδον, διερευνᾶν παραιτούμεθα. οὐδὲ γὰρ πᾶσαν τὴν σωματικὴν τε καὶ νοητὴν κτίσιν παρὰ τῆς ἀσωμάτου τε καὶ ἀκτίστου φύσεως ὑποστῆναι πιστεύοντες, τὸ πόθεν ἢ τὸ πῶς τῇ περὶ τούτων πίστει 5 συνεξετάζομεν. ἀλλὰ τὸ γεγενῆσθαι παραδεχόμενοι, ἀπολυπραγμόνητον τὸν τρόπον τῆς τοῦ παντός συστάσεως καταλείπομεν, ὡς ἄρρητον παντάπασιν ὄντα καὶ ἀνερμήνευτον.

12. Τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ ἐν σαρκὶ πεφανερῶσθαι ἡμῖν ὁ τὰς 10 ἀποδείξεις ἐπιζητῶν πρὸς τὰς ἐνεργείας βλέπετω. καὶ γὰρ τοῦ ὅλως εἶναι θεὸν οὐκ ἂν τις ἐτέραν ἀπόδειξιν ἔχοι, πλὴν τῆς δι' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐνεργειῶν μαρτυρίας. ὥσπερ τοίνυν εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἀφορῶντες, καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸν κόσμον οἰκονομίας ἐπισκοποῦντες καὶ τὰς εὐεργεσίας τὰς θεόθεν κατὰ τὴν 15 ζωὴν ἡμῶν ἐνεργουμένας, ὑπερκεῖσθαι τινα δύναμιν ποιητικὴν τῶν γιγνομένων καὶ συντηρητικὴν τῶν ὄντων καταλαμβάνομεν, οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ διὰ σαρκὸς ἡμῖν φανερωθέντος θεοῦ ἱκανὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἐπιφανείας τῆς

2 κτισιν] γεννησιν vulg || 4 πως] οπως vulg || 6 om τον vulg 12. 9 φανε-  
θῆναι euth 12 || 11 πλῆν] om vulg || 12 δια της των εν. fl vulg || 14 απο-  
σκοπ. d

1. ἔφοδον] = 'method,' Cp. Greg. Naz. Or. xxviii 7 εἴπερ ὄλαις ταῖς λογικαῖς πιστεῖεις ἐφόδοις.

5. συνεξετάζ.] 'along with our faith in these truths we do not combine an enquiry into the source and manner.'

6. ἀπολυπραγμόνητον] For πολυπραγμονεῖν see *antea* c. 10 πολυπραγμοσύνης (note). Here the word has a somewhat more unfavourable sense. 'Accepting the fact that it was created, we put aside all curious enquiry into the manner in which the universe was framed.' Cp. Cyr. Al. in *Isai.* xlv p. 964 (Migne) ἀπολυπραγμόνητα δὲ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ τεχνουργούμενα.

12. The fact that God has become man is attested by the evidence of Divine power shown in the earthly

life of Christ. His activities reveal wonders no less than those which in Creation point to the creative and upholding power of God.

9. θεοῦ ἐν σαρκὶ πεφ.] 1 Tim. iii 16.

13-14. οἰκονομίας ... εὐεργεσίας] Οἰκονομῖαι are 'the orderly dispositions' made by God in the Universe. Εὐεργεσίαι are 'the exhibitions of beneficence' shown in the provision for the needs of His creatures. The θαύματα to which Gr. appeals exhibit the moral character and goodness of God. They are σημεῖα in the sense of St John.

15. ὑπερκεῖσθαι] Cp. *antea, prol.* δύναμιν... τοῦ παντός ὑπερκειμένην.

17-18. ἐπὶ τοῦ... φαν.] 'in the case of God manifested to us by means of the flesh.' Another possible

θεότητος τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἐνεργείας θαύματα πεποιήμεθα, πάντα τοῖς ἱστορηθεῖσιν ἔργοις, δι' ὧν ἡ θεία χαρακτηρίζεται φύσις, κατανοήσαντες. θεοῦ τὸ ζωοποιεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, θεοῦ τὸ συντηρεῖν διὰ προνοίας τὰ ὄντα, θεοῦ τὸ βρῶσιν καὶ πόσιν τοῖς διὰ σαρκὸς τὴν ζωὴν εἰληχόσι 5 χαρίζεσθαι, θεοῦ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν τὸν δεόμενον, θεοῦ τὸ παρατραπείσαν ἐξ ἀσθενείας τὴν φύσιν πάλιν δι' ὑγείας πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἐπανάγειν, θεοῦ τὸ πάσης ἐπιστατεῖν ὁμοιοτρόπως τῆς κτίσεως, γῆς, θαλάσσης, ἀέρος, καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀέρα τόπων, θεοῦ τὸ πρὸς πάντα διαρκῆ τὴν δύναμιν ἔχειν καὶ 10 πρό γε πάντων τὸ θανάτου καὶ φθορᾶς εἶναι κρείττονα. εἰ μὲν οὖν τινὸς τούτων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἔλλιπῆς ἦν ἡ περὶ αὐτὸν ἱστορία, εἰκότως τὸ μυστήριον ἡμῶν οἱ ἔξω τῆς πίστεως παρεγράφοντο· εἰ δὲ δι' ὧν νοεῖται θεός, πάντα ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ διηγήμασι καθορᾶται, τί τὸ ἐμποδίζον 15 τῇ πίστει;

### 13. Ἀλλά, φησί, γέννησίς τε καὶ θάνατος ἴδιον τῆς

+ τα παντα d || 5 om δια vulg || 6 το ευεργ.] om το vulg || 8 επαναγαγειν e || επιβατευειν [g<sup>1</sup>] επικρατευειν vulg || om. επ. f || 9 και των] om και l vulg || τον αερα] om τον f || 11 φθορας] διαφθορας g<sup>1</sup> || 12 om τουτων και e || om και των τοιουτων vulg || 14 πιστεως] + ημων vulg || 14-15 παντα... καθοραται om euth 16 || 15 καθοραται] κατορθουται d **13.** 17 γενεσις g<sup>1</sup>

rendering is to take διὰ σαρκὸς in the sense in which it occurs below τοῖς διὰ σαρκὸς τὴν ζωὴν εἰληχόσι. The language is intended to recall the words of St Paul with which the chapter begins.

2. τοῖς ἱστορηθ.] 'marking by means of His recorded works all the characteristic qualities of the Divine Nature.'

3. ζωοποιεῖν] Cp. c. 15 ἐδέιτο τοῦ ζωοποιούντος ὁ ἀφαρματῶν τῆς ζωῆς. Here it is used with a more general reference. The illustrations chosen by Gr. are intended to show that in the Incarnation there was exhibited a creative, sustaining activity like that to which Creation witnesses. He also hints at its redemptive purpose (παρατραπείσαν

...τὴν φύσιν...ἐπανάγειν) and especially emphasizes the mastery over death and corruption.

14. παρεγράφοντο] Παραγραφή = *praescriptio*, 'a legal exception,' 'demurrer.' 'Would have taken exception to.'

13. If it be objected that His birth and death show that He was limited by the conditions of human nature, we may reply that, while Christ was subject to the conditions of human nature, He also transcended them. He was born, but His birth was of a Virgin; He died, but His death was followed by His Resurrection. These facts show that He was more than man.

17. γέννησις] The purpose of the objector is to show that Christ was

σαρκικῆς ἐστὶ φύσεως. φημὶ καὶ γὰρ. ἀλλὰ τὸ πρὸ τῆς γεν-  
νήσεως καὶ τὸ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἐκ-  
φεύγει κοινότητα. εἰς γὰρ ἐκάτερα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς  
τὰ πέρατα βλέποντες, ἴσμεν καὶ ὅθεν ἀρχόμεθα καὶ εἰς  
5 τί καταλήγομεν. ἐκ πάθους γὰρ ἀρξάμενος τοῦ εἶναι ὁ  
ἄνθρωπος πάθει συναπαρτίζεται. ἐκεῖ δὲ οὔτε ἡ γέν-  
νησις ἀπὸ πάθους ἤρξατο, οὔτε ὁ θάνατος εἰς πάθος  
κατέληξεν· οὔτε γὰρ τῆς γεννήσεως ἡδονὴ κατηγήσατο,  
οὔτε τὸν θάνατον φθορὰ διεδέξατο. ἀπιστεῖς τῷ θαύ-  
10 ματι; χαίρω σου τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ· ὁμολογεῖς γὰρ πάντως δι'  
ὧν ὑπὲρ πίστιν ἡγή τὸ λεγόμενον, ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν εἶναι  
τὰ θαύματα. αὐτὸ οὖν τοῦτο τῆς θεότητος ἔστω σοι τοῦ  
φανέντος ἀπόδειξις, τὸ μὴ διὰ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν προίεται

1 γενεσεως dghnp euth || 6 γενεσις dghnp || 8 γενεσεως dghnp || 9 απε-  
δεξατο f || 10 om σου l vulg || om παντως e || 11 om την f || 12 τα θαυμ.]  
το πραγμα f || 13 το μη]+δι ολου euth || φυσιν] quae sequuntur desunt in  
euth 5

merely man, because He shared in the characteristic limitations of our nature, i.e. birth and death.

3. κοινότητα] There were circumstances accompanying the birth and death of Christ, which could not be brought within the common experiences of mankind, i.e. the Virgin-birth and the Resurrection.

3-4. ἐκάτερα...πέρατα] 'Looking to either extremity of our human life.' For similar language cp. c. 27 τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν δύο πέρασιν ἐκατέρωθεν διειλημμένης, τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν φημι καὶ τὸ τέλος.

5. πάθους] In this passage πάθος is used in two distinct senses, and it is not until c. 16 that Gr. clears up the ambiguity involved in the word. As applied to birth, the πάθος to which he refers is properly the πάθος of the parent (see ἡδονή below) and denotes 'passion.' As applied to death it implies imperfection, frailty, weakness, exhibited in the submission to φθορά.

6. συναπαρτίζεται] 'brings his

life to a close' i.e. by the πάθος of death involving φθορά (see *infra*).

ib. ἐκεῖ δέ] In Christ each of the πέρατα (which in human life are attended by a πάθος) presented a display of Divine power. For they were free from any exhibition of πάθος. His birth was not preceded by ἡδονή, nor was His death accompanied by φθορά.

9. φθορά] Cf. Ps. xv 10, Acts ii 10. The word διαφθορά which is found in both those passages occurs *infra*.

10. χαίρω] The incredulity of his hearers Gr. regards as a testimony to the supernatural character of the events. And it is this which he is seeking to prove.

ib. ὁμολογεῖς γάρ] 'For you acknowledge that these wonderful events are above nature, by the very reasons which lead you to consider that the account surpasses belief.'

12-13. τοῦ φανέντος] i.e. Χριστοῦ.

13. διὰ τῶν] 'that the Gospel message does not proceed in a way

τὸ κήρυγμα. εἰ γὰρ ἐντὸς ἦν τῶν τῆς φύσεως ὄρων τὰ  
περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διηγήματα, ποῦ τὸ θεῖον; εἰ δὲ ὑπερ-  
βαίνει τὴν φύσιν ὁ λόγος, ἐν οἷς ἀπιστεῖς, ἐν τούτοις ἐστὶν  
ἢ ἀπόδειξις τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν κηρυσσόμενον. ἄνθρωπος  
μὲν γὰρ ἐκ συνδυασμοῦ τίκτεται καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἐν 5  
διαφθορᾷ γίνεται. εἰ ταῦτα περιείχε τὸ κήρυγμα, οὐκ  
ἂν θεὸν εἶναι πάντως φήθης τὸν ἐν τοῖς ιδιώμασι τῆς  
φύσεως ἡμῶν μαρτυρούμενον. ἐπεὶ δὲ γεγενῆσθαι μὲν  
αὐτὸν ἀκούεις, ἐκβεβηκέναι δὲ τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν τὴν κοινό-  
τητα τῷ τε τῆς γενέσεως τρόπῳ καὶ τῷ ἀνεπιδέκτῳ τῆς 10  
εἰς φθορὰν ἀλλοιώσεως, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον  
ἐπὶ τὸ ἕτερον τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ χρῆσασθαι, εἰς τὸ μὴ ἄνθρωπον  
αὐτὸν ἕνα τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει δεικνυμένων οἶεσθαι. ἀνάγκη  
γὰρ πᾶσα τὸν μὴ πιστεύοντα τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον εἶναι  
εἰς τὴν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτὸν εἶναι πίστιν ἐναχθῆναι. ὁ γὰρ 15  
γεγεννησθαι αὐτὸν ἰστορήσας καὶ τὸ ἐκ παρθένου γεγεν-  
νησθαι συνδιηγήσατο. εἰ οὖν πιστὸν ἐστὶ διὰ τῶν εἰρη-  
μένων τὸ γεγεννησθαι αὐτόν, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων  
πάντως οὐδὲ τὸ οὕτως αὐτὸν γεγεννησθαι ἀπίθανον. ὁ

1 ὄρων]+παντα euth || 2 om του f || 3 φύσιν]+εν πολλοῖς euth || 4 θεον]  
καὶ θεον euth || 8 ἐπει δε] ἐπειδη e || γεγενν. dehn euth 245 || 9 ἀκουεις  
αυτον l vulg || 10 γεννησεως ef<sup>1</sup> euth 24 || 12 τη απιστ.] τη αποπια euth 16 ||  
15 περι το θ. l\*<sup>vid</sup> vulg || αναχθηναι euth 2 || 16 γεγεννησθαι p euth 1 ||  
17 συνδιηγησεται e || δια των] το δ. τ. e || 18 γεγεννησθαι lp || 19 γεγεννησθαι fr

that follows the order of nature.' Τὸ κήρυγμα is here used to denote the facts which formed the substance of the preaching. Cp. 1 Cor. ii 4.

10. γενέσεως] 'in the manner of his origin and in the fact that he was incapable of a change to corruption.' Gr. appears to use γένεσις and γέννησις almost as interchangeable terms. In the present passage γένεσις is certainly correct, as the grouping of the MSS shows. It

occurs again, without any variations, in cc. 16, 27.

12. ἐπὶ τὸ ἕτερον] 'it would be well, consistently with these facts (κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον), to exhibit incredulity in the opposite direction and refuse to think that He was an ordinary man like the other men who are produced in the course of nature.' Δεικ. is used here like ἀποδεικ.

15-16. ὁ...ιστ.] Mt i, Lk ii.

γὰρ τὴν γέννησιν εἰπὼν καὶ τὸ ἐκ παρθενίας προσέ-  
 θηκεν· καὶ ὁ τοῦ θανάτου μνησθεὶς καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τῷ  
 θανάτῳ προσεμαρτύρησεν. εἰ οὖν ἀφ' ὧν ἀκούεις καὶ  
 τεθνάναι καὶ γεγεννηῆσθαι δίδως, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν δώσεις  
 5 πάντως καὶ τὸ ἔξω πάθους εἶναι καὶ τὴν γέννησιν αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ τὸν θάνατον. ἀλλὰ μὴν ταῦτα μείζω τῆς φύσεως.  
 οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος πάντως ἐντὸς τῆς φύσεως ὁ ἐν τοῖς  
 ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν γεγενῆσθαι ἀποδεικνύμενος.

14. Τίς οὖν αἰτία, φησί, τοῦ πρὸς τὴν ταπεινότητα  
 10 ταύτην καταβῆναι τὸ θεῖον, ὡς ἀμφίβολον εἶναι τὴν πίστιν,  
 εἰ θεός, τὸ ἀχώρητον καὶ ἀκατανόητον καὶ ἀνεκκλήθητον  
 πρᾶγμα, τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν δόξαν καὶ πᾶσαν μεγαλειότητα,  
 τῷ λύθρῳ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως καταμίγνυται, ὡς καὶ  
 τὰς ὑψηλὰς ἐνεργείας αὐτοῦ τῇ πρὸς τὸ ταπεινὸν ἐπιμιξία  
 15 συνευτελίζεσθαι.

1 παρθενου | vulg || 4 το γεγενν. και το τεθ. vulg τεθνα διδως (om το  
 γεγενν.) | γεγεννησθαι n\* p || εκ των αυт. om d || 5 γεγεσιν dghnp || 6 τον  
 θαν.] την αναστασιν e || 7 εντος] + παντη euth || om εν τοις e || 8 om την  
 vulg || γεγενν. degh 14. 9 η αιτια euth || 13 λυθρω] ευτελει ελυτρω | vulg

1. παρθενίας] 'a state of virginity.' Cp. c. *Eunom.* iv p. 628 (Migne) Πῶς οὖν ἐφανερῶθη ἐν σαρκὶ ὁ θεός; Διὰ τόκου, πάντως ἐρεῖς. Ποῖον οὖν τούτου μνησθεῖς; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι τῆς παρθενίας, καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου ἦν;

7. οὐδὲ...ἐντός] In this way Gr. sums up his answer not only to the objection stated at the beginning of this chapter, but also to that put forward at the beginning of c. 10, i.e. that the Incarnation involved an 'inclusion' of the Godhead in human nature.

14. For what purpose, it is asked, did God submit to the humiliation involved in becoming man?

10-11. ἀμφίβολον εἶναι...εἰ] 'Faith wavers at the thought that.'

13. λύθρῳ] The reading εὐτελεῖ ἐλύτρω, 'the mean covering,' is a gloss which first appears in the thirteenth century MS *l*. It arose from the desire to soften the harsh expression λύθρῳ, 'the defilement' of human nature. The word εὐτελεῖ was probably suggested by the following συνευτελίζεσθαι. Λύθρον or λύθρος is used in Homer of mingled blood and dust. Here the term is probably used by the objector with a disparaging reference to the human birth, and recalls the 'Non horruisti' of the *Te Deum*. For καταμίγνυται and ἐπιμιξία cp. *supra* c. 11 ἀνακράσεως (note).

*ib.* ὡς καὶ] 'So that His sublime activities are degraded by His association with that which is base.'

15. Οὐκ ἀποροῦμεν καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο θεοπρεποῦς ἀποκρίσεως. ζητεῖς τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ γενέσθαι θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις; εἰν ἀφέλης τοῦ βίου τὰς θεόθεν γινομένας εὐεργεσίας, ἐκ ποίων ἐπιγνώση τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχῃς. ἀφ' ὧν γὰρ εὖ πασχομεν, ἀπὸ τούτων τὸν εὐ- 5  
εργέτην ἐπιγινώσκομεν· πρὸς γὰρ τὰ γινόμενα βλέποντες, διὰ τούτων τὴν τοῦ ἐνεργούντος ἀναλογιζόμεθα φύσιν. εἰ οὖν ἴδιον γνώρισμα τῆς θείας φύσεως ἢ φιλανθρωπία, ἔχεις ὃν ἐπέζητησας λόγον, ἔχεις τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις τοῦ θεοῦ παρουσίας. ἐδεῖτο γὰρ τοῦ ἰατρεύοντος ἢ φύσις 10  
ἡμῶν ἀσθενήσασα, ἐδεῖτο τοῦ ἀνορθοῦντος ὁ ἐν τῷ πτώματι ἄνθρωπος, ἐδεῖτο τοῦ ζωοποιούντος ὁ ἀφαρματῶν τῆς ζωῆς, ἐδεῖτο τοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐπανάγοντος ὁ ἀπορρυεὶς τῆς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μετουσίας, ἔχρηζε τῆς τοῦ φωτὸς παρουσίας ὁ καθειργμένος τῷ σκότῳ, ἐπέζητει τὸν λυτρωτὴν ὁ 15  
αἰχμάλωτος, τὸν συναγωνιστὴν ὁ δεσμώτης, τὸν ἐλευθέρωτὴν ὁ τῷ ζυγῷ τῆς δουλείας κατεχόμενος. ἄρα μικρὰ

15. 1 om και f vulg || 2 γεγενησθαι vulg || 3 γενομενας fl euth 14b απογενομενας vulg || 4 επιγν.] +πραγματων f || 4-5 ουκ...εχοις] om h || 5 om ευ l vulg || 6 om γαρ h || 7 ευεργετουντος n || 10 ιατρευοντος dehn euth || 12 αφαμ.] εκπεσων f εφαμ. l\*<sup>vii</sup> vulg || 14 εχρηζε...παρουσιας om h || παρουσιας] μετουσιας f || 15 εν σκοτω e || εζητει l vulg || 17 κατεχ.] εγκατεχ. g<sup>1</sup>

15. *The cause of the Incarnation was God's love for man. Man's wretched condition was a sufficient justification for the Divine condescension. 'But,' it is objected, 'why not restore man by a mere fiat?' This last question Gr. does not properly deal with till c. 17, but meanwhile he affirms that there was nothing contrary to the character of God in the method chosen, nor anything inconsistent with the Divine Nature in the nature which He assumed.*

4. εὐεργεσίας] Cp. c. 12 τὰς εὐεργεσίας τὰς θεόθεν κατὰ τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν ἐνεργουμένας.

ib. ἐκ ποίων] Gr. claims that nothing short of a revelation of God

in His goodness is adequate, if man is to know the essential nature of God. In c. 20 he maintains the necessity of the co-existence of justice, wisdom, and power in God in order that His goodness may be perfect.

8. ἢ φιλανθρωπία] Tit. iii 4. Cp. adv. *Apollinar.* xlii Λείπεται δὲ ὅπερ ἂν τῷ σκόπῳ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας συμβάλῃ, τοῦτο εὐλογώτερον περὶ τὸν θεὸν οἰεσθαι. Cp. *infra* c. 36.

12. ζωοποιούντος] Cp. *antea* c. 12.

13. ὁ ἀπορρυεὶς] Ἐπορρυεῖν = 'fall away from,' 'desert.'

15. καθειργμένος] For the use of καθ. without a prep. cp. *de An. et Res.* p. 21 (Migne) ὁ οἰκίσκῳ τινὶ καθειργμένος.

ταῦτα καὶ ἀνάξια τὸν θεὸν δυσωπήσαι πρὸς ἐπίσκεψιν  
 τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως καταβῆναι, οὕτως ἐλεεινῶς καὶ  
 ἀθλιῶς τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος διακειμένης; ἀλλ' ἐξῆν, φησί,  
 καὶ εὐεργετηθῆναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐν ὑπαθείᾳ τὸν θεὸν  
 5 διαμεῖναι. ὁ γὰρ τῷ βουλήματι τὸ πᾶν συστησάμενος καὶ  
 τὸ μὴ ὄν ὑποστήσας ἐν μόνῃ τῇ ὄρμῃ τοῦ θελήματος, τί  
 οὐχὶ καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον δι' αὐθεντικῆς τινὸς καὶ θεικῆς  
 ἐξουσίας τῆς ἐναντίας δυνάμεως ἀποσπάσας πρὸς τὴν ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς ἄγει κατάστασιν, εἰ τοῦτο φίλον αὐτῷ· ἀλλὰ μακρὰς  
 10 περιέρχεται περιόδους, σώματος ὑπερχόμενος φύσιν, καὶ  
 διὰ γεννήσεως παριὼν εἰς τὸν βίον, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀκολούθως  
 ἡλικίαν διεξιὼν, εἶτα θανάτου γενόμενος, καὶ οὕτως διὰ τῆς  
 τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ἀναστάσεως τὸν σκόπον ἀνύων, ὡς οὐκ  
 ἐξὸν αὐτῷ μένουσι ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕψους τῆς θεικῆς δόξης, διὰ  
 15 προστάγματος σῶσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὰς δὲ τοιαύτας περι-  
 ὄδους χαίρειν ἑᾶσαι; οὐκοῦν ἀνάγκη καὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις

1 αναξ. του θεου f || 3 διακ. της ανθρωπ. f || 5 το παν] τα παντα e ||  
 11 περιων dp

1. ἀνάξια] Cp. c. 36 "Ἴδιον δὲ τῆς θείας ἐνεργείας ἢ τῶν δεομένων ἐστὶ σωτηρία.

*ib.* δυσωπήσαι] depends on ἀνάξια, 'unworthy to importune.' Δυσωπεῖν lit. means 'to put a man out of countenance.'

*ib.* ἐπίσκεψιν] used in the Bible sense of a 'visitation of mercy or redemption.' Cf. Lk i 68, vii 16, Acts xv 14. The use of the expression πρὸς ἐπίσκεψιν...καταβῆναι here is probably a reminiscence of the account of the Exodus. See Ex. iii 8; iv 31 (LXX).

3. ἀλλ' ἐξῆν] The objector asks 'why did not God restore man by a mere fiat, instead of choosing a method which involved the submission to πάθη and the long delay required for passing through the stages of human birth, growth, death, and resurrection?' In reply Gr. first

of all deals with the charge that God was involved in πάθη by the Incarnation. This he treats of in the present chapter and in c. 16. The question why God did not choose a different method he deals with in c. 17.

7. αὐθεντικῆς] 'authoritative.' Cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i c. 7 Ἐὰν τὴν βασιλικὴν τε καὶ αὐθεντικὴν εἰσοδὸν ζητῆς ἀκούσῃ. Athanasius similarly deals with the question why God did not restore man νεύματι μόνῃ *de Inc.* 44. Origen also discusses the objection in *c. Cels.* iv 3, 4.

8. ἐναντίας] i.e. the Devil.

10. περιόδους] 'circuitous routes' rather than 'long periods of time.' For other instances of this use see cc. 17, 26.

12. θανάτου γενόμενος] Heb. ii 9.



τῶν ἀντιθέσεων ἀντικαταστήναι παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὡς ἂν διὰ μηδεὸς ἢ πίστις κωλύοιτο τῶν ἐξεταστικῶς ζητούντων τοῦ μυστηρίου τὸν λόγον. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς φθάσασιν ἤδη μετρίως ἐξήτασται, τί τῇ ἀρετῇ κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον ἀντικαθέστηκεν, ἐπισκεψώμεθα. 5 ὡς φωτὶ σκότος καὶ θάνατος τῇ ζωῇ, οὕτω τῇ ἀρετῇ ἢ κακία δῆλον ὅτι, καὶ οὐδὲν παρὰ ταύτην ἕτερον. καθάπερ γὰρ πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν ἐν τῇ κτίσει θεωρουμένων οὐδὲν ἄλλο πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἢ τὴν ζωὴν τὴν ἀντιδιαίρεσιν ἔχει, οὐ λίθος, οὐ ξύλον, οὐχ ὕδωρ, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν 10 ὄντων οὐδέν, πλὴν ἰδίως τὰ κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον νοούμενα, οἷον σκότος καὶ θάνατος· οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἂν τις κτίσιν τινὰ κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον αὐτῇ νοεῖσθαι λέγοι, πλὴν τὸ κατὰ κακίαν νόημα. οὐκοῦν εἰ μὲν ἐν κακίᾳ γεγενῆσθαι τὸ θεῖον ὁ ἡμέτερος ἐπρέσβευε λόγος, καιρὸν εἶχεν ὁ ἀντι- 15 λέγων κατατρέχειν ἡμῶν τῆς πίστεως, ὡς ἀνάρμοστά τε καὶ ἀπεμφαίνοντα περὶ τῆς θείας φύσεως δογματιζόντων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ θεμιτὸν ἦν αὐτοσοφίαν καὶ ἀγαθότητα καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν, καὶ εἴ τι ὑψηλὸν ἐστὶ νόημά τε καὶ ὄνομα, πρὸς

4 *οπερ...εξετασται* om euth || 5 *καθεστηκεν* l vulg || 6-7 *και τη κακια η αρετη* l vulg || 8 *κτισει*] *φυσει* f || 9 *αντιδιαιρ.*] *αντιθεσιν* euth || 13 om *αυτη* euth I || 14 *νοημα*] *κινημα* euth 4 || 15 *καιρον αν ειχεν* l vulg || 17 *φυσεως*] *πιστεως* h || *δοξαζοντων* [g<sup>1</sup> vulg || 18 *αυτοσοφ.*] *την αυτ.* vulg *την αυτου σ.* f || 19 *ει τι*] ο τι g<sup>1</sup> || *υψηλ. εστιν*] om *εστιν* f || *και ονομα*] hic rursus incipit euth 5

2. ἐξεταστικῶς] ‘*by exact enquiry.*’ Careful students of the Christian revelation (μυστηρίου) will need ‘a rational account’ (λόγον) of its method. Μυστήριον is used as elsewhere in its N.T. sense = ‘a mystery revealed,’ and is a synonym for the Christian revelation.

4. ἐν τοῖς φθάσασιν] Gr. has already drawn in cc. 5—8 the distinction which he proceeds to lay down. But he is probably thinking here of c. 9 where he has laid down the lines of his answer to the objection raised against the

Incarnation as involving a degradation to God. In that chapter he maintained that τὸ κατὰ κακίαν πάθος is the only real degradation. It is this point which he now takes up. Vice, and nothing but vice, is the opposite of virtue.

11. ἰδίως] ‘*but properly those things which are perceived to be their exact opposites.*’

15. ἐπρέσβευε] ‘*set forth.*’ Cp. Lucian *Pisc.* 23 μὴ τὰ σεαυτοῦ μόνον πρεσβεῦεν ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ. For κατατρέχειν cf. *antea* c. 5.

17. ἀπεμφαίνοντα] See above c. 1 p. 10 (note).

τὸ ἐναντίον μεταπεπτωκέναι λέγειν. εἰ οὖν θεὸς μὲν ἢ ἀληθῆς ἀρετῆ, φύσις δὲ τις οὐκ ἀντιδιαίρειται τῇ ἀρετῇ, ἀλλὰ κακία, θεὸς δὲ οὐκ ἐν κακίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀνθρώπου γίνεται φύσει, μόνον δὲ ἀπρεπὲς καὶ αἰσχροὺν τὸ κατὰ  
 5 κακίαν πάθος, ἐν ᾧ οὔτε γέγονεν θεός, οὔτε γενέσθαι φύσιν ἔχει, τί ἐπαισχύνονται τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνης ἄψασθαι φύσεως, οὐδεμιᾶς ἐναντιότητος ὡς πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς λόγον ἐν τῇ κατασκευῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου θεωρουμένης; οὔτε γὰρ τὸ λογικόν, οὔτε τὸ διανοητικόν, οὔτε τὸ ἐπιστήμης  
 10 δεκτικόν, οὔτε ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον, ὃ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἰδίου οὐσίας ἐστὶ, τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡναντίωται.

16. Ἄλλ' αὐτῆ, φησίν, ἢ τροπὴ τοῦ ἡμετέρου σώματος

5 ο θεος degħnp euth || του γενεσθαι l vulg || 6 την ομολογίαν vulg

2. φύσις] used here as the equivalent to κτίσις, which occurs above. Cf. *antea* c. 6 τῆς τοῦ κρείττονος φύσεως (note). 'And no existing thing of any kind is logically opposed to virtue, but only vice.' For ἀντιδιαίρεισθαι cf. c. 6 p. 33 (note).

5. φύσιν ἔχει] = πέφυκε. 'It is not His nature (or 'it is not possible for Him') to be born.'

7. ἀψασθαι] 'laid hold of' or 'assumed human nature.' Cp. c. 16 τῖνος... ἤφθαι τὸ θεῖον;

16. οὐδεμιᾶς] 'seeing that in the constitution of man there is nothing which is contradictory to the conception of virtue.' There is nothing in the constitution of human nature which is inconsistent with the idea of virtue, and which is therefore ἀπρεπὲς and αἰσχροὺν so that God could not assume it.

9. τὸ λογικόν] 'rational thought, nor the faculty of understanding, nor the capacity for exact knowledge.' For τὸ διανοητικόν cp. *antea* c. 6.

11. οὐσίας] For this use of the word cp. *antea* c. 6 p. 32 (note).

16. 'But,' it is objected, 'the change involved in human birth is a πάθος.' Gr. in reply draws a distinction between a right and a

wrong use of the word πάθος. Properly the word can only be used of moral declension, not of natural processes. The contact of God with human nature no more involved submission to real πάθος than does the contact of a physician with the ailments of his patients. The birth of Christ was free from that element of passion which attends human birth, just as His life was free from that vicious impulse which we find in man. The dissolution of body and soul was no more a πάθος than was their first combination. Christ's Resurrection was the re-combination in an indissoluble and eternal union of the intelligible and sensible elements separated in death. In virtue of this He becomes the originating principle for all mankind of the same eternal union of the elements of human nature, freed from the admixture of evil.

12. τροπή] 'change experienced by our body.' Τροπή is the mutability attaching to all created things as contrasted with the immutability of the Creator. The process of birth implies 'change.' In a secondary sense τροπή often has the meaning of moral change or frailty.

πάθος ἐστίν. ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ γεγονὼς ἐν πάθει γίνεται· ἀπαθὲς δὲ τὸ θεῖον. οὐκοῦν ἀλλοτρία περὶ θεοῦ ἢ ὑπόληψις, εἴπερ τὸν ἀπαθῆ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν πρὸς κοινωνίαν πάθους ἐλθεῖν διορίζονται. ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα πάλιν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ χρῆσόμεθα, ὅτι τὸ πάθος τὸ μὲν κυρίως, τὸ 5 δὲ ἐκ καταχρήσεως λέγεται. τὸ μὲν οὖν προαιρέσεως ἀπτόμενον καὶ πρὸς κακίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς μεταστρέφον ἀληθῶς πάθος ἐστί, τὸ δ' ὅσον ἐν τῇ φύσει κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον εἶρμόν πορευομένη διεξοδικῶς θεωρεῖται, τοῦτο κυριώτερον

16. 4 διορίζ.] το κηρυγμα διοριζεται euth || 5 χρῆσωμεθα dl vulg || το παθος] om το euth || κυριως]+λεγεται h || 9 πορευομενης fl πορευομενον eh

1. πάθος] The word has several distinct shades of meaning. It is thus defined by Aristotle, *Metaphys.* 4. 21: Πάθος λέγεται ἓνα μὲν τρόπον ποιότητος καθ' ἣν ἀλλοιοῦσθαι ἐνδέχεται, οἷον τὸ λευκὸν καὶ τὸ μέλαν, καὶ γλυκὺ καὶ πικρὸν, καὶ βαρῦτης καὶ κουφότης καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα· ἓνα δὲ αἱ τούτων ἐνέργειαι καὶ ἀλλοιώσεις ἤδη· ἔτι τούτων μᾶλλον αἱ βλαβεραὶ ἀλλοιώσεις καὶ κινήσεις, καὶ μάλιστα αἱ λυπηραὶ βλάβαι. ἔτι τὰ μεγέθη τῶν συμφορῶν καὶ λυπηρῶν πάθη λέγεται. It is this ambiguity upon which Gr. lays hold. He distinguishes between a 'proper' (κυρίως) and a 'mis-applied' (ἐκ καταχρήσεως) use of the word. In the 'proper sense' i.e. moral declension, the Incarnation, he holds, cannot have involved πάθος, because Christ had no contact with sin, either in the circumstances of His birth or in His own life. The question arises, how does Gr. face the objection arising from the other sense of πάθος, which is plainly implied in the argument that ἡ τροπή τοῦ ἡμετέρου σώματος is a πάθος? It would seem that Gr.'s illustration of the physician is intended to meet this objection. The Divine Nature, though brought into touch with human nature, was no more subject to a παθητικὴ διάθεσις than is the physician who handles the infirmity

of his patient. Gr. has the same discussion on πάθος and the same illustration of the physician in c. *Eunom.* vi 721 B, C, 724 B (Migne). It is difficult to render πάθος in English, as there is no one term which conveys the different senses of the word. The translation in *N. and P. N. F.* has 'weakness.' Another rendering is 'passion,' which is used in a moral sense and also of the physical sufferings of Christ, though it does not suit the description of the process of birth. See further note c. 13 p. 60.

4. διορίζονται] is part of the language of the objector and refers to the upholders of the Christian faith.

6-7. τὸ...προαιρ. ἀπτόμενον] 'that which lays hold of the will.' Cp. ἄψασθαι c. 15.

9. πορευομένη] The reading πορευομένης is plainly a corruption, while πορευόμενον is a correction due to the failure to understand the construction of the passage. The word διεξοδικῶς goes with θεωρεῖται. For the cast of the whole sentence ὅσον ἐν τῇ φύσει...διεξοδικῶς θεωρεῖται cp. c. 1 τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ [i.e. τῷ κόσμῳ] πάντα σοφῶς τε καὶ τεχνικῶς θεωρούμενα. In such passages θεωρεῖσθαι (like καταλαμβάνεσθαι) is a mere

ἔργον ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ πάθος προσαγορεύοιτο, οἶον ἢ γέννησις, ἢ αὔξεισις, ἢ διὰ τοῦ ἐπιρρύτου τε καὶ ἀπορρύτου τῆς τροφῆς τοῦ ὑποκειμένου διαμονή, ἢ τῶν στοιχείων περι τὸ σῶμα συνδρομή, ἢ τοῦ συντεθέντος πάλιν διάλυσις τε καὶ  
 5 πρὸς τὰ συγγενῆ μεταχώρησις. τίνος οὖν λέγει τὸ μυστήριον ἡμῶν ἠφθαι τὸ θεῖον; τοῦ κυρίως λεγομένου πάθους, ὅπερ κακία ἐστίν, ἢ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν κινήματος; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀπηγορευμένοις γεγενῆσθαι τὸ θεῖον ὁ λόγος  
 10 δισχυρίζετο, φεύγειν ἔδει τὴν ἀτοπίαν τοῦ δόγματος, ὡς οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς περὶ τῆς θείας φύσεως διεξιόντος· εἰ δὲ τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν αὐτὸν ἐφῆφθαι λέγει, ἥς καὶ ἡ πρώτη γένεσις τε καὶ ὑπόστασις παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχε, ποῦ τῆς θεῶ

1 γενεσις dg\* hnp || 2 τῆς ἐπιρρυτου codd omn: του e conjectura restitui || om τῆς ante τροφῆς f euth || 7 om τὴν l euth vulg || 8 ἀπηγ.] ἀπαγορευομενοις euth || 9 δογματος] πραγματος f || 10 τῆς θ. φύσεως] του θειου δογματος e || ἐξιοντος f

synonym for εἶναι. The words κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον εἶρμον πορευομένη are an explanatory clause attached to τῇ φύσει. For similarly constructed clauses see c. 24 ἢ δὲ... καθόδος περιουσία τίς ἐστὶ τῆς δυνάμεως οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς παρὰ φύσιν κωλυμένης, and c. 37 ὡς γὰρ τῷ φθοροποιῷ πρὸς τὸ ὑγιαῖνον ἀναμιχθέντι ἅπαν τὸ ἀνακραθὲν συνηχρεῖται. Gr. has the same idea in c. *Eunom.* vi p. 721 (Migne) οὐδὲ κυρίως ἂν τις τὸν ἀναγκαῖον τῆς φύσεως εἶρμον πάθος λέγοι, βλέπων ὁδῶν προιοῦσαν ἐν τάξει τι καὶ ἀκολουθία τὴν σύνθετον φύσιν.

ib. διεξοδικῶς] lit. 'in successive detail.' 'Everything that successively occurs in nature, as the latter proceeds in its own proper sequence, would more strictly be called an action than a "passion".'

2-3. τοῦ ἐπιρρ... τῆς τροφῆς] The emendation adopted in the text best explains the readings of the MSS. The omission of τῆς before τροφῆς in f and the text of Euthymius is plainly a correction. For the whole expression cp. *de An. et Res.* p. 141

(Migne) τὸ γὰρ ἐπιρρυτον τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸ ἀπόρρυτον διὰ τῆς ἀλλοιωτικῆς κινήσεως αἰε πορευόμενον, τότε κινούμενον ἵσταται, ὅταν καὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἀπολήξῃ. 'The permanence of the subject through the influx and efflux of nourishment.' Gr. again refers to the process of nutrition and growth in c. 37 (see notes). See further the interesting discussion in *de Hom. Orip.* c. 27.

6. ἠφθαι] Cp. c. 15 p. 66 ἄψασθαι (note).

7. κινήματος] i.e. what he has previously defined as ἔργον, including the natural processes of birth, growth, &c.

8. τοῖς ἀπηγορ.] Cp. c. 8 ἐν τοῖς ἀπηγορευμένοις ἐγένοντο οἱ πρῶτοι ἄνθρωποι. Gr. explains his meaning below, when he shows that as Christ's birth was free from τὸ καθ' ἡδονὴν πάθος, so His life was free from ἢ πρὸς κακίαν ὁρμή.

10. διεξιόντος] 'relating,' 're-counting.'

11. ἐφῆφθαι] a somewhat stronger form of ἠφθαι above.

πρεπούσης ἐννοίας διαμαρτάνει τὸ κήρυγμα, μηδεμιᾶς πα-  
 θητικῆς διαθέσεως ἐν ταῖς περὶ θεοῦ ὑπολήψειςι τῇ πίστει  
 συνεισιούσης; οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν ἱατρὸν ἐν πάθει γίνεσθαι  
 λέγομεν, ὅταν θεραπεύῃ τὸν ἐν πάθει γινόμενον· ἀλλὰ κἂν  
 προσάψῃται τοῦ ἀρρωστήματος, ἔξω πάθους ὁ θεραπευτῆς 5  
 διαμένει. εἰ ἢ γένεσις αὐτῆ καθ' ἑαυτὴν πάθος οὐκ ἔστιν,  
 οὐδ' ἂν τὴν ζωὴν τις πάθος προσαγορεύσειεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ  
 καθ' ἡδονὴν πάθος τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης καθηγέται γενέσεως,  
 καὶ ἢ πρὸς κακίαν τῶν ζώντων ὄρμη, τοῦτο τῆς φύσεως  
 ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἀρρώστημα· ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀμφοτέρων αὐτὸν 10  
 καθαρεύειν φησὶ τὸ μυστήριον· εἰ οὖν ἡδονῆς μὲν ἢ  
 γένεσις ἠλλοτριῶται, κακίας δὲ ἢ ζωῆ, ποῖον ὑπολεί-  
 πεται πάθος, οὗ τὸν θεὸν κεκοινωνηκένοι φησὶ τὸ τῆς  
 εὐσεβείας μυστήριον; εἰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς  
 ψυχῆς διάζευξιν πάθος προσαγορεύοι, πολὺ πρότερον δι- 15  
 καίος ἂν εἶη τὴν συνδρομὴν ἀμφοτέρων οὕτω κατονομάσαι.  
 εἰ γὰρ ὁ χωρισμὸς τῶν συνημμένων πάθος ἐστί, καὶ ἢ  
 συναφεία τῶν διεστώτων πάθος ἂν εἶη· κίνησις γὰρ τίς

3 συνιουσης f εισιουσης vulg || γενεσθαι ef || 4 σταν θεραπευη...γινουμ.]  
 om e || γενομενον fgl vulg || 7 τη ζωη vulg || 8 καθ ηδονην]+φησι  
 euth || 9 ορηη τ. ζωντ. l vulg || 10 om ημων l vulg || αμφ. αυτων efgln  
 euth 2 || 12 γεννησις fg<sup>1</sup> euth 5+αυτου euth || υπολειπεται deglnp  
 euth || 14 ει δε την] ει δε και την f ει δε τις την en euth || 15 διαζευξιν] τις  
 διαζ. l vulg την διαζ. dnp || 16 αμφοτερων] εκατερων f || 17 συνημμενων  
 euth || 18 συναφεια] desunt seqq in euth 2

1. μηδεμιᾶς] ‘*Since in our conceptions of God no disposition to “passion” enters along with our belief.*’ When we say that God became man, we do not imply that the Godhead was subject to the vicissitudes of birth, growth, death. Gr. illustrates this by the case of the physician.

3. τὸν ἱατρὸν] Cp. the passage referred to on p. 67 from c. *Ἐκονομ.* vi p. 724 (Migne).

6. εἰ ἢ γένεσις] The protasis is resumed in the clauses beginning οὐδ' ἂν (for μηδ' ἂν)—ἀλλὰ τὸ κ. ἢ.

π.—ἀλλὰ μὴν (unless we assume that this is a parenthesis)—εἰ οὖν. The apodosis begins with ποῖον.

13-14. τὸ τῆς εὐσ. μ.] 1 Tim. iii 16.

14. εἰ δέ] In what follows Gr. maintains that the arguments which make the term πάθος inapplicable to the human birth, also make it inapplicable to the dissolution of the body and soul in death.

15. προσαγορεύοι] The subject is the imaginary objector. The text has been corrected by the insertion of τις, in some MSS before τῆν, in others before διάζευξιν.

ἔστιν ἔν τε τῇ συγκρίσει τῶν διεστώτων καὶ ἐν τῇ δια-  
 κρίσει τῶν συμπεπλεγμένων ἢ ἠνωμένων. ὅπερ τοίνυν ἡ  
 τελευταία κίνησις ὀνομάζεται, τοῦτο προσήκει καλεῖσθαι  
 καὶ τὴν προάγουσαν. εἰ δὲ ἡ πρώτη κίνησις, ἣν γένεσιν  
 5 ὀνομάζομεν, πάθος οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδ' ἂν ἡ δευτέρα κίνησις, ἣν  
 θάνατον ὀνομάζομεν, πάθος ἂν κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον λέγοιτο,  
 καθ' ἣν ἡ συνδρομὴ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δια-  
 κρίνεται. τὸν δὲ θεὸν φαμεν ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ γεγενῆσθαι τῇ τῆς  
 φύσεως ἡμῶν κινήσει, δι' ἣς ἢ τε ψυχὴ πρὸς τὸ σῶμα  
 10 συντρέχει, τό τε σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς διακρίνεται· κατα-  
 μιχθέντα δὲ πρὸς ἑκάτερον τούτων, πρὸς τε τὸ αἰσθητὸν  
 φημι καὶ τὸ νοερόν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου συγκρίματος, διὰ τῆς  
 ἀρρήτου ἐκείνης καὶ ἀνεκφράστου συνανακράσεως τοῦτο  
 οἰκονομήσασθαι, τὸ τῶν ἴπαξ ἐνωθέντων, ψυχῆς λέγω καὶ  
 15 σώματος, καὶ εἰς αἰὲ διαμεῖναι τὴν ἔνωσιν. τῆς γὰρ φύσεως  
 ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀκολουθίας καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ πρὸς διά-  
 κρισιν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς κινήθεισης, πάλιν

1 συγκρασει [sg<sup>1</sup> || 2 ἡ ἠνωμένων] e Krab. conjectura textum restitui  
 η νοουμένων dghnr ηνουμένων (om η) e ηνουμένη f η νοουμένη l vulg ||  
 2-3 ἡ τελευταία] om η l vulg || 5-6 οὐκ ἐστίν...ὀνομαζόμεν παθος om vulg ||  
 6 θανατον ὀνομαζόμεν] παθος προσαγορευομεν g<sup>1</sup> || 7 διακρίνεται] desinit euth ||  
 10 καταμιχθέντος l vulg || 11 om τε f || 12 συγκραματος h

2. ἡ ἠνωμένων] The text, which is a conjecture of Krabinger, explains the origin of the various corruptions found in all the mss. See *app. crit.*

10-11. καταμιχθέντα] sc. τὸν θεόν. The common text (as also Krab.) reads καταμιχθέντος and inserts a comma after νοερόν.

12. τοῦ ἀ. συγκρίματος] depends on τὸ αἰσθητὸν...καὶ τὸ νοερόν, 'the sensible and the intelligible element belonging to concrete human nature.'

13. συνανακράσεως] Cp. *antea* c. 11 p. 57 ἀνάκρασις (note).

16. τοῦτο] refers to τὸ...καὶ εἰς αἰὲ διαμεῖναι τὴν ἔνωσιν, i.e. that the union once formed should also (καὶ) be eternal. The subj. of οἰκονομήσασθαι is τὸν θεόν, already referred

to in καταμιχθέντα. The purpose of the union of God and man in the Incarnation was to effect the eternal union of body and soul in mankind. That union had been disturbed by the occurrence of death. The Divine Power, acting as a kind of cement (καθ' ἃπερ τινὶ κόλλη), recombined the severed elements and restored to man his original grace of immortality.

16. διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀκολουθίας] It might seem from these words as though Gr. held that death was natural to man. But as he has already stated in c. 8 that death was a later feature of human existence, he must be thinking of human nature as it now exists.

συνῆψε τὰ διακριθέντα, καθάπερ τινὲ κόλλη, τῇ θείᾳ λέγω  
 δυνάμει, πρὸς τὴν ἄρρηκτον ἔνωσιν τὸ διασχισθὲν συναρ-  
 μόσας. καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἡ ἀνάστασις, ἡ τῶν συνεζευγμένων  
 μετὰ τὴν διάλυσιν ἐπάνοδος εἰς ἀδιάλυτον ἔνωσιν, ἀλλήλοις  
 συμφυομένων, ὡς ἂν ἡ πρώτη περὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον χάρις 5  
 ἀνακληθεῖη, καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν αἰδιον ἐπανέλθοιμεν ζωὴν,  
 τῆς ἐμμιχθείσης τῇ φύσει κακίας διὰ τῆς διαλύσεως ἡμῶν  
 ἐκρυσίσεως, οἷον ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑγροῦ συμβαίνει, περιτρυφθέντος  
 αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀγγείου, σκεδαννυμένου τε καὶ ἀφανιζομένου,  
 μηδενὸς ὄντος τοῦ περιστέγοντος. καθάπερ δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ 10  
 θανάτου ἐν ἐνὶ γενομένη πάσῃ συνδιεξήλθε τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ  
 φύσει, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἀναστάσεως  
 δι' ἐνὸς ἐπὶ πᾶσαν διατείνει τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα. ὁ γὰρ τὴν  
 ἀναληφθεῖσαν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν πάλιν ἐνώσας τῷ οἰκείῳ  
 σώματι διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἑαυτοῦ τῆς ἐκατέρῳ τούτων παρὰ 15  
 τὴν πρώτην σύστασιν ἐμμιχθείσης οὕτω γενικωτέρῳ

1-2 θεια δυναμι λεγω f || 2 αρρηκτον deghnr || 6 επανελθωμεν d ||  
 8 περιτρυφθεντος l vulg περιτριφθεντος defghnr || 10 καθαπερ δε] καθ.  
 γαρ eg<sup>1</sup>h || 15 εαυτου] αυτου ei vulg || 16 ουτω] ουτος f vulg

4-5. ἀλλ. συμφυομένων] an additional clause agreeing with τῶν συνεζευγμένων and having a predicative force. 'The return, after dissolution, of elements that had been united together, to an indissoluble union, so that they are knit together.'

8. περιτρυφθέντος] The almost unanimous verdict of the MSS is in favour of περιτριφθέντος. As Gr. however in c. 8 has already used περιτρυφῆσαι in reference to the same illustration, Krabinger's conjecture περιτρυφθέντος is probably right. The reading of l and the Paris editors is a less correct way of spelling the word.

10. καθάπερ δε] Cp. Rom. v 15, 1 Cor. xv 21.

15. ἐκατέρῳ] The Divine Power was united alike to the human soul

and the body of Christ at their first framing, i.e. from the moment of conception. It was the action of this same Divine Power which effected the reunion of His body and soul in the resurrection.

16f. γενικωτέρῳ τινι λόγῳ] Γενικός is that which belongs to the γένος, 'generic,' as opposed to εἰδικός 'specific.' The contrast is between the particular instance of a reunion of soul and body effected by Christ's Divine Power, i.e. His own resurrection, and the reunion upon 'a more universal scale' of the intelligible and sensible elements exhibited in the resurrection of all mankind. Krabinger translates γεν. λόγῳ 'generaliori quadam ratione,' following the Latin version of the Paris edition.

τινὶ λόγῳ τὴν νοερὰν οὐσίαν τῇ αἰσθητῇ συγκατέμιξεν, τῆς ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἐπὶ τὸ πέρασ εὐοδομένης. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀναληφθέντι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπῳ πάλιν μετὰ τὴν διάλυσιν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπανελ-  
 5 θούσης, οἷον ἀπὸ τινος ἀρχῆς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν τῇ δυνάμει κατὰ τὸ ἴσον ἢ τοῦ διακριθέντος ἔνωσις διαβαίνει. καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ μυστήριον τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ τὸν θάνατον οἰκονομίας καὶ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως, τὸ διαλυθῆναι μὲν τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ σώματος τὴν ψυχὴν  
 10 κατὰ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τῆς φύσεως ἀκολουθίαν μὴ κωλύσαι, εἰς ἄλληλα δὲ πάλιν ἐπαναγαγεῖν διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς γένοιτο μεθόριον ἀμφοτέρων, θανάτου τε καὶ ζωῆς, ἐν ἑαυτῷ μὲν στήσας διαιρουμένην τῷ θανάτῳ τὴν φύσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ γενόμενος ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν διηρημένων ἐνώσεως.

1 λογῳ τινι d τινι τροπῳ vulg || τὴν νοερὰν] om τὴν vulg || 3 ἀνθρώπῳ] ἀνθρωπίνῳ συγκριματι l vulg || 8 θάνατον] ἀνθρώπων vulg Thdrts<sup>srmm</sup> || 10 καὶ τὴν αναγκ. l vulg || 13 διαιρεθεῖσαν degnnp

1. οὐσίαν] For this sense of οὐσία cp. *antea* c. 6.

1-2. τῆς ἀρχῆς] 'as the principle successfully makes its way in due sequence to the extremity.' 'Ἡ ἀρχὴ is the new principle of life originated by Christ in His resurrection. This new principle pervades the whole of humanity to its furthest limits. For the relation of Gr.'s teaching to that of Methodius see *Introd.* pp. xxv—xxviii.

3. ἀνθρώπῳ] here used loosely for human nature. Strictly speaking the Son of God assumed not 'a man' but human nature. The inaccuracy of the expression has led to the gloss ἀνθρωπίνῳ συγκριματι. For ὁ ἀνθρώπος used in this sense cp. *Greg. Naz. Or.* xxx 7 τὸ γὰρ δὴ λέγειν, ὅτι τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπον νοουμένου μείζων, ἀληθὲς μὲν, οὐ μέγα δέ. Cp. *ibid.* 12 εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ παρὰ τοῦ κατεληλυθότος αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐλέγετο, εἴπομεν ἂν ὡς παρὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τυποῦσθαι τὸν λόγον. See Dr Mason's notes on both pas-

sages and in *Introd.* pp. xvii—xviii.

5. οἷον] 'the union of what was disunited, as it were by some new principle, extends potentially in an equal degree to the whole of human nature.' For τῇ δυνάμει cp. c. 37 ἐκεῖνο τὸ σῶμα ἄρτος τῇ δυνάμει ἦν.

7. καὶ τοῦτο] These words as far as ἐπαναγαγεῖν διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως are quoted by Theodoret *Dial.* iii p. 300 (Migne).

12. μεθόριον] lit.: 'border country,' Lat. *confinium*. Hence used of a common ground or meeting-point, as here. In Christ life and death meet. He identified Himself with a nature liable to death and dissolution, and He became the source of life to it.

13. στήσας] 'staying our nature,' in the sense of arresting the process of dissolution (διαιρουμένην). Human nature is conceived of as something which was in danger of melting away. With the v.l. διαιρεθεῖσαν we might translate, 'having set up' or 're-established' it when it had been dissolved.



17. Ἄλλ' οὐπω φήσει τις λελύσθαι τὴν ὑπενεχθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ἀντίθεσιν, ἰσχυροποιεῖσθαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἀπίστων ἡμῖν προφερόμενον. εἰ γὰρ τοσαύτη δύναμις ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ, ὅσην ὁ λόγος ἐπέδειξεν, ὡς θανάτου τε καθαιρέσιν καὶ ζωῆς εἴσοδον ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶναι, τί οὐχὶ 5 θελήματι μόνῳ τὸ κατὰ γνώμην ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐκ περιόδου τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡμῶν κατεργάζεται, τικτόμενός τε καὶ τρεφόμενος, καὶ τῇ τοῦ θανάτου πείρᾳ σώζων τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐξὸν μῆτε ἐν τούτοις γενέσθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς περισώσασθαι; πρὸς δὲ τὸν τοιοῦτον λόγον ἰκανὸν μὲν ἦν πρὸς τοὺς εὐγνώμονας τοσοῦ- 10 τον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἰατροῖς οὐ νομοθετοῦσι τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐπιμελείας οἱ κάμνοντες, οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ τῆς θεραπείας εἶδους πρὸς τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἀμφισβητοῦσι, διὰ τί προσ- ἤψατο τοῦ πονοῦντος μέρους ὁ θεραπεύων καὶ τόδε τι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κακοῦ λύσιν ἐπενόησεν, ἕτερον δέον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς 15 τὸ πέρας ὀρῶντες τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἐν εὐχαριστίᾳ τὴν εὐ- ποίαν ἐδέξαντο. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ, καθὼς φησιν ἡ προφητεία, τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χρηστότητος τοῦ θεοῦ κεκρυμμένην ἔχει τὴν ὠφέλειαν καὶ οὐπω διὰ τοῦ παρόντος βίου τηλαυγῶς

17. 1 υπενεχθ.] επενεχθ. h || 4 απεδειξεν el vulg || 5 ομ τε f || επ αυτω] εν αυτω f || 9 τουτω l vulg || 15 ενενοησεν fl vulg || 17 η προφ.] ο προφητης l vulg

17. Gr. now returns to the objection stated in c. 15. 'Why did not God restore man by a mere fiat?' It is a sufficient reply, he answers, to those who are reasonable, to say that just as a patient does not dictate to his physician the treatment to be applied, or criticize the method of his cure, but, looking to the object in view, thankfully receives his attention, so we must look to the beneficent purpose of the Incarnation and await fuller light than we can receive in this life.

1. ὑπενεχθεῖσαν] in the sense of 'submit,' 'suggest.'

5. ἐπ' αὐτῷ] 'in his power.'

6. ἐκ περιόδου] 'by a round-about way.' Cp. c. 15 μακρὰς

περιέρχεται περιόδους (note), and c. 26. Gr. is thinking of the length of the process involved in τικτεσθαί τε καὶ τρέφεσθαι.

8. πείρᾳ] 'the experience of death.'

10. εὐγνώμ.] 'well-disposed,' 'reasonable.'

17. προφητεία] For the use of προφ. in reference to the Psalms cp. c. 8. The reference is to Ps. xxx [xxxii] 20 (LXX) ὡς πολὺ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χρηστότητός σου, Κύριε, ἧς ἐκρυσας τοῖς φοβουμένοις σε. 'Since, as says the prophecy, the plentifulness of God's goodness benefits us in a hidden manner.'

καθοράται· ἡ γὰρ ἂν περιήρητο πᾶσα τῶν ἀπίστων ἀντίρρησις, εἰ τὸ προσδοκώμενον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἦν· νυνὶ δὲ ἀναμένει τοὺς ἐπερχομένους αἰῶνας, ὥστε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀποκαλυφθῆναι τὰ νῦν διὰ τῆς πίστεως μόνης ὀρώμενα· ἀναγ-  
5 καίον ἂν εἴη λογισμοῖς τισὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐγχωροῦν καὶ τῶν ἐπιζητουμένων ἐξευρεῖν τὴν λύσιν τοῖς προλαβοῦσι συμβαίνουσαν.

18. Καί τοι περιττὸν ἴσως ἐστὶ θεὸν ἐπιδεδημηκέναι τῷ βίῳ πιστεύσαντας διαβάλλειν τὴν παρουσίαν, ὡς οὐκ ἐν  
10 σοφία τινὶ καὶ λόγῳ γενομένην τῷ κρείττονι. τοῖς γὰρ μὴ λίαν ἀντιμαχομένοις πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐ μικρὰ τῆς θείας ἐπιδημίας ἀπόδειξις ἢ καὶ πρὸ τῆς μελλούσης ζωῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ φανερωθεῖσα, ἢ διὰ τῶνπραγμάτων αὐτῶν

1 ἀντίρρησις] ἀντιθεσις f || 3 ἐπερχ.] υπερχ. vulg || 6 προλαμβανουσι | vulg 18. 9 πιστευοντας e || 10 γενομενην f γεγενημενην vulg || 13 αυτων πραγμ. deghnp

3. ἀναμένει] The subj. is τὸ προσδοκώμενον, the whole passage ἡ γὰρ ἂν...μόνης ὀρώμενα being a parenthesis.

5-6. καὶ τῶν ἐπιζητ.] 'to find for the questions before us a solution that is in accord with what has preceded.' The καὶ coordinates τὰ ἐπιζ. with τὰ προλαβ. Instead of discussing any further the manner of the Incarnation Gr. proposes to show the beneficence of the end aimed at. In what follows he shows first of all its results as testified by facts, and then its harmony with current conceptions of God's attributes.

18. It is superfluous to criticize the manner of Christ's appearance, when we have the testimony of facts as to its effects. The cessation of heathen worship, oracles, and sacrifices, the disappearance of heathen altars, temples, and idols, the rising throughout the world of temples and altars to the name of Christ, the witness of Christian worship, and

the lives of Christian martyrs are evidences of the power of Christ's appearing. The Jews, too, have a sign in the disappearance of their temple and its worship, and the desolation of Jerusalem.

9. τὴν παρουσίαν] Cp. c. 19 θείας παρουσίας. Other terms used by Gr. to denote the Incarnation are ἐπιδημία (infra), θεοφάνεια (infra), συγκατάβασις (c. 24) and οἰκονομία which occurs repeatedly.

1b. ὡς οὐκ] 'on the ground that it was not effected in the way of what we think to be wisdom and of superior reason.' There is irony both in τινὶ and in τῷ κρείττονι.

12. τῆς μελλούσης] an allusion to the words of the preceding chapter: ἀναμένει τοὺς ἐπερχομένους αἰῶνας ὥστε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀποκαλυφθῆναι τὰ νῦν διὰ τῆς πίστεως μόνης ὀρώμενα. Here Gr. maintains that even in the present life we can see from the evidence of facts the results of Christ's Incarnation.

φημί μαρτυρία. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅπως πεπλήρωτο κατὰ πᾶν μέρος τῆς οἰκουμένης ἢ τῶν δαιμόνων ἀπάτη, διὰ τῆς εἰδωλομανίας τῆς ζωῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατακρατήσασα· ὅπως τοῦτο νόμιμον πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν κόσμον ἔθνεσιν ἦν, τὸ θεραπεύειν διὰ τῶν εἰδώλων τοὺς δαίμονας ἐν ταῖς 5 ζωοθυσίαις καὶ τοῖς ἐπιβωμίαις μιάσμασιν; ἀφ' οὗ δέ, καθὼς φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἐπεφάνη ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, διὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπιδημήσασα φύσεως, πάντα καπνοῦ δίκην εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν μετεχώρησεν, ὥστε παύσασθαι μὲν τὰς τῶν χρηστηρίων τε καὶ 10 μαντειῶν μανίας, ἀναιρεθῆναι δὲ τὰς ἐτησίους πομπὰς καὶ τὰ δι' αἱμάτων ἐν ταῖς ἐκατόμβαις μολύσματα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀφανισθῆναι καθ' ὅλου βωμοὺς καὶ προπύλαια καὶ τεμένη καὶ ἀφιδρύματα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοῖς 15 θεραπευταῖς τῶν δαιμόνων ἐπὶ ἀπάτη σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ἐπετηδεύετο, ὡς ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν τόπων μὴδέ, εἰ γέγονε ταῦτά ποτε, μνημονεύεσθαι, ἀντεγερθῆναι δὲ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὀνόματι ναοὺς τε καὶ θυσιαστήρια καὶ τὴν σεμνὴν τε καὶ

6 μiasmasin] αιμασιν d || ου] ων e || 13 βωμοις] τους β. f + τε vulg || 15 απατης vulg || 16 επιτετηδευτο g<sup>1</sup> vulg || 18 om του vulg || 19 ναους και θ. deghnr

1. πεπλήρωτο] 'had fully prevailed.' Athanasius (*de Inc.* 13, 14) has a similar passage on the influence of evil spirits in the pagan world. The prevalent practice of idolatry enabled the evil spirits to 'get the mastery' (κατακρατήσασα) over human life. For the absence of the augment in πεπλήρωτο see Blass *Gramm. of N. T. Greek* (Eng. Tr.) p. 37.

5. θεραπεύειν... δαίμονας] Cp. I Cor. x 20.

7. ὁ ἀπόστολος] Tit. ii 11.

8. διὰ τῆς ἀνθρ.] For this use of διὰ cp. c. 12 τοῦ διὰ σαρκὸς ἡμῶν φανερωθέντος θεοῦ (note).

10. παύσασθαι] The whole of this passage recalls the similar treat-

ment of the decay of paganism in Ath. *de Inc.* 46 foll.

11. πομπὰς] For these processions see Lightfoot's note on Ign. *Eph.* 9.

13. βωμοὺς] contrasted with θυσιαστήρια below. In the LXX βωμός is used almost exclusively with reference to heathen worship. Θυσ. is 'a place of sacrifice,' 'the altar and its precincts.' See Westcott *Hebrews* p. 453.

14. προπύλαια κ.τ.λ.] 'porticoes, sacred precincts, shrines.'

19. σεμνὴν τε] 'the revered and unbloody priesthood.' The Latin translation in the Paris edition has 'venerandum et incruentum sacrificium,' but there is no variation

ἀναίμακτον ἱερωσύνην καὶ τὴν ὑψηλὴν φιλοσοφίαν, ἔργῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγῳ κατορθουμένην, καὶ τῆς σωματικῆς ζωῆς τὴν ὑπεροψίαν καὶ τοῦ θανάτου τὴν καταφρόνησιν, ἣν οἱ μεταστῆναι τῆς πίστεως παρὰ τῶν τυράννων ἀναγκαζόμενοι φανερώς ἐπεδείξαντο, ἀντ' οὐδενὸς δεξάμενοι τὰς τοῦ σώματος αἰκίας, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ψῆφον, οὐκ ἂν ὑποστάντες δηλαδὴ ταῦτα, μὴ σαφῆ τε καὶ ἀναμφίβολον τῆς θείας ἐπιδημίας ἔχοντες τὴν ἀπόδειξιν. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἱκανόν ἐστι σημεῖον εἰπεῖν τοῦ  
 10 παρῆναι τὸν παρ' αὐτῶν ἀπιστούμενον. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεοφανείας λαμπρὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἦν τὰ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις βασιλεία, ὁ διόνυμος ἐκεῖνος ναός, αἱ νεο-

9 om est in vulg || 9-10 του παρηναι] το π. f || 12 περιουμος f

θυσίαν in the mss. The expression ἀναίμακτος ἱερωσύνη arises out of the phrase ἡ ἀναίμακτος θυσία, commonly applied by the Fathers to the Eucharist. The earliest example is Athenag. *Suppl. pro Chr.* 13 καίτοι προσφέρειν δεόν ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν καὶ τὴν λογικὴν προσάγειν λατρείαν. Cp. Cyr. Hier. *Cat.* xxiii 8 τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν. Fronto Ducaeus also quotes Greg. Naz. *Carm.* xi 1 and xii 1<sup>o</sup> θυσίας πέμποντες ἀναιμάκτους ἱεργῆς.

1. ὑψηλὴν φιλοσοφίαν] Krabinger understands this as = 'vitam asceticam et monasticam' and refers to Greg. Naz. *Or.* xxv p. 1204 (Migne). The word is certainly found very commonly after the time of Eusebius in this technical sense (see Hort *Jud. Christianity* p. 121, and Suicer *sub voce*), but it is also used quite generally of the pursuit of a holy life and the practice of the Christian religion. For Gr.'s use of the word in this sense cp. *de Baptismo* p. 420 (Migne) πολλοὺς χρόνους ἐχαρίσω τῇ ἡδονῇ· δὸς καὶ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ σχολῆν. ἀπόδουσαι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον

κ.τ.λ. Similarly Chrysostom, *Hom.* lxxxiii in *Joh.* p. 447 (Migne), says φρικτὸν ὁ θάνατος... ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῖς τὴν ἄνω φιλοσοφίαν εἶδῶσι.

2. κατορθουμένην] 'the pursuit of which consists in action more than in speech.' For κατορθοῦν = colere, alicui rei studere, cp. Chrys. *Hom.* x in *Ep. ad Philipp.* c. 4 εὐκολώτερον μᾶλλον διὰ τῆς πενίας ἢ ἀρετῆ κατορθοῦται. For the sentiment cp. Min. Felix *Octav.* c. 38, non eloquimur magna, sed vivimus.

3. ὑπεροψίαν] Cp. the similar language of Athanasius *de Inc.* c. 48, and for the contempt of death *ibid.* c. 27.

9. σημεῖον] There is a similar passage, in which the fate of the Jews is regarded as a sign that they have been punished for their rejection of Christ, in Origen *c. Celsum* iv 22.

11-12. τὰ βασιλεία] Gr. introduces this mention of the 'palaces' to show the outward splendour of the city. He is thinking, doubtless, of Herod's palace, which surpassed even the Temple in magnificence.

12. διόνυμος] 'far-famed.'

μισμένα δι' ἔτους θυσίαι, πάντα ὅσα παρὰ τοῦ νόμου δι' αἰνιγμάτων τοῖς μυστικῶς ἐπαίειν ἐπισταμένοις διήρηται, μέχρι τότε κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς νομισθείσαν αὐτοῖς τῆς εὐσεβείας θρησκείαν ἀκώλυτα ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον τὸν προσδοκώμενον, ὃν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν τε καὶ τοῦ νόμου 5 προεδιδάχθησαν, καὶ προτιμοτέραν ἐποιήσαντο τῆς εἰς τὸν φανέντα πίστεως τὴν λοιπὸν ἐσφαλμένην ἐκείνην δεισιδαιμονίαν, ἣν κακῶς ἐκλαβόντες, τὰ τοῦ νόμου ῥήματα διεφύλασσαν, συνηθεία μᾶλλον ἢ διανοία δουλεύοντες, οὔτε τὴν ἐπιφανείσαν ἐδέξαντο χάριν, καὶ τὰ σεμνὰ τῆς παρ' 10 αὐτοῖς θρησκείας ἐν διηγήμασι ψιλοῖς ὑπολείπεται, τοῦ ναοῦ μὲν οὐδὲ ἐξ ἰχνῶν ἔτι γινωσκομένου, τῆς δὲ λαμπρᾶς ἐκείνης πόλεως ἐν ἐρειπίοις ὑπολειφθείσης, μείναι δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον νενομισμένων μηδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν σεβάσμιον αὐτοῖς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τόπον 15 ἄβατον προστάγματι τῶν δυναστευόντων γενέσθαι.

2 μυστικοὶς vulg || δυναμενοὶς vulg || 3 μεχρι] α μεχρισ f || 5 και ον l vulg || 7 λοιπην h om λοιπον fl vulg || om εκεινην f || 8 εκβαλοντες 1\* vulg || 11 υπολειπεται l vulg || 12 ετι γιν.] επιγιν. l vulg || 13 δε.] τε vulg || 15 τον εν ιερ. fg

1-2. δι' αἰνιγμάτων] *'all that the Law had marked out in veiled language for those who were able to understand the inner meaning.'* For δι' αἰνιγμάτων cf. c. 8. Ἐπαίειν, a somewhat poetical word, used by Plato. Cp. *Legg.* 701 A. Διήρηται, 'defined,' 'expressed.'

3. κατὰ τὴν] *'according to the ritual of their religion which had been enjoined upon them from the beginning.'*

7-8. δεισιδαιμονίαν] *'that which was henceforth a mistaken superstition.'* The clinging to Judaism after the coming of Christ turned their religion into a superstition.

8. ἐκλαβόντες] in the sense of 'interpret.' The Jews had failed to interpret the meaning of their own religion which was intended to prepare them to welcome Christ.

9-10. οὔτε τὴν ἐπιφ.] These words introduce the apodosis of the sentence which began with ἐπεὶ. The Jews failed to accept the new religion of grace, and the practice of their former religion became a mere matter of history. Krabinger, however, makes the apodosis begin with καὶ τὰ σεμνὰ κ.τ.λ.

11. ἐν διηγ. ψιλ.] *'in mere narratives,'* i.e. in narratives and nothing more. For διηγ. cp. 2 Macc. ii 24 τοῖς τῆς ἱστορίας διηγήμασιν.

13. μείναι δέ] The grammar is in some confusion. The clauses following ὑπολείπεται are explanatory, and the infinitive is used as though ὥστε had followed ὑπολείπεται.

16. δυναστευόντων] After the Jewish revolt in A.D. 134 Hadrian decreed that the Jews were to be

19. Ἄλλ' ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ μήτε τοῖς ἑλληρίζουσι μήτε τοῖς τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν προεστῶσι δογματῶν δοκεῖ ταῦτα θείας παρουσίας ποιεῖσθαι τεκμήρια, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι περὶ τῶν ἀνθυπενεχθέντων ἡμῖν ἰδίᾳ τὸν λόγον διαλαβεῖν, ὅτου χάριν 5 ἡ θεία φύσις πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν συμπλέκεται, δι' ἑαυτῆς σώζουσα τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, οὐ διὰ προστάγματος κατεργαζομένη τὸ κατὰ πρόθεσιν. τίς οὖν ἂν γένοιτο ἡμῖν ἀρχὴ πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον σκοπὸν ἀκολούθως χειραγωγούσα τὸν λόγον; τίς ἄλλη ἢ τὸ τὰς εὐσεβεῖς περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ 10 ὑπολήψεις ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων διεξεληθεῖν;

20. Οὐκοῦν ὁμολογεῖται παρὰ πᾶσι μὴ μόνον δυνατὸν εἶναι δεῖν πιστεῦειν τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκαιον καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ σοφὸν καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον τὴν διάνοιαν φέρει. ἀκόλουθον τοίνυν ἐπὶ τῆς παρουσίας οἰκονομίας μὴ 15 τὸ μὲν τι βούλεσθαι τῶν τῷ θεῷ πρεπόντων ἐπιφαίνεσθαι

19. 3 ποιεσθαι] ειναι f || 4 om ημιν l vulg || 8 προκειμ.] +ημιν e || 9 om του df 20. 13 η διανοια l vulg

excluded from Jerusalem. The decree was still in existence in the time of Constantine (Eus. *H. E.* iv 6), but later on the Jews were allowed to visit the city. See Hastings' *Dict. of Bible*, art. *Jerusalem*.

19. *But as neither Greeks nor Jews will listen to the preceding arguments, we must pursue further our enquiry into the causes and method of the Incarnation. We will begin by showing its relation to current conceptions of God.*

2. δοκεῖ] 'think fit to make these things proofs of a Divine presence.'

4. τὸν λόγον διαλ.] Τὸν λόγον is the subject. Διαλαβεῖν = 'to state clearly,' 'to discuss.'

5. δι' ἑαυτῆς] i.e. τῆς θείας φύσεως. The phrase is somewhat elliptical. The personal presence of God is contrasted with the external command.

8. χειραγωγούσα] 'conducting our

argument by a proper chain of reasoning to the conclusion which we have set before us.'

20. *The general conception of God includes the ideas of His power, justice, goodness, and wisdom. The absence of any one of these is destructive to the perfection of the others and to the perfection of the Divine Being. In the Incarnation there is an exhibition of all these attributes. His goodness was shown in His desire to save us, His wisdom in the order and sequence of events by which His purpose was carried out. In what follows Gr. proposes to discuss more fully the wisdom and justice of the Incarnation.*

14. παρουσίας οἰκονομίας] i.e. the Incarnation which is 'present' as being under present consideration, corresponding to ἡ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομία below.

15. τὸ μὲν τι βούλ.] 'it is not reasonable that one or another of the attributes of God should tend to be

τοῖς γεγενημένοις, τὸ δὲ μὴ παρῆναι· καθ' ὅλου γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τῶν ὑψηλῶν τούτων ὀνομάτων διεξευγμένον τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετὴ κατὰ μόνας ἐστίν· οὔτε τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀληθῶς ἐστὶν ἀγαθόν, μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου τε καὶ σοφοῦ καὶ τοῦ δυνατοῦ τεταγμένον· τὸ γὰρ ἄδικον ἢ ἄσοφον ἢ 5 ἀδύνατον ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἔστιν· οὔτε ἡ δύναμις τοῦ δικαίου τε καὶ σοφοῦ κεχωρισμένη ἐν ἀρετῇ θεωρεῖται· θηριῶδες γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ τυραννικὸν τῆς δυνάμεως εἶδος. ὡσ- αὐτως δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπά, εἰ ἔξω τοῦ δικαίου τὸ σοφὸν φέροιτο, ἢ τὸ δίκαιον, εἰ μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ 10 ἀγαθοῦ θεωροῖτο, κακίαν ἂν τις μᾶλλον κυρίως τὰ τοιαῦτα κατονομάσειεν· τὸ γὰρ ἔλλιπές τοῦ κρείττονος πῶς ἂν τις ἐν ἀγαθοῖς ἀριθμήσειεν; εἰ δὲ πάντα προσήκει συνδραμεῖν ἐν ταῖς περὶ θεοῦ δόξαις, σκοπήσωμεν εἴ τινος ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομία λείπεται τῶν θεοπρεπῶν ὑπολήψεων. 15 ζητοῦμεν πάντως ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἀγαθότητος τὰ σημεῖα. καὶ τίς ἂν γένοιτο φανερωτέρα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μαρτυρία ἢ τὸ μεταποιηθῆναι αὐτὸν τοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον αὐτομολήσαντος, μηδὲ συνδιατεθῆναι τῷ εὐμεταβλήτῳ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης προ- αιρέσεως τὴν παγίαν ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἀμετάβλητον φύσιν; 20 οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ἡμᾶς, καθὼς φησιν ὁ Δαβίδ,

9 δικαίου]+ και dehn || 10 δυνατου] σοφου f || 10-11 του αγαθ.] om του f || 11 τα τοι. κυριως l vulg || 13 δε]+ και f || 14 om τινος vulg || 15 ανθρωπον]+ του θεου l vulg || λειπεται]+ τι vulg

*manifested in the history, while another is absent.* For this use of βούλεσθαι cp. Arist. *Pol.* 2. 6. 18 μάλλον δ' ἐγκλίειν βούλεται πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν.

1. καθ' ὅλου γὰρ] No one of the 'lofty titles' applied to God constitutes by itself a virtue. It needs to be perfected by association with other qualities. We cannot conceive of 'unjust,' 'unwise,' or 'impotent' goodness. Similarly power, when divorced from justice and wisdom, is brutal and tyrannical.

14-15. ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρ. οἰκ.] Cp.

c. 5 *init.* (note).

18. μεταποιηθῆναι] 'lay claim to.' Cp. Thucyd. i 40 τῆς ξυνέσεως μεταποιεῖσθαι.

19. μηδὲ συνδ.] 'and that the nature which is fixed in goodness and unchanging should not be affected by the changeable will of man.' The idea is that God did not permit man's changed attitude towards Him to alter His fixed purpose of goodness.

21. ὁ Δαβίδ] Krabinger refers to such passages as Ps. cv [cvi] 4-5; cxviii [cxix] 65, 66, 68 (LXX). The

μη ἀγαθότητος τὴν τοιαύτην πρόθεσιν ἐμποιοῦσης. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἂν ᾤνησε τὸ ἀγαθὸν τῆς προθέσεως, μη σοφίας ἐνεργὸν τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ποιούσης. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρρώστως διακειμένων πολλοὶ μὲν ἴσως οἱ βουλόμενοι μὴ  
 5 ἐν κακοῖς εἶναι τὸν κείμενον, μόνοι δὲ τὴν ἀγαθὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν καμνόντων προαίρεσιν εἰς πέρας ἄγουσιν, οἷς τεχνικὴ τις δύναμις ἐνεργεῖ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κάμνοντος ἴασιν. οὐκοῦν τὴν σοφίαν δεῖ συνεξεῦχθαι πάντως τῇ ἀγαθότητι. πῶς τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς γεγενημένοις τὸ σοφὸν τῷ ἀγαθῷ συνθεω-  
 10 ρεῖται; ὅτι οὐ γυμνὸν τὸ κατὰ πρόθεσιν ἀγαθὸν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. πῶς γὰρ ἂν φανείη ἡ πρόθεσις, μὴ διὰ τῶν γιγνομένων φανερούμενη; τὰ δὲ πεπραγμένα εἰρμῶ τινὶ καὶ τάξει δι' ἀκολουθίου προϊόντα τὸ σοφὸν τε καὶ τεχνικὸν τῆς οἰκο-  
 15 νομίας τοῦ θεοῦ διαδείκνυσιν. ἐπεὶ δέ, καθὼς ἐν τοῖς φθάσασιν εἴρηται, πάντως τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ σοφὸν συνεξευγ-  
 μένον ἀρετῇ γίγνεται, εἰ δὲ χωρισθείη, μὴ ἂν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ μόνας ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγου

7 συνεργεῖ fl vulg || 15 τω σοφω το δικ. e || 17 κατα μονας] καταμενη vulg

first passage speaks of God's εὐδοκία. The remaining passages dwell upon His χρηστότης.

1-2. ἀλλ' οὐδέν] Gr. proceeds to show that the Incarnation was an exhibition of wisdom as well as goodness. This wisdom was displayed in the connexion and orderly sequence of the events of the Incarnation. But as perfect wisdom is associated with justice, the two must be considered together in treating of the Incarnation. Accordingly the whole of cc. 21 and 22, and the greater part of c. 23, deal with the question of justice, and it is only at the close of c. 23 that Gr. resumes the reference to wisdom.

10. ὅτι οὐ γυμνόν] 'For it is not possible to discern that which is good in purpose apart by itself,' i.e. apart from its realization in action, as explained in the following words μὴ διὰ τῶν γιγνομένων φανερούμενη.

12. πεπραγμένα] i.e. the events of the Incarnation, which proceeded in due sequence in a certain orderly chain.

13. σοφόν τε καὶ τεχν.] In *prol.* Gr. uses the phrase τῶν τεχνικῶς καὶ σοφῶς...οἰκονομουμένων of creation. Here the words are used of the Divine οἰκονομία in the Incarnation. Gr. gives an illustration of his meaning in c. 23 *sub fin.* τὸ δὲ χωρητὸν δι' ἐπινοίας ποιῆσαι τῷ ἐχθρῷ τὸ ἀχώρητον τῆς ἀνωτάτω σοφίας τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει, where the meaning of χωρητὸν has been previously defined by the words διὰ τῆς τοῦ σώματος περιβολῆς χωρητὴν τὴν θείαν δύναμιν.

15. πάντως] goes with τῷ δ. συνεξευγμένον, 'only on condition of being joined with justice.'

17. εἶναι] The inf. is probably due to the influence of the preceding εἴρηται.



τῆς κατὰ ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομίας τὰ δύο μετ' ἀλλήλων κατανοῆσαι, τὸ σοφὸν φημι καὶ τὸ δίκαιον.

21. Τίς οὖν ἡ δικαιοσύνη; μεμνήμεθα πάντως τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τοῦ λόγου διηρημένων ὅτι μίμημα τῆς θείας φύσεως κατασκευάσθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος, 5 τοῖς τε λοιποῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῷ αὐτεξουσίῳ τῆς προαιρέσεως τὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον διασώζων ὁμοίωσιν, τρεπτῆς δὲ φύσεως ὣν κατ' ἀνάγκην· οὐ γὰρ ἐνεδέχεται τὸν ἐξ ἀλλοιώσεως τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ εἶναι σχόντα μὴ τρεπτὸν εἶναι πάντως· ἡ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι πάροδος 10 ἀλλοιώσις τίς ἐστι, τῆς ἀνυπαρξίας κατὰ θείαν δύναμιν εἰς οὐσίαν μεθισταμένης, καὶ ἄλλως δὲ τῆς τροπῆς

21. 4 om πρώτοις f || διηρημ.] ειρημ. l vulg συντεταγμ. f || 9 εχοντα df vulg || 10 η γαρ] ει γαρ h || 12 και αλλως...θεωρουμενης om e

21. *Gr. proceeds to show that the Incarnation was an exhibition of justice. Man was made in the likeness of God, but as he was a creature, his nature, unlike that of God, was subject to change. This tendency to change involved movement in the direction of good or of evil. Man's intelligence, further, was liable to illusions as to what was really good. It was by such an illusion that Satan deceived man and enticed him into evil. Thus the two factors in the problem of redemption were, on the one hand, the voluntary bondage of man to Satan, and, on the other, the nature and character of God, including goodness, wisdom, justice, power, immortality &c. God's goodness excited His pity for fallen man, His wisdom supplied the method of recalling him. With wisdom justice was necessarily associated.*

In no part of the *Or. Cat.* is the division of chapters adopted in the Paris edition so arbitrary and unfortunate as in the section which includes the present and the two following chapters. The long and involved sentence in the present

chapter, which begins ἐν τούτῳ τοίνυν τῆς ἐτερότητος, and which is not finally resumed until the words πάντα μοι κ.τ.λ. towards the close of the chapter, is broken up by the Paris editors, who begin c. 22 with the words ἐπεὶ οὖν τῆς πρὸς τὸ ὄντως. The same division is found in MSS *h, e, f.* To c. 21 (20 in the enumeration of these MSS) they prefix the colophon: ὅτι μίμημα τῆς θείας φύσεως κατασκευασθεὶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος τρεπτῆς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλλοιωτῆς φύσεως. Opposite the words ἐπεὶ οὖν τῆς πρὸς τὸ ὄντως they mark the beginning of a new chapter (21) with the heading: ὅτι τραπέντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐ τυραννικῶς ἀλλὰ δικαιολόγως ἐλυτρώσατο. The division of chapters adopted here is that of Krabinger.

4. ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις] i.e. c. 5.

7. διασώζων ὁμοίωσιν] On Gr.'s use of the words *εἰκῶν* and *ὁμοίωσις* see *antea* c. 5 p. 24 (note).

ib. τρεπτῆς δέ] The δέ has an adversative force. 'Yet possessing a changeable nature.'

12. καὶ ἄλλως] There is another reason why 'change' is necessarily

ἀναγκαίως ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ θεωρουμένης, ἐπειδὴ μίμημα  
 τῆς θείας φύσεως ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἦν· τὸ δὲ μιμούμενον, εἰ  
 μὴ ἐν ἑτερότητι τύχει τινί, ταῦτὸν ἂν εἴη πάντως ἐκείνῳ,  
 ᾧ ἀφωμοίωται. ἐν τούτῳ τοίνυν τῆς ἑτερότητος τοῦ  
 5 κατ' εἰκόνα γενομένου πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον οὔσης, ἐν τῷ  
 τὸ μὲν ἄτρεπτον εἶναι τῇ φύσει, τὸ δὲ μὴ οὕτως ἔχειν,  
 ἀλλὰ δι' ἀλλοιώσεως μὲν ὑποστῆναι κατὰ τὸν ἀποδο-  
 θέντα λόγον, ἀλλοιούμενον δὲ μὴ πάντως ἐν τῷ εἶναι  
 μένειν· ἢ δὲ ἀλλοιώσεις κινήσεις τίς ἐστίν εἰς ἕτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 10 ἐν ᾧ ἐστίν εἰς αἰὲν προιοῦσα· δύο δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης εἶδη  
 κινήσεως· τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν αἰὲν γιγνόμενον, ἐν ᾧ  
 ἢ πρόοδος στάσιν οὐκ ἔχει, διότι πέρασ οὐδὲν τοῦ διεξο-

3 τυχη fg || 6 om τη φυσει d || 8 om μη fhl\* vulg || 9 μενειν] μιμημα l\*  
 vulg || om τις l vulg || εἰς ἑτερον...ω ἐστιν om f || 10 δυο δε] δυο λεγει  
 l\*vid vulg || 12 διεξοδευμενον df

part of human nature. It serves to mark the distinction between God the archetype and man the copy. The word ἄλλως is explained by the clause ἐπειδὴ...ἀφωμοίωται.

4. ἐν τούτῳ τοίνυν] Here begins a long and involved sentence which occupies the rest of the chapter. Gr. begins with a *gen. absolute* τῆς ἑτερότητος...οὔσης, but the main sentence is broken by a long parenthesis on the meaning of ἀλλοιώσεις and κινήσεις. The sentence is again taken up by the words ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν τρεπτήν, and again broken by the parenthesis καλὸν δὲ τὸ μὲν. A fresh beginning is made with the words ἐπεὶ οὖν τῆς πρὸς τὸ ὄντως, but a parenthesis οὐ γὰρ ἂν...περιπλασθείσης again intervenes. After a fresh start, ἐν ταύτῃ τοίνυν γεγονότος, the apodosis finally begins with the words πάντα μοι κατὰ ταῦτόν.

7. ἀλλὰ δι' ἄλλ.] 'but as it was by a change (δι' ἀλλοιώσεως μὲν) that it came into existence, so being subject to change (ἀλλοιούμενον δὲ) it does not and cannot remain in its

state of existence.' In what follows Gr. explains μὴ πάντως ἐν τῷ εἶναι μένειν. By ἀλλοίωσις he means 'a certain movement continually advancing to a different state from that in which a thing is.'

9. ἢ δὲ ἀλλοιώσεις] Here begins the first parenthesis extending to the words τῇ ἀνυπαρξίᾳ τὴν ὑπαρξιν.

12. στάσιν] The advance in the direction of good cannot be arrested, 'because there is no boundary to that which is explored,' i.e. there is no limit to the progress in good. Διεξοδ. is passive, 'that which is traversed.' The Latin version of the Paris edd. translates 'ejus quod transit,' which gives no meaning. Krab. translates 'ejus quod evoluitur.' Glauber renders 'weil selbst dasjenige ohne Ende ist, in dem man thätig ist,' and sees here the influence of the Platonic idea that αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν, αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαθόν is eternal. He refers to the *Phaedo* of Plato. Καταλ. 'is perceived.' The word καταλαμβάνεσθαι is a mere variant, like θεωρεῖσθαι elsewhere in this treatise, for εἶναι.

δευομένου καταλαμβάνεται· τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον, οὐ ἢ ὑπόστασις ἐν τῷ μὴ ὑφ'εστάναι ἐστίν· ἢ γὰρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἐναντίωσις, καθὼς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, τοιοῦτόν τινα νοῦν κατὰ τὴν ἀντιδιαστολὴν ἔχει, καθάπερ φαμέν τῷ μὴ ὄντι τὸ ὄν ἀντιδιαριεῖσθαι καὶ τῇ ἀνυπαρξίᾳ τὴν 5 ὑπαρξίν· ἐπειδὴ τοῖνυν κατὰ τὴν τρεπτὴν τε καὶ ἀλλοιώτην ὀρμὴν τε καὶ κίνησιν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται τὴν φύσιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς μένειν ἀκίνητον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τι πάντως ἢ προαίρεσις ἴεται, τῆς πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ἐπιθυμίας αὐτὴν φυσικῶς ἐφελκομένης εἰς κίνησιν· καλὸν δὲ τὸ μὲν τι ἀληθῶς κατὰ 10 τὴν φύσιν ἐστί, τὸ δὲ οὐ τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἐπηνθισμένον τινὶ καλοῦ φαντασίᾳ· κριτήριον δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν ὁ νοῦς, ἔνδοθεν ἡμῖν ἐνιδρυμένος, ἐν ᾧ κινδυνεύεται ἢ τὸ ἐπιτυχεῖν τοῦ ὄντως καλοῦ, ἢ τὸ παρατραπέντας αὐτοῦ 15 διὰ τινος τῆς κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον ἀπάτης ἐπὶ τὸ ἐναντίον ἡμᾶς ἀπορρηῆναι, οἷόν τι παθεῖν ὁ ἕξωθεν μῦθος φησιν ἀπιδουσαν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τὴν κύνα πρὸς τὴν σκιάν οὐ διὰ στόματος ἔφερε, μεθεῖναι μὲν τὴν ἀληθῆ τροφήν, περιχανοῦσαν δὲ τὸ τῆς τροφῆς εἶδωλον ἐν λιμῷ γενέσθαι·

1 ου] ω f || om η vulg || 3 om εν τοις vulg || 4 τινα] τι e || διαστολην vulg || 7 αφ εαυτης vulg || 9 αυτη f εαυτην deg\*hnρ || εφεлк. φυσικως l\* vulg || 11 om την f || 13 εν ω]+και f || 14 οντως] οντος dhln vulg || 16 εξωθεν] εξω μεν vulg || 17 αποδιδουσαν vulg || 19 τω...ειδωλω g\*ρ προς το..ειδωλον n

1. τὸ ἐναντίον] i.e. τὸ κακόν, which, as Gr. has shown previously, is equivalent to τὸ μὴ ὄν.

2. ἢ...ἐναντίωσις] 'When we contrast the opposite of good with good, we mean much the same as when we say that the existent is logically opposed to the non-existent, and subsistence to non-subsistence.' Cp. *antea* cc. 6, 15 with notes.

6. ἐπειδὴ] resumes the sentence begun in ἐν τούτῳ τοῖνυν. 'Ὀρμὴν, 'the impulse and movement towards alteration and change.'

9. φυσικῶς] Gr. implies that man's natural state is one in which he is impelled to the pursuit of good.

In the parenthesis, which begins καλὸν δέ, he shews how in the pursuit of good man is liable to be misled by illusions.

11. ἐπηνθισμένον] 'arrayed in a certain semblance of good.'

13. ἐν ᾧ] The antecedent is prob. νοῦς. As the νοῦς is liable to err, there is the chance of either success or failure in the pursuit of good.

16. ἀπορρηῆναι] Cp. c. 15. 'Ὁ ἕξ. μῦθος = 'the heathen fable.' Krab. quotes from St Basil the similar expressions μαθήματα τὰ ἕξωθεν, ἢ θύραθεν σοφία.

18. περιχανοῦσαν] 'opening his mouth to swallow.' Cp. Lucian

(22) ἐπεὶ οὖν τῆς πρὸς τὸ ὄντως ἀγαθὸν ἐπιθυμίας δια-  
 ψευσθεὶς ὁ νοῦς πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὄν παρηνέχθη, δι' ἀπάτης  
 τοῦ τῆς κακίας συμβούλου τε καὶ εὔρετοῦ καλὸν ἀναπει-  
 σθεὶς εἶναι τὸ τῷ καλῷ ἐναντίον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐνήργησεν  
 5 ἡ ἀπάτη, μὴ δελέατος δίκην τῷ τῆς κακίας ἀγκίστρῳ  
 τῆς τοῦ καλοῦ φαντασίας περιπλασθείσης· ἐν ταύτῃ  
 τοίνυν γεγονότος ἔκουσίως τῇ συμφορᾷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου  
 τοῦ ἑαυτὸν δι' ἡδονῆς τῷ ἐχθρῷ τῆς ζωῆς ὑποζεύξαντος,  
 πάντα μοι κατὰ ταῦτὸν ἀναζήτει τὰ ταῖς θείαις ὑπολή-  
 10 ψεσι πρέποντα, τὸ ἀγαθόν, τὸ σοφόν, τὸ δίκαιον, τὸ  
 δυνατόν, τὸ ἄφθαρτον καὶ εἴ τι τῆς τοῦ κρείττονος  
 σημασίας ἐστίν. οὐκοῦν ὡς ἀγαθὸς οἶκτον λαμβάνει τοῦ  
 διαπεπτωκότος, ὡς σοφὸς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ τὸν τρόπον τῆς  
 ἀνακλήσεως. σοφίας δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ ἡ τοῦ δικαίου κρίσις· οὐ  
 15 γὰρ ἂν τις ἀφροσύνη τὴν ἀληθῆ δικαιοσύνην προσάψειεν.

22. Ἦν οὖν ἐν τούτοις τὸ δίκαιον ; τὸ μὴ τυραννικῆ

8 om του vulg || εχθρῳ] χρωω f || 9 κατα ταυτον] κατ αυτον g κατα  
 τον αυτον l vulg || 10 om το σοφον l vulg || om το δικαιον το δυνατον η και  
 δικαιον και δυνατον l vulg || 11 om του fl vulg || 13 και ως σοφος l vulg

*Merc. Cond.* 3 καθάπερ ὁ λάρος ὄλον  
 περιχανῶν τὸ δέλεαρ.

1. διαψευσθεὶς] 'being cheated of  
 its desire for that which is really good.'

2. τὸ μὴ ὄν] i.e. τὸ κακόν.

4. οὐ γάρ] A fresh parenthesis,  
 the main sentence being again re-  
 sumed with the words ἐν ταύτῃ τοί-  
 νυν. 'For his guile would not  
 have been effectual, had not the sem-  
 blance of good been spread upon the  
 hook of evil like a bait.'

7. ἔκουσίως] This word plays  
 an important part in Gr.'s argument.  
 Though man was deceived, his lapse  
 into evil was the result of his own  
 decision, and this fact influenced the  
 manner of his redemption.

9. πάντα μοι] These words intro-  
 duce the apodosis. Over against  
 the circumstances of man's fall, Gr.  
 sets the other factor in the problem,  
 i.e. the nature and character of God.  
 In the following clauses: οὐκοῦν ὡς

ἀγαθὸς—σοφίας δ' ἂν εἴη—τί οὖν ἐν  
 τούτοις τὸ δίκαιον ;—he passes in  
 review the main attributes of God.  
 God's action was limited by His  
 justice, which must necessarily ac-  
 company the exhibition of His good-  
 ness in desiring man's salvation and  
 His wisdom in discovering a means  
 to effect it.

ib. κατὰ ταῦτόν] = simul.

22. How then was God's justice  
 exhibited? In abstaining from a  
 tyrannical exercise of force against  
 Satan. As justice requires that those  
 who have bartered away their own  
 liberty should be restored by the pay-  
 ment of a ransom to their lawful  
 owners, so in the case of man a  
 method of redemption was needed that  
 was consistent with justice. This  
 involved the payment of such a ran-  
 som as the owner was willing to  
 receive.

16. μὴ τυραννικῆ] Krab. quotes

τινὶ χρῆσασθαι κατὰ τοῦ κατέχοντος ἡμᾶς αὐθεντία, μὴδὲ τῷ περιόντι τῆς δυνάμεως ἀποσπάσαντα τοῦ κρατοῦντος καταλιπεῖν τινὰ δικαιολογίας ἀφορμὴν τῷ δι' ἡδοιῆς καταδουλωσαμένῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ χρημάτων τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδόμενοι δούλοι 5 τῶν ὠνησαμένων εἰσίν, αὐτοὶ πρατῆρες ἑαυτῶν καταστάντες, καὶ οὔτε αὐτοῖς οὔτε ἄλλῳ τινὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἔξεστι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐπιβοήσασθαι, κὰν εὐπατρίδαι τινὲς ᾧσιν οἱ πρὸς τὴν συμφορὰν ταύτην αὐτομολῆσαιτες· εἰ δέ τις κηδόμενος τοῦ ἀπεμποληθέντος βία 10 κατὰ τοῦ ὠνησαμένου χρωτό, ἄδικος εἶναι δόξει τὸν νόμφ κτηθέντα τυραννικῶς ἐξαιρούμενος· ἐξωνεῖσθαι δὲ πάλιν εἰ βούλοιο τὸν τοιοῦτον, οὐδεὶς ὁ κωλύων νόμος ἐστί· (23) κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκουσίως ἡμῶν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπεμπολησάντων ἔδει παρὰ τοῦ δι' ἀγαθότητα πάλιν 15 ἡμᾶς εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἐξαιρουμένου μὴ τὸν τυραννικόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν δίκαιον τρόπον ἐπινοηθῆναι τῆς ἀνακλήσεως. οὗτος δὲ ἐστί τις τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ κρατοῦντι ποιήσασθαι πᾶν ὅπερ ἂν ἐθέλοι λύτρον ἀντὶ τοῦ κατεχομένου λαβεῖν.

23. Τί τοίνυν εἰκὸς ἦν μᾶλλον τὸν κρατοῦντα λαβεῖν 20

22. 8 ευπατριδες | vulg || 18 τις τω επικρατουντι | \*n vulg

Dionys. Areop. *de eccl. Hier.* c. 3 § 11 τῆς... ἀποστατικῆς πληθῆος, ὡς ἡ κρυφία παράδοσις ἔχει, τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν καταλύσασα κράτος, οὐ κατὰ δύναμιν, ὡς ὑπερσχύουσα, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μυστικῶς ἡμῶν παραδοθὲν λόγιον, ἐν κρίσει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ. To this Maximus has appended a note in which he refers to this passage of Gr.

3. δικαιολογ.] 'a just plea in his own defence.'

5. χρημάτων] 'for money.'

8. ἐπιβοήσασθαι] 'To claim liberty on their behalf.' For this sense of ἐπιβοᾶσθαι cp. Basil *de Spir.* S. c. x (25) τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐγγράφων ἀποδείξεις ἐπιβοῶνται.

14. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν] The Paris

edition and mss *b* and *e* mark the beginning of a new chapter at this point. In ms *f* the division is made before the words οὗτος δὲ ἐστί τις. In all three mss the new chapter has the following colophon: 'Ὅτι συναλλαγματικὴν τινα ποιεῖται τὴν λύτρωσιν.'

23. *What then was the ransom which Satan was likely to choose? His pride led him to seek something which was higher and better than that which he held, in order to make a gain in the bargain. The spectacle of power displayed in Christ's miracles led Satan to select Him as the ransom-price, while the veil of Christ's humanity, hiding the Godhead, made*

ἐλέσθαι; δυνατόν ἐστι δι' ἀκολούθου στοχασμόν τινα  
 τῆς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, εἰ τὰ πρόδηλα γένοιτο ἡμῖν  
 τῶν ζητουμένων τεκμήρια. ὁ τοίνυν κατὰ τὸν ἐν ἀρχῇ  
 τοῦ συγγράμματος προαποδοθέντα λόγον τῷ πρὸς τὸν  
 5 εὐημεροῦντα φθόνῳ πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐπιμύσας, τὸν  
 δὲ τῆς κακίας ζόφον ἐν ἑαυτῷ γεννήσας, ἀρχὴν δὲ τῆς  
 πρὸς τὰ χεῖρω ῥοπῆς καὶ ὑπόθεσιν καὶ οἰονεὶ μητέρα  
 τῆς λοιπῆς κακίας τὴν φιλαρχίαν νοσήσας, τίνος ἂν  
 ἀντηλλάξατο τὸν κατεχόμενον, εἰ μὴ δηλαδὴ τοῦ ὑψηλο-  
 10 τέρου καὶ μείζονος ἀνταλλάγματος, ὡς ἂν μᾶλλον ἑαυτοῦ  
 τὸ κατὰ τὸν τύφον θρέψειεν πάθος, τὰ μείζω τῶν ἐλατ-  
 τόνων διαμειβόμενος; ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀπ' αἰῶνος  
 ἱστορουμένοις, ἐν οὐδενὶ συνεγνωῖται τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, οἷα  
 καθεώρα περὶ τὸν τότε φαινόμενον, κυφορίαν ἰσυν-  
 15 δύαστον, καὶ γέννησιν ἄφθορον, καὶ θήλην ἐκ παρθενίας,

**23.** 2 εἶτα προδ. vulg || 5 om μεν fl vulg || 8 om αν f || 13 om ἱστορου-  
 μνοις h || 14 την τ. φαινομενην vulg || ασυντριαστον l vulg

*Him an object of desire rather than  
 of dread to the adversary. In the  
 wish to save man we see exhibited the  
 goodness, in the ransom by bargain  
 the justice, in the manner by which  
 the ransom was effected, the wisdom  
 of God.*

1. δι' ἀκολούθου] 'reasonably,' a  
 variant for the more usual κατὰ τὸ  
 ἀκ.

2. εἰ τὰ πρόδ.] 'if the evident  
 facts of the case were taken as proofs  
 to us of that which we are seeking.'

3. ἐν ἀρχῇ] i.e. c. 6.

6. ἀρχὴν δέ] Opposite these  
 words in MSS *b* and *e* occurs the  
 marginal note ὅτι ἀπὸ φιλαρχίας  
 ἐτραχηλίασεν ὁ διάβολος. Gr. de-  
 scribes the love of power as 'the  
 originating cause of the tendency  
 to evil in Satan, and the foundation  
 and as it were mother of other  
 wickedness.'

7. ὑπόθεσιν] 'base,' 'founda-  
 tion.' Cp. Arist. *Pol.* vii 1. 6 ὑπό-

θεσις...τῆς δημοκρατικῆς πολιτείας  
 εἰλευθερία.

11. τύφον] Satan wished to satisfy  
 his pride by making a gain in the  
 exchange and getting more than he  
 gave (τὰ μείζω τῶν ἐλαττόνων δια-  
 μειβόμενος). The whole conception  
 is crude and repellent.

14. τὸν τότε φ.] i.e. Jesus Christ.  
*ib.* κυφ. ἀσυνδ.] Acc. to the  
 earlier belief 'the virginity of Mary  
 and her child-bearing' were hidden  
 from Satan. Cf. Ign. *Eph.* xix.

15. γέννησιν ἄφθορον] Cp. *c. Eu-  
 nom.* iv p. 625 (Migne) ἔτεκε, καὶ  
 οὐδὲν ἦπτον ἢ ἀφθαρσία συνδιεφυλά-  
 χθη τῷ τόκῳ. The belief indicated  
 here in a Virgin-birth, as distinct  
 from a Virgin-conception, was a  
 corollary upon the παρθενία widely  
 current among the Fathers. See  
 Schwane *Dogmengeschichte* i 186,  
 233 ff.

*ib.* θήλην] 'giving suck.'

καὶ ἄνωθεν ἐπιμαρτυρούσας τῷ ὑπερφυεῖ τῆς ἀξίας ἐκ τῶν ἀοράτων φωνάς, καὶ τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἀρρωστημάτων διόρθωσιν ἀπραγματέυτον τινα καὶ ψιλὴν, ἐν ῥήματι μόνῳ καὶ ὀρμῇ τοῦ θελήματος παρ' αὐτοῦ γινομένην, τὴν τε τῶν τεθνηκότων ἐπὶ τὸν βίον ἀνάλυσιν, καὶ τὴν τῶν 5 καταδίκων ἀνάρρυσιν, καὶ τὸν κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων φόβον, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν αἴρα παθῶν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ τὴν διὰ θαλάσσης πορείαν, οὐ διαχωροῦντος ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ

3 τινα και] τε και e || 4 γενομενην ef || 5 om και την...αναρρυσιν dfglp || 6 αναρρησιν h

2. φωνάς] 'Voices from the unseen world, testifying from above to surpassing worth.' The reference is to the song of the angels at the Birth.

3. διόρθωσιν] 'His command of a mode of healing natural infirmities without trouble or the use of means, by a mere fiat and effort of the will.' Ἀπραγματέυτον, lit. 'not highly wrought' or 'laboured.' The adv. ἀπραγματέυτως is used by Synesius in the sense of 'without trouble.' Ψιλὴν implies that it was by the simple exercise of power, unaccompanied by any employment of human skill, that the cures were effected. The reading of Krab. ὑψιλήν is only found in the late Ms b.

5. ἀνάλυσιν] 'the return of the dead to life.' For this sense of ἀνάλυσιν cp. c. 39 πρὸς ἐαυτὸν ἀναλύων. Cp. also Luke xii 36. Krab. conjectures ἀνάκλησιν, but this is unnecessary.

ιβ. καὶ τὴν τ. κ. ἀνάρρυσιν] These words are only found in the mss b, e, h, n. They occur in the Latin translation of Morel, who renders 'damnatorum absolutio.' Krab. gives the same rendering, and thinks that there is an allusion to Origen's teaching upon the final restoration of all sinners. See below, c. 26. But from the context it is obvious that the words, if genuine, must

refer to something before the Crucifixion. If the words are not genuine, it is difficult to account for their insertion in the text, whereas their omission might be explained as *per homoteleuton*, owing to the resemblance of ἀνάλυσιν and ἀνάρρυσιν. 'The rescue of those under condemnation' might mean (1) the absolution of sinners during our Lord's earthly life (Moore *N. and P. N. Fathers* vol. v p. 493); (2) the deliverance of those who had deadly diseases (e.g. the nobleman's son); (3) the deliverance of those already possessed with devils, thus leading on to τ. κατὰ τῶν δ. φ. Of these interpretations (2) or (3) is preferable to (1), and accords better with the class of wonders adduced in the context.

6. κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων] 'fear inspired in devils.'

7. παθῶν] Krab., following Hervey, translates 'potestatem in aeris affectiones.' Glauber has '(dass er) über Stürme Gewalt hatte.' For this use of πάθος cp. Greg. Naz. *Or.* xxviii 30 (Mason, p. 69) σὺ δὲ ἔγνωσ σελήνης φύσιν, καὶ πάθη. The ref. is to the stilling of the tempest. See Mt. viii 27 &c.

8. διὰ θαλάσσης πορ.] In Mk vi 48—9 (Mt. xiv 25—6), and Jn vi 19 the expressions used are ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν and ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης,

πελάγους, καὶ τὸν πυθμένα γυμνοῦντος τοῖς παροδεύουσι  
 κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Μωσέως θαυματουργίαν, ἀλλ' ἄνω τῆς  
 ἐπιφανείας τοῦ ὕδατος ὑποχερσουμένης τῇ βάσει, καὶ  
 διὰ τινος ἀσφαλούς ἀντιτυπίας ὑπερειδούσης τὸ ἴχθυος,  
 5 τὴν τε τῆς τροφῆς ὑπεροψίαν ἐφ' ὅσον βούλοιτο, καὶ  
 τὰς ἐν ἐρημίᾳ δαψιλεῖς ἐστιάσεις τῶν ἐν πολλαῖς χιλι-  
 άσιν εὐωχουμένων, οἷς οὔτε οὐρανὸς ἐπέρρει τὸ μάννα,  
 οὔτε ἡ γῆ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτῆς φύσιν σιτοποιούσα τὴν  
 χρείαν ἐπλήρου, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἀρρήτων ταμείων τῆς  
 10 θείας δυνάμεως ἢ φιλοτιμία προῆει, ἔτοιμος ἄρτος ταῖς  
 χερσὶ τῶν διακονούντων ἐγγεωργούμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦ  
 κόρου τῶν ἐσθιόντων πλείων γιγνόμενος, ἢ τε διὰ τῶν  
 ἰχθύων ὀψοφαγία, οὐ θαλάσσης αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν χρείαν  
 συνεισφερούσης, ἀλλὰ τοῦ καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ τὸ γένος  
 15 τῶν ἰχθύων ἐγκατασπείραντος. καὶ πῶς ἂν τις τὸ καθ'  
 ἕκαστον τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν διεξίηι θαυμάτων; ταύτην  
 τοίνυν τὴν δύναμιν καθορῶν, ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἐν ἐκείνῳ πλείου

2 om ἐπι l vulg || θαυματουργ.] ελευθεριαν f || 4 τινος] της l vulg ||  
 υπερειδοντος του ἴχθυος f || 7 ουρανοθεν f || μαννα] ναμα g<sup>1</sup> || 9 ταμειων  
 dghnr || 11 διακονουμενων g || 15 κατασπειρ. vulg || το καθ] τα κ. f των  
 κ. hp || 17 om τοινυν d

not διὰ θαλάσσης, as here, but in Mk  
 vi 53 (Mt. xiv 34) διαπεράσαντες  
 occurs.

2. ἀλλ' ἄνω] The sea did not  
 part and lay bare the bottom, as in  
 the miracle of Moses, but in this  
 case the surface of its waters pre-  
 sented a solid ground (ὑποχερσου-  
 μένης), and supported (ὑπερειδούσης)  
 His steps by a kind of firm resist-  
 ance (διὰ τινος ἀσφ. ἀντιτυπ.). For  
 ἐπιφ. cp. c. 8. For ἀντιτυπίας  
 cp. Gr. Naz. Or. xxxi 32 (p. 189,  
 Mason) σχεθεῖσα τῷ ἀντιτύπῳ.

5. ὑπεροψίαν] 'contempt,' 'dis-  
 regard.'

9. ταμείων] On this form see  
 Deissmann *Bible Studies* p. 182.

10. φιλοτιμία] 'munificence.'

11. ἐγγεωργ.] The Latin transl.

of the Paris ed. gives 'panis parat-  
 us, eorum qui impartiebantur tan-  
 quam agricolarum manibus elabora-  
 tus,' taking ταῖς χερσὶ with ἐγγε-  
 ωργούμενος. The bread was multi-  
 plied by the very act of distribution,  
 and so may be said to have been  
 'produced' in the hands of those  
 who distributed it. The word ἐγ-  
 γεωργεῖν is not found in the Lexi-  
 cons.

12. κόρου] i.e. the bread increased  
 the more they were filled. A some-  
 what rhetorical way of expressing  
 the fact narrated in Mt. xiv 20, Mk  
 vi 42, 43 &c.

13. ὀψοφαγία] 'banquet,' used of  
 a dainty repast. Here it refers to  
 the feeding of the multitude with  
 the fishes.



τοῦ κατεχομένου τὸ προκείμενον εἶδεν ἐν τῷ συναλλάγματι. τούτου χάριν αὐτὸν αἰρεῖται λύτρον τῶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ θανάτου φρουρᾷ καθειργμένων γενέσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀμήχανον ἦν αὐτὸν γυμνῇ προσβλέψαι τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ φαντασίᾳ, μὴ σαρκὸς τινα μοῖραν ἐν αὐτῷ θεωρήσαντα, 5 ἦν ἤδη διὰ τῆς ἀμαρτίας κεχείρωτο. διὰ τοῦτο περικαλύπτεται τῇ σαρκὶ ἢ θεότης, ὡς ἄν, πρὸς τὸ σύντροφόν τε καὶ συγγενὲς αὐτῷ βλέπων, μὴ πτοηθεῖη τὸν

4 om αυτον l vulg || 6 περιεκαλυπται vulg

1. τὸ προκείμενον] *'saw that what was proposed in the bargain was a gain upon what he held.'* By τὸ προκείμ. Gr. means Christ, who represented a type of humanity superior to that which Satan held in bondage (τοῦ κατεχ.). He was therefore not only an equivalent for it, but would leave a margin of gain to Satan.

2. αὐτὸν αἰρεῖται] The idea that Christ's death (or blood) was a ransom to Satan appears in *Iren. c. Haer. v 1. 1.* It was adopted by Origen, who speaks of the blood of Christ as the price demanded by Satan (*in Rom. ii 13*) and elsewhere (*in Matt. xvi 8*) says that Christ gave His ψυχὴ as a λύτρον to Satan. The idea was still further worked out by succeeding writers. It occurs in more or less developed form in Ambrose, Augustine, Leo I, and Gregory I, in the last of whom it reaches its most repulsive expression. See esp. *Ambr. Ep. lxxii 8*; *Aug. de Trin. xiii 14*; *Leo M. Sermo xxii 3*; *Greg. M. Mor. xxxiii 7.* Athanasius does not recognize the theory, while Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or. xlv 22*), and in later times John of Damascus (*de Fil. Orth. iii 1, 27*) reject it. Still it was widely current until Anselm in his *Cur Deus homo* guided thought in a different direction.

*ib.* τῶν ἐν τῇ τ. θ. φρ. καθ.] Gr. refers here to the harrowing of hell. He does not apply the 'ransom' to those yet living, or to generations to come.

3. ἀλλὰ μὴν] The idea contained in this passage that the humanity of Christ served to veil His Godhead from the eyes of Satan is more fully expressed in *c. 24 τῷ προκαλύμματι τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἐνεκρύφθη τὸ θεῖον, ἵνα...συνακατασπασθῇ τὸ ἀγκιστρον τῆς θεότητος*, and in *c. 26 ἀπατάται γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου προβλήματι ὁ προπατήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον.* Cp. *Greg. Naz. Or. xxxix 13 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἦτο ἀήτητος εἶναι τῆς κακίας ὁ σοφιστής, θεότητος ἐλπίδι δελεάσας ἡμᾶς, σαρκὸς προβλήματι δελεάζεται, ἵν' ὡς τῷ Ἀδὰμ προσβαλὼν, τῷ θεῷ περιπέσῃ.* See further *Mason Five Theol. Orationes of Greg. Naz. p. 117.* The earliest trace of this idea of a deception of Satan by the reserve shown in the Incarnation is in *Ignatius Eph. xix.* It may have been suggested by *1 Cor. ii 8.*

4. προσβλέψαι τῇ...φ.] *'to gaze on the unveiled appearance of God.'* For the use of the *dat.* with *προσβλέπειν* see *Plut. Cato Mi. 65 Ἀπολλωνίδη τῷ Στοικῶ...προσβλέψας ὁ Κάτων.*

7. σύντροφον] *'looking at that which was well-known and familiar.'*

προσεγγισμὸν τῆς ὑπερεχούσης δυνάμεως· καὶ τὴν ἡρέμα  
 διὰ τῶν θαυμάτων ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον διαλάμπουσαν δύναμιν  
 κατανοήσας, ἐπιθυμητὸν μᾶλλον ἢ φοβερὸν τὸ φανέν  
 εἶναι νομίση. ὀρᾷς ὅπως τὸ ἀγαθὸν τῷ δικαίῳ συνέ-  
 5 ζευκται καὶ τὸ σοφὸν τούτων οὐκ ἀποκέκριται. τὸ γὰρ  
 διὰ τῆς τοῦ σώματος περιβολῆς χωρητὴν τὴν θείαν  
 δύναμιν ἐπινοῆσαι γενέσθαι, ὡς ἂν ἡ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οἰκο-  
 νομία μὴ παραποδισθεῖ τῷ φόβῳ τῆς θεικῆς ἐπιφανείας,  
 πάντων κατὰ ταυτὸν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει, τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ,  
 10 τοῦ σοφοῦ, τοῦ δικαίου. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐλέσθαι σώσαι  
 τῆς ἀγαθότητός ἐστι μαρτυρία· τὸ δὲ συναλλαγματικὴν  
 ποιήσασθαι τὴν τοῦ κρατουμένου λύτρωσιν τὸ δίκαιον  
 δείκνυσι· τὸ δὲ χωρητὸν δι' ἐπινοίας ποιῆσαι τῷ ἐχθρῷ  
 τὸ ἀχώρητον τῆς ἀνωτάτῳ σοφίας τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει.  
 15 **24.** Ἄλλ' ἐπιζητεῖν εἰκὸς τὸν τῇ ἀκολουθίᾳ τῶν εἰρη-  
 μένων προσέχοντα, ποῦ τὸ δυνατὸν τῆς θεότητος, ποῦ ἡ

8 παρεμποδισθει f || θεικης επιφ.] υψηλης εμφ. fl vulg || 9 παντως  
 vulg || 10 σοφου]+του δυνατου f || το μεν...σωσαι desunt in e || 13 ποιησαι  
 δι επι. e

1. τὴν ἡρέμα] *'perceiving the power which shone out quietly more and more in His miracles.'*

3. ἐπιθυμητὸν] See the passage quoted above from c. 24.

6. χωρητὴν] Cp. *infra* χωρητὸν ...τῷ ἐχθρῷ. For the idea cp. c. 26 ἐντὸς τοῦ κρατοῦντος γενέσθαι. The Divine power became χωρητὴ to Satan by being inseparably united with the humanity, which the adversary had chosen as his λύτρον, and which served to veil the God-head.

7. ἐπινοῆσαι] used, like δι' ἐπινοίας below, of a 'device' or 'invention.'

**24.** *The question, however, may be asked, 'How was the Divine power displayed in the Incarnation?' This can only be answered by considering the sequel of the Gospel story in which*

*we find power conjoined with love. In the first place Gr. maintains that God's condescension to the weakness of human nature in the Incarnation was a greater proof of omnipotence than any wonders of the natural creation. For it showed that His power is not limited by the bounds of nature, but can pass beyond them, just as our wonder would be excited if we saw a flame stream downward instead of upward. In order that Satan might be led to accept the ransom offered on our behalf, Christ concealed His Godhead in the veil of our humanity and thus introduced life and light into our nature. There was nothing unreasonable in a plan which brought cleansing to those defiled with sin, life to the dead, and guidance to those who had gone astray.*

ἀφθαρσία τῆς θείας δυνάμεως ἐν τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὀράται. ἵνα τοίνυν καὶ ταῦτα γένηται καταφανῆ, τὰ ἐφεξῆς τοῦ μυστηρίου διασκοπήσωμεν, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα δέικνυται συγκεκραμένη τῇ φιλάνθρωπιά ἢ δύναμις. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὸ τὴν παντοδύναμον φύσιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ταπεινὸν 5 τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος καταβῆναι ἰσχύσαι πλείονα τῆς δυνάμεως τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει ἢ τὰ μέγαλά τε καὶ ὑπερφυῆ τῶν θαυμάτων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ μέγα τι καὶ ὑψηλὸν ἐξεργασθῆναι παρὰ τῆς θείας δυνάμεως κατὰ φύσιν πῶς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀκόλουθον. καὶ οὐκ ἂν τινα ξενισμὸν ἐπάγοι 10 τῇ ἀκοῇ τὸ λέγειν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ κτίσιν καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι περ ἔξω τῶν φαινομένων καταλαμβάνεται, ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ συστήναι, αὐτοῦ τοῦ θελήματος πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν οὐσιωθέντος. ἢ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ταπεινὸν κάθοδος περιουσία τίς ἐστὶ τῆς δυνάμεως οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς 15

24. 1 om θείας e || 4 συγκεκραμένη] νυν κεκραμμ. f συγκεκραμμ. g1 || 5 om και f<sup>id</sup> || 6-7 τὴν απ. τῆς δυν. l vulg || 8 θαυμ.] δογματων deghnp 10 ακολουθιαν e || 12 ο τι περ] +αν vulg || ἐξω] +αυτων e || 13 τῆ θεου δυν. l vulg || 15 ωσ ουδεν f

2. τοῦ μυστηρίου] here practically = 'the Gospel story,' i.e. the revelation contained in the life of Christ.

4. συγκεκραμένη] Gr. maintains that the power of God can only be considered in conjunction with the purpose of love to which it was directed. The love of God for man provided the most splendid occasion for the exercise of His omnipotence. All through this treatise Gr. emphasizes the moral glory exhibited in the creation and redemption of man. With the present passage may be compared the language of the collect for the xi<sup>th</sup> Sunday after Trinity, 'Deus, qui omnipotentiam tuam parcendo maxime et miserando manifestas' (Gelasian).

8. θαυμάτων] Gr. is thinking especially of the wonders in Creation, not only of miracles in the

more special sense of the word. This is shown by his reference to Creation in the succeeding passages, esp. that beginning οὕτως καὶ τὴν θείαν. In place of θαυμάτων one group of MSS reads δογμάτων which is evidently a corruption.

12. ἔξω τῶν φαιν.] The invisible creation includes the parts of creation beyond our ken, and also the world of created spirits.

14. οὐσιωθέντος] Οὐσιοῦν = 'to give being or οὐσία to anything.' The idea is that the thing which was brought into being was but the expression of His will and pleasure.

15. περιουσία] The humiliation of the Son of God is a surpassing display of power, because it exhibits a power which is not limited even by what seems opposed to nature. For the explanatory clause κωλυμένης attached to δυνάμεως without an

παρὰ φύσιν κωλυομένης. ὡς γὰρ ἰδίον ἐστὶ τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς οὐσίας ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνω φορᾶ, καὶ οὐκ ἄν τις θαύματος ἄξιον ἐπὶ τῆς φλογὸς ἠγγήσαιτο τὸ φυσικῶς ἐνεργούμενον· εἰ δὲ ρέουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῶν  
 5 ἐμβριθῶν σωμάτων ἴδοι τὴν φλόγα, τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐν θαύματι ποιεῖται, πῶς τὸ πῦρ καὶ διαμένει πῦρ ὃν καὶ ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς κινήσεως ἐκβαίνει τὴν φύσιν, ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω φερόμενον· οὕτως καὶ τὴν θείαν τε καὶ ὑπερέχουσαν δύναμιν οὐκ οὐρανῶν μεγέθη καὶ φωστήρων  
 10 αὐγαὶ καὶ ἡ τοῦ παντὸς διακόσμησις καὶ ἡ διηλεκτῆς τῶν ὄντων οἰκονομία τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν συγκατάβασις δείκνυσι, πῶς τὸ ὑψηλόν, ἐν τῷ ταπεινῷ γενόμενον, καὶ ἐν τῷ ταπεινῷ καθορᾶται καὶ οὐ καταβαίνει τοῦ ὕψους, πῶς θεότης ἀνθρωπίνῃ  
 15 συμπλακεῖσα φύσει καὶ τοῦτο γίνεται καὶ ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν. ἐπειδὴ γάρ, καθὼς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, φύσιν οὐκ εἶχεν ἢ ἐναντία δύναμις ἀκράτῳ προσμιῖξαι τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ παρουσίᾳ καὶ γυμνῆν ὑποστήναι αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐμφάνειαν, ὡς ἂν εὐληπτον γένοιτο τῷ ἐπιζητοῦντι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὸ

2 τα ανω d || 3 ηγησοιτο ehn ηγοιτο fg<sup>1</sup> ηγειτο vulg || 6 om και ante διαμενει l vulg || 12-13 εν τ. ταπ. το υψηλον f || 13 γενομενον...ταπεινω om vulg || 14 το υψος l vulg || 16 προσθεν dehnρ || 17 ακροτατω deghnρ

article cp. c. 16 τὸ δ' ὅσον ἐν τῇ φύσει...πορευομένη (note). The expression παρὰ φύσιν is contrasted with κατὰ φύσιν above.

8. οὕτως καὶ] The wonders of Creation do not present such a display of Divine power as does the condescension of God in the Incarnation.

11. οἰκονομία] For this use of οἰκονομία cp. *antea* c. 12 τὰς κατὰ τὸν κόσμον οἰκονομίας ἐπισκοποῦντες.

12. συγκατάβασις] 'condescension,' a term constantly used of the Incarnation.

ιβ. πῶς κ.τ.λ.] The sentence is modelled upon the parallel sentence above, πῶς τὸ πῦρ κ.τ.λ., where the

πῶς is preceded by ἐν θαύματι ποιεῖται.

14. οὐ καταβαίνει] The 'condescension' of God does not involve any loss of His transcendent dignity. He becomes man, and is God.

15. τοῦτο γίνεται] An inexact expression. Though the eternal Son became man, it is incorrect to say that His Godhead became ἀνθρ. φύσις.

16. ἐν τοῖς ἔμπρ.] Cp. c. 23. *ιβ. φύσιν οὐκ εἶχεν*] Cp. c. 15 and in the present chapter *infra*.

19. ὡς ἂν εὐ. γένοιτο] sc. τὸ θεῖον. For the idea of Gr. that our Lord's humanity concealed His Divine nature from the eyes of Satan see cc. 23, 26 with notes.

ἀντάλλαγμα, τῷ προκαλύμματι τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἐνεκρύφθη τὸ θεῖον, ἵνα κατὰ τοὺς λίχνους τῶν ἰχθύων τῷ δελείατι τῆς σαρκὸς συγκατασπασθῇ τὸ ἄγκιστρον τῆς θεότητος, καὶ οὕτω τῆς ζωῆς τῷ θανάτῳ εἰσοικισθείσης καὶ τῷ σκότῳ τοῦ φωτὸς ἐπιφανέντος ἐξαφανισθῇ τὸ 5 τῷ φωτὶ καὶ τῇ ζωῇ κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον νοούμενον· οὐ γὰρ ἔχει φύσιν οὔτε σκότος διαμένειν ἐν φωτὸς παρουσίᾳ, οὔτε θάνατον εἶναι ζωῆς ἐνεργούσης. οὐκοῦν ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων τοῦ μυστηρίου τὴν ἀκολουθίαν ἀναλαμβάνοντες ἐντελῆ ποιησώμεθα τὴν ἀπολογίαν πρὸς τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας 10 τῆς θείας οἰκονομίας, ὅτου χάριν δι' ἑαυτῆς ἡ θεότης τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην κατεργάζεται σωτηρίαν. δεῖ γὰρ διὰ πάντων τὸ θεῖον ἐν ταῖς πρεπούσαις ὑπολήψεσιν εἶναι καὶ μὴ τὸ μὲν ὑψηλῶς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ νοεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ τῆς θεοπρεποῦς ἀξίας ἐκβάλλεσθαι· ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὑψηλὸν τε καὶ 15

3 δελεαματι g\*hn || συναποσπασθη l vulg || 5 σκοτει vulg || εμφανεντος fl vulg || εξαφανισθητω vulg εξαφανισθειη fl<sup>vid</sup> || 6 ζωη)+το f vulg || 8 κεφαλαιω f vulg || 9 την οικονομιαν και ακολ. f || 10 ποιησομεθα [glr] vulg || 12 ου κατεργ. vulg || 13 om και f vulg || 14 υπ αυτου e || 15 αξιας] διανοιας f || om τε l vulg

2. τοὺς λίχνους] The same comparison is found in Rufinus *Comm. in Symb. Ap.* 16. Similarly Gregory the Great says (*Mor.* xxxiii 7), in commenting on Job xl 19, 'in hamo ergo eius incarnationis captus est, quia dum in illo appetit escam corporis, transfixus est aculeo divinitatis.' Jo. Damasc. (*de Fid. Orth.* iii 27) uses the same comparison of death: πρόσσεισι τοιγαροῦν ὁ θάνατος καὶ καταπιῶν τὸ σώματος δέλεαρ τῷ τῆς θεότητος ἀγκίστρῳ περιπίερεται. For a discussion of patristic teaching on the relations of the Incarnate Son to Satan see Oxenham *Cath. Doctr. of Atonement* (2nd ed.) pp. 125—140.

4. εἰσοικισθείσης] 'And so when life had been domiciled with death, and light had shone upon darkness, that which is the opposite of light and

life might vanish away.'

8. οὐκοῦν] Gr. proposes in what follows to repeat in brief summary (ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων) the course of the argument for the Christian religion. In what follows he gives a *résumé* of the argument from c. 20 onwards.

9. ἐντελῆ] 'complete,' 'full,' and so 'effective.'

11. δι' ἑαυτῆς] i.e. 'without using any agency inferior to itself.'

12. δεῖ γὰρ] 'For Godhead can never part with any of its befitting attributes.' For εἶναι ἐν see c. 1 p. 9 (note). Gr. is recapitulating the argument of c. 20 *init.* The διὰ πάντων is emphatic.

14. τὸ μὲν] 'one part,' e.g. not 'power' without 'goodness.'

ib. τὸ δέ] 'while another characteristic of the proper dignity of God is parted with.'

εὐσεβὲς νόημα δεῖ πάντως ἐπὶ θεοῦ πιστεῦσθαι, καὶ  
 συνηρητῆσθαι δι' ἀκολουθίας τῷ ἑτέρῳ τὸ ἕτερον. δέδεικ-  
 ται τοίνυν τὸ ἀγαθόν, τὸ σοφόν, τὸ δίκαιον, τὸ δυνατόν,  
 τὸ φθορᾶς ἀνεπίδεκτον, πάντα τῷ λόγῳ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς  
 5 οἰκονομίας ἐπιδεικνύμενα. ἡ ἀγαθότης ἐν τῷ προελέσθαι  
 σῶσαι τὸν ἀπολωλότα καταλαμβάνεται, ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ  
 δικαιοσύνη ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν διεδείχθη,  
 ἡ δύναμις ἐν τῷ γενέσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀν-  
 θρώπου καὶ σχήματι κατὰ τὸ ταπεινὸν τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν  
 10 καὶ ἐλπισθῆναι δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων τῷ θανάτῳ ἐγκρατηθῆναι, γενόμενον δὲ τὸ  
 οἰκεῖον ἑαυτῷ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἐργάσασθαι. οἰκεῖον δὲ  
 φωτὶ μὲν ὁ ἀφανισμὸς τοῦ σκότους, ζωῇ δὲ ἡ τοῦ θανά-  
 του καθαίρεσις. ἐπεὶ οὖν τῆς εὐθείας ὁδοῦ παρενεχ-  
 15 θέντες τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς ζωῆς ἐξετράπημεν καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ  
 ἐγκατηρέχθημεν, τί τοῦ εἰκότος ἕξω παρὰ τοῦ μυστηρίου  
 μανθάνομεν, εἰ ἡ καθαρότης τῶν ἐξ ἁμαρτίας μολυν-  
 θέντων ἐφάπτεται, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ τῶν τεθνηκότων, καὶ ἡ  
 ὁδηγία τῶν πεπλανημένων, ὡς ἂν ὁ τε μολυσμὸς καθαρ-  
 20 θείη, καὶ ἡ πλάνη θεραπευθείη, καὶ εἰς τὴν ζωὴν τὸ  
 τεθνηκὸς ἐπανέλθοι;

1 καν συνηρητ. vulg || 4 καθ ημων h || 6 του σωσαι f || 11 κρατη-  
 θηναι h || 12 om και vulg || 14 κατενεχθεντες l vulg || 20 και η πλ. θερα-  
 πευθειη desunt in g\*p

2. συνηρητῆσθαι] 'and that the  
 one should be duly connected with  
 the other.' Gr. is again referring  
 to the argument of c. 20. Cp. *ibid.*  
 εἰ δὲ πάντα προσήκει συνδραμεῖν ἐν  
 ταῖς περὶ θεοῦ δόξαις.

4. τῷ λόγῳ] Cp. c. 20 ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 λόγου τῆς καθ' ἀνθρώπων οἰκονομίας.  
 That passage illustrates the meaning  
 of καθ' ἡμᾶς here.

6. σῶσαι τὸν ἀπ.] Lk. xix 10.

8. ἐν ὁμ. ἀνθρ. κ. σχήματι] Phil.  
 ii 7. Τῆς φ. depends upon τὸ ταπ.

not on σχήματι.

10. ἐλπισθῆναι] refers to the  
 hope entertained by Satan of getting  
 Christ into his power. Gr. is refer-  
 ring to the argument of c. 23.  
 The subject of ἐλπισθῆναι is the  
 preceding αὐτόν.

12. κατὰ φύσιν] explained by  
 what follows. It is the nature of  
 light to expel darkness, and of life  
 to destroy death.

18. ἐφάπτεται] Cp. c. 16 εἰ δὲ  
 τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν αὐτὸν ἐφήφθαι λέγει.

25. Τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ φύσει γενέσθαι ἡμῶν τὴν θεότητα τοῖς μὴ λίαν μικροψύχως κατανοοῦσι τὰ ὄντα οὐδένα ἂν ἐκ τοῦ εὐλόγου ξενισμὸν ἐπαγάγοι. τίς γὰρ οὕτω νήπιος τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς εἰς τὸ πᾶν βλέπων μὴ ἐν παντὶ πιστεύειν εἶναι τὸ θεῖον, καὶ ἐνδύομενον καὶ ἐμπεριέχον καὶ ἐγ- 5 καθήμενον; τοῦ γὰρ ὄντος ἐξῆπται τὰ ὄντα, καὶ οὐκ ἔνεστιν εἶναί τι μὴ ἐν τῷ ὄντι τὸ εἶναι ἔχον. εἰ οὖν ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἐκείνο, τί ἐπαισχύνονται τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ γεγενῆσθαι διδάσκοντος τὸν οὐδὲ νῦν ἔξω τοῦ ἀνθρώπου 10 εἶναι πεπιστευμένον; εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν

25. 1 ἡμων γενεσθαι l vulg (ἡμων γεγενησθαι f) || 2 μικροψυχως vulg || 4 αποβλεπων l vulg || 5 ενδυομεν l ενδυον μεν vulg || περιεχον l vulg || 6 οντως f || τα παντα l vulg || 7 μη...εχον] ει μη...εχει f || 9 εν τη οικονομ. l vulg || τον θεον l vulg || ανθρωποις fl vulg || 10 γενεσθαι f || τω ανθρωπων l vulg

25. *That God should come to be in human nature ought not to seem strange to us. For He penetrates, embraces and resides in all things, and all things depend upon Him, so that even now He is not external to man. Though the manner of His presence in Nature is different from that in the Incarnation, yet He is present in man in either instance. In the one case, as the containing and upholding principle of Nature, He permeates our being. In the other case He infused Himself into our nature that He might deliver it from death and make it divine.*

3. τίς γάρ] Similarly Athanasius (*dē Inc.* 41—42) appeals to those philosophers who maintained the immanence of God in Creation. The germ of the idea is found in the *Timaeus* of Plato. In Stoicism it appears as the *Anima mundi*. Cp. Verg. *Aen.* vi 724. For Jewish and Christian thought see esp. Wisdom i 7, Eph. iv 6. Both Ath. and Gr. undoubtedly have the Neo-platonist teaching in view in

their use of such an argument. For a discussion of the present passage, and the relation of Gr. to Christian pantheistic thought, see Harnack *Hist. of Dogma* Eng. tr. iii 299 ff.

5. ἐνδύομενον] lit. 'clothing Himself with it.' The Latin transl. of the Paris ed. has 'induentem.' For the idea cp. Ps. civ [ciii] 1, 2.

ib. ἐμπεριέχον] 'embracing it.' Cp. Ps. cxxxix [cxxxviii] 7; Jer. xxiii 4; Amos ix 2, 3.

ib. ἐγκαθήμενον] 'residing in it.' Cp. Is. xl 22; Ps. civ [ciii] 3.

6. τοῦ...ὄντος] Ex. iii 14.

ib. ἐξῆπται] Cp. c. 5 τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἢ ὑπόστασις τῆς τοῦ λόγου δυνάμεως ἐξῆπται.

9. ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ] The reading ἀνθρώποις is plainly a correction, due to the idea that ἀνθρώπῳ might suggest that Christ assumed 'a man,' instead of human nature. Cp. c. 16 (note). Here it evidently means 'in man.'

10. οὐδὲ νῦν ἔξω] explained in what follows νῦν μὲν οὖν κ.τ.λ. There is of course a wide difference

τοῦ θεοῦ παρουσίας οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ἐκείνω, ἀλλ' οὖν  
 τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ νῦν καὶ τότε κατὰ τὸ ἴσον διωμο-  
 λόγηται. νῦν μὲν οὖν ἐγκέκραται ἡμῖν ὡς συνέχων ἐν  
 τῷ εἶναι τὴν φύσιν· τότε δὲ κατεμίχθη πρὸς τὸ ἡμέ-  
 5 τερον, ἵνα τὸ ἡμέτερον τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἐπιμιξία γένηται  
 θεῖον, ἐξαιρεθὲν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀντικειμένου  
 τυραννίδος ἔξω γενόμενον· ἡ γὰρ ἐκείνου ἀπὸ τοῦ θανά-  
 του ἐπάνοδος ἀρχὴ τῷ θνητῷ γένει τῆς εἰς τὴν ἀθάνατον  
 ζωῆν ἐπανόδου γίγνεται.

10 26. Ἄλλ' ἴσως τις ἐν τῇ τῆς δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ  
 σοφίας ἐξετίσει τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ταύτην θεωρου-  
 μένης ἐνάγεται πρὸς τὸ νομίσαι ἀπάτην τινὰ τὴν τοιαύτην  
 μέθοδον ἐπινειοῆσθαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῷ θεῷ· τὸ γὰρ μὴ  
 γυμνῆ τῇ θεότητι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως

1 om ο vulg || 3 ο συνεχ. 1 vulg || 5 να το ημ.] om το ημ. vulg ||  
 6 της αντικειμενης τυρ. e 26. 10-11 δικ. εξετασει και σοφιας 1 vulg ||  
 12 om την vulg || 13 om μη 1\* ου vulg

between the 'hypostatic' or personal union of God with man in Christ, and the union of God with creation through the indwelling of the Word. This is not clearly brought out by Gr., although the contrast which he proceeds to draw in the next clause involves some such idea.

1. ἀλλ' οὖν κ.τ.λ.] a clause answering to εἰ γάρ. 'Though... yet anyhow.' Νῦν refers to the presence of God in man in the course of nature, τότε to His presence in man through the Incarnation.

4. τὴν φύσιν] 'nature' (not specially human nature).

26. *The fact that the Godhead was veiled from Satan may be thought to involve an act of deception which is inconsistent with justice and wisdom. To this Gr. replies that the justice of God was shown by requiting Satan according to his deserts, in that the deceiver was in turn deceived. God's wisdom was displayed in combining with a just recompense a purpose of love.*

*The conspirator and the physician both mix a drug with food, but the aim of the one is destructive, while that of the other is beneficent. The purpose of the deceit practised upon Satan was to benefit not merely the victim of Satan's deception, but also the deceiver himself. The Divine power in its contact with evil acts as a refining fire. Satan himself shall be purged by it and be led to acknowledge the justice and saving efficacy of the Incarnation. Then, when the purifying discipline has done its work, all Creation shall send up to God a chorus of praise.*

12. ἀπάτην τινά] The text has the support of all the mss. The words must be regarded as forming a secondary predicate, 'that this method devised for us by God is a kind of trick.' The reading of Krab. is ἀπάτη τινί, which appears in the margin of the late ms c, being undoubtedly, as he shows, a conjectural emendation of Max. Marganius, who wrote the ms.



κεκαλυμμένη, ἀγνοηθέντα παρὰ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, τὸν θεὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ κρατοῦντος γενέσθαι ἀπάτη τίς ἐστι τρόπον τινὰ καὶ παραλογισμός, ἐπεὶπερ ἴδιον τῶν ἀπατώντων ἐστὶ τὸ πρὸς ἕτερον τὰς τῶν ἐπιβουλευομένων ἐλπίδας τρέπειν καὶ ἄλλο παρὰ τὸ ἐλπισθὲν κατεργάζεσθαι. 5 ἄλλ' ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν βλέπων πάντων μάλιστα καὶ τοῦτο τῆς δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ τῆς σοφίας εἶναι συνθήσεται. δικαίου μὲν γάρ ἐστι τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστω νέμειν, σοφοῦ δὲ τὸ μῆτε παρατρέπειν τὸ δίκαιον, μῆτε τὸν ἀγαθὸν τῆς φιλανθρωπίας σκοπὸν ἀποχωρίζειν τῆς 10 κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον κρίσεως, ἀλλὰ συνάπτειν ἀλλήλοις εὐμηχάνως ἀμφότερα, τῇ μὲν δικαιοσύνῃ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀντιδιδόντα, τῇ δὲ ἀγαθότητι τοῦ σκοποῦ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας οὐκ ἐξιστάμενον. σκοπήσωμεν τοίνυν εἰ μὴ τὰ δύο ταῦτα τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἐνθεωρεῖται. ἡ μὲν γὰρ 15 τοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀντίδοσις, δι' ἧς ὁ ἀπατεὼν ἀνταπατᾶται, τὸ δίκαιον δείκνυσιν, ὁ δὲ σκοπὸς τοῦ γιγνομένου μαρτυρία τῆς τοῦ ἐνεργούντος ἀγαθότητος γίγνεται. ἴδιον μὲν γὰρ τῆς δικαιοσύνης τὸ ἐκεῖνα νέμειν ἐκάστω, ὡν τις τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς αἰτίας προκατεβάλετο, ὥσπερ ἡ γῆ 20 κατὰ τὰ γένη τῶν καταβληθέντων σπερμάτων καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς ἀντιδίδωσιν· σοφίας δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς τῶν

3 ἀπατωντων] απαντων 1\* || 6 om την h || 17 γενομενον h || 18 om γιγνεται f || 20 -εβαλλετο l || 22 αναδιδωσιν l vulg

1. ἀγνοηθέντα] Cp. *antea* c. 24. Behind this conception of an act of deceit practised on Satan there lies the more profound idea that Satan's cunning was outwitted by God's wisdom. The 'ars ut artem falleret' of Venantius (in the hymn 'Pange lingua') is applied to a different point in the history of redemption.

5. παρὰ τὸ ἐλπισθὲν] The victim of a trick is taken by surprise and finds his expectations disappointed.

7. τοῦτο] i.e. the outwitting of Satan.

12. τῇ μὲν δικαιοσύνῃ] Krab.

regards δικ. as governed by ἀντιδιδόντα, leaving ἀγαθότητι to be regarded as a *dat.* of circumstance or respect. The Latin rendering of the Paris edd. is similar. It is better, however, with Moore, to regard both datives as similar in construction. 'In justice, making a proper recompense; in goodness, not departing from the purpose of love to man.'

16. ἀπατεῶν] 'deceivers.' The word commonly denotes a 'quack' or 'impostor.'

20. ὥσπερ ἡ γῆ] an application of St Paul's maxim (Gal. vi 7) ὁ γάρ

ὁμοίων ἀντιδόσεως μὴ ἐκπεσεῖν τοῦ βελτίονος. ὥσπερ  
 γὰρ τῷ ἐδέσματι ὁμοίως παραμίγνυσι τὸ φάρμακον καὶ  
 ὁ ἐπιβουλεύων καὶ ὁ τὸν ἐπιβουλευθέντα ἰώμενος· ἀλλ'  
 ὁ μὲν τὸ δηλητήριον, ὁ δὲ τοῦ δηλητηρίου ἀλεξητήριον,  
 5 καὶ οὐδὲν ὁ τρόπος τῆς θεραπείας τὸν σκοπὸν τῆς εὐερ-  
 γεσίας διελυμήνατο· εἰ γὰρ καὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων φαρ-  
 μάκου μίξις ἐν τροφῇ γίνεται, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν  
 ἀποβλέψαντες τὸν μὲν ἐπαινοῦμεν, τῷ δὲ χαλεπαίνομεν·  
 οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῷ μὲν κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον λόγῳ ἐκείνα  
 10 ὁ ἀπατεῶν ἀντιλαμβάνει, ὧν τὰ σπέρματα διὰ τῆς ἰδίας  
 προαιρέσεως κατεβύλετο· ἀπατᾶται γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ  
 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου προβλήματι ὁ προαπατήσας τὸν ἀνθρωπον  
 τῷ τῆς ἡδονῆς δελεάσματι· ὁ δὲ σκοπὸς τῶν γιγνομένων  
 ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον τὴν παραλλαγὴν ἔχει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ  
 15 διαφθορᾷ τῆς φύσεως τὴν ἀπάτην ἐνήργησεν, ὁ δὲ  
 δίκαιος ἄμα καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ σοφὸς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ  
 καταφθαρέντος τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ τῆς ἀπάτης ἐχρήσατο, οὐ  
 μόνον τὸν ἀπολωλότα διὰ τούτων εὐεργετῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 αὐτὸν τὸν τὴν ἀπώλειαν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐνεργήσαντα. ἐκ γὰρ

3 ἐπιβουλευθεντα] ἐπιβουλευοντα e || 4 ἀλεξιτηρ. vulg αλεξιτηρ. eh ||  
 7 εν τη τροφη f || 8 τω δε] τον δε vulg || 10 ἀντιλαμβάνεται d || 10-11 της  
 προ. της ιδίας f || 14 παραλλαγην] μεταβολην f || 16 αμα και αγ.] και αγ.  
 αμα e || 16-17 των καταφθαρεντων f || 19 την απωλ.] om την vulg

ἐὰν σπείρῃ ἀνθρωπος, τοῦτο καὶ θερί-  
 σει.

1. τοῦ βελτίονος] i.e. τοῦ σκοποῦ  
 τῆς φιλανθρωπίας, which he has  
 mentioned above.

ib. ὥσπερ γάρ] The method of  
 the cure in the case of the physician  
 is the same as that of the poisoner,  
 but that does not interfere with the  
 beneficence of its intention.

9. τῷ μὲν...λόγῳ] 'on the prin-  
 ciple of justice.'

11. ἀπατᾶται γάρ] a parenthesis.  
 The main sentence is resumed with  
 ὁ δὲ σκοπός.

12. προβλήματι] 'the screen' of  
 the human nature, which concealed

His Divinity. See note c. 23  
 p. 89 with references. For τοῦ  
 ἀνθρώπου see note c. 16 p. 72.

13. δελεάσματι] Cp. *antea* c. 21  
 δελέατος δίκην τῷ τῆς κακίας ἀγκίστρον  
 τῆς τοῦ καλοῦ φαντασίας περιπλασ-  
 θέσεως.

ib. ὁ δὲ σκοπός] The purpose  
 of the deception changes the nature  
 of the action and makes it good.

17. ἐπινοίᾳ] Cp. *antea* c. 23  
 δι' ἐπινοίας with note.

19. αὐτὸν τὸν τ. ἀπ...ἐνεργ.] For  
 the idea that Satan himself shall be  
 purged and finally saved, see Orig.  
*de Princ.* iii 6 (cp. i 6).

ib. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ προσ.] The

τοῦ προσεγγίσει τῇ ζωῇ μὲν τὸν θάνατον, τῷ φωτὶ δὲ τὸ σκότος, τῇ ἀφθαρσίᾳ δὲ τὴν φθοράν, ἀφανισμὸς μὲν τοῦ χείρονος γίνεται καὶ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν μεταχώρησις, ὠφέλεια δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ τούτων καθαιρομένου. καθάπερ γάρ, ἀτιμοτέρας ὕλης τῷ χρυσῷ καταμιχθείσης, τῇ διὰ τοῦ 5 πυρὸς δαπάνῃ τὸ ἀλλότριόν τε καὶ ἀπόβλητον οἱ θεραπευταὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καταναλώσαντες πάλιν ἐπανάγουσι πρὸς τὴν κατὰ φύσιν λαμπηδόνα τὴν προτιμοτέραν ὕλην· οὐκ ἄπονος μέντοι γίνεται ἡ διάκρισις, χρόνῳ τοῦ πυρὸς τῇ ἀναλωτικῇ δυνάμει τὸ νόθον ἐξαφανίζοντος, πλὴν 10 ἀλλὰ θεραπεία τίς ἐστὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὸ ἐκτακῆναι αὐτὸ τὸ ἐπὶ λύμῃ τοῦ κάλλους ἐγκείμενον· κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, θανάτου καὶ φθορᾶς καὶ σκότους καὶ εἴ τι κακίας ἐκγονοῦ τῷ εὐρετῇ τοῦ κακοῦ περιφυνέντων, ὁ προσεγγισμὸς τῆς θείας δυνάμεως πυρὸς δίκην ἀφανι- 15 σμὸν τοῦ παρὰ φύσιν κατεργασάμενος εὐεργετεῖ τῇ καθάρσει τὴν φύσιν, κὰν ἐπίπονος ἢ διάκρισις ᾗ. οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἂν παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου μὴ εἶναι δίκαιόν τε καὶ σωτήριον τὸ γεγονὸς ἀμφιβάλοιτο, εἴπερ εἰς αἴσθησιν τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἔλθοι. νυνὶ γὰρ καθάπερ οἱ ἐπὶ θερα- 20 πείᾳ τεμνόμενοί τε καὶ καιόμενοι χαλεπαίνουσι τοῖς

5 της ατιμ. υλ. fl vulg || 7 χρυσου dehn̄p || 8 προτιμοτεραν] προτεραν fg<sup>11</sup>p\* || 11 αυτο] αυτω dgp παρ αυτω l vulg || 12 καλλους] καλου l vulg || 14 εγγονον deg<sup>1</sup>viā hnp || 17 καθαρσει] αφθαρσια vulg+εξαιρεθεντος του αυτη καταμιχθεντος ου καλου g<sup>1</sup> || 19 -βαλλοιτο l vulg || 20 ελθοι νυν̄ και γαρ gp ελθοι νυν̄ ει γαρ d (om γαρ e) l̄n̄ ελθοι νυν̄ οι γαρ h || θεραπειας e

contact of sinful creatures with God must result in the final disappearance of evil, and the purification of those affected by it. The Divine power acts as a refiner's fire, which shall purge even Satan himself. For the teaching of Gr. on the *κάθαρσις* of souls see cc. 8, 35 (notes). The allusion to the refiner's fire occurs in Orig. *c. Cels.* vi 44.

9. οὐκ ἄπ. μέντοι] The μέντοι is answered by πλὴν ἀλλά below.

19. τὸ γεγονὸς] i.e. the ἀπάτη practised.

ιβ. εἴπερ...ἐλθοι] The form of expression suggests uncertainty. Gr. is venturing a conjecture of what might possibly be.

20. νυνὶ γάρ] Similarly Origen urges (*c. Cels.* vi 56) that, as men do not blame physicians for the pain which they inflict, neither must men blame God for the pain of remedial punishments.

θεραπέουσι, τῇ ὀδύνῃ τῆς τομῆς δριμυσσόμενοι, εἰ δὲ  
 τὸ ὑγαιίνειν διὰ τούτων προσγένετο καὶ ἡ τῆς καύσεως  
 ἀλγηδὼν παρέλθοι, χάριν εἴσονται τοῖς τὴν θεραπείαν  
 ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐνεργήσασι· κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ταῖς  
 5 μακραῖς περιόδους ἐξαιρεθέντος τοῦ κακοῦ τῆς φύσεως,  
 τοῦ νῦν αὐτῇ καταμιχθέντος καὶ συμφνεύτος, ἐπειδὰν ἡ  
 εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀποκατάστασις τῶν νῦν ἐν κακίᾳ κειμέ-  
 νων γένηται, ὁμόφωνος ἢ εὐχαριστία παρὰ πάσης ἔσται  
 τῆς κτίσεως, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ καθάρσει κεκολασμένων καὶ  
 10 τῶν μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπίδηθέντων καθάρσεως. ταῦτα

2 τουτου l vulg || 4 επ αυτον e επ αυτους vulg || 6 αυτοις καταμ. vulg ||  
 om η e || 7 κειμενων] γενομενων g<sup>1</sup> || 8 om η l vulg

4. ταῖς μ. περιόδοις] For *περίοδος* in the sense of a 'circuitous route' cp. c. 15 p. 64 and c. 17 p. 73. In *de An. et Res.* pp. 152, 157 (Migne) Gr. uses the expressions *τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις, μακραῖς ποτὲ περιόδοις*. See further note on *ἀποκατάστασις* below.

7. εἰς τὸ ἀρχ.] Gr. conceives of the primal condition of man and of his tempter, as it existed ideally, and as it would have been realized had not sin intervened.

*ib.* ἀποκατάστασις] The source of the phrase is Acts iii 21. For Gr.'s further treatment of the question see esp. *de An. et Res.* pp. 104, 152, 157—60 (Migne); *Or. de Mortuis* pp. 524, 525 (Migne); *de Hom. Opif.* c. 21, and c. 35 of this treatise. Germanus, Bp of Constantinople (*obit* 733 A.D.), acc. to Photius (*Bibl. Cod.* 233), maintained that Gr.'s works had been falsified by the Origenists, who had inserted many passages from Origen's writings. But such language occurs too frequently in Gr.'s writings to admit of this supposition, which is not borne out by any indications of a change of style. Vincenzi (*in S. Greg. Nyss. et Origenis scripta et doctrinam*) has attempted to weaken the force of this universalistic teaching, by pointing to other passages

where Gr. appears to assert the eternity of punishment. Thus in *Or. c. Usurarios* pp. 436, 452 (Migne) he has *αἰώνιος λύπη* and *ἡ αἰώνιος κόλασις*. Gr. in fact does not exhibit perfect consistency of language on the subject. In numerous passages he asserts the *ἀποκατάστασις*. In others (e.g. c. 40) he repeats the language of Scripture about 'the unquenchable fire' and 'the undying worm.' There is similar inconsistency in his treatment of human generation. See c. 28 p. 105 (note). In the present treatise his polemic against the Manichaeans and his idea of the negative character of evil would incline him to emphasize the restoration of all things. In *de An. et Res.* p. 104 (Migne) he makes use of 1 Cor. xv 28. See further *Introd.* p. xxiii, and on the subsequent history of the doctrine of *ἀποκατάστασις* see Schwane *Dogmengeschichte* ii pp. 240 f., 604 f., 611 f.

8. ὁμόφωνος] Gr. uses similar language in *de An. et Res.* p. 72 (Migne) *ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ὁμοφώνως ἢ ὁμολογία τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ κυριότητος ἔσται*.

9—10. τῶν...τῶν] See c. 35 where the two classes are more exactly defined.

καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα παραδίδωσι τὸ μέγα μυστήριον τῆς θείας ἐνανθρωπήσεως. δι' ὧν γὰρ κατεμίχθη τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι, διὰ πάντων τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἰδιωμάτων γενόμενος, γενέσεός τε καὶ ἀνατροφῆς καὶ αὐξήσεως, καὶ μέχρι τῆς τοῦ θανάτου πείρας διεξελθὼν, τὰ προειρη- 5 μένα πάντα κατείργασται, τὸν τε ἄνθρωπον τῆς κακίας ἐλευθερῶν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς κακίας εὐρετὴν ἰώμενος. ἰασίς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀρρωστίας ἢ τοῦ νοσήματος κάθαρσις, καὶ ἐπίπονος ἦ.

27. Ἀκόλουθον δὲ πάντως τὸν πρὸς τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν 10 ἀνακιρνάμενον διὰ πάντων δέξασθαι τῶν ἰδιωμάτων αὐτῆς τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς συνανάκρασιν. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ τὸν ῥύπον τῶν ἱματίων ἐκπλύνοντες οὐ τὰ μὲν ἐῶσι τῶν μολυσμάτων, τὰ δὲ ἀπορρύπτουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους ἐκκαθαίρουσι τῶν κηλίδων ἵπαν τὸ ὕφασμα, ὡς 15 ἂν ὁμότιμον ἑαυτῷ δι' ὅλου τὸ ἱμάτιον γένοιτο, κατὰ τὸ

8 νοσηματος] σωματος gr 27. 12 om γαρ deg\* hnr || 14 απορριπτουσιν 1 vulg || 16 εαυτω] εν αυτω f || γενηται e || το κατα τ. ισ. 1\* vulg

3. ἰδιωμάτων] 'the properties' or 'distinguishing characteristics' of human nature. Cp. c. 27 *init.* and p. 104.

7. αὐτὸν τὸν...εὐρετὴν] In this passage Gr. definitely connects the healing of Satan with the Incarnation. In what way its benefits were applied to the adversary he does not tell us, nor does he discuss the relation of the κάθαρσις to the historical work of Christ or show the relation of his idea to the language of Scripture.

27. It was needful that He Who assumed our nature should assume it in all its distinctive features. That nature needed to be cleansed in every part. Corresponding to this the Power which restores human nature must embrace it in its whole extent from beginning to end. This could only be effected by a human birth. It might be urged that a heavenly body

could have been assumed. But humanity was not in heaven, and there can be no cure which does not touch the ailing part. Again there is no more dishonour in assuming a human than a heavenly body. Everything created, whether in heaven or on earth, is equally below the dignity of God. But if all things are equally below God, the one thing that is consistent with His honour is to succour the needy. And it is this which we acknowledge Him to have done.

11. ἀνακιρνάμενον] 'infusing Himself into.' Cp. c. 11 κατακιρνᾶται.

ib. ἰδιωμάτων] Cp. c. 26 *supra* (note).

12. συνανάκρασιν] Cp. c. 16 p. 70, and see note c. 11 p. 57.

15. ὕφασμα] 'the whole texture of the garment.'

16. ὁμότιμον] 'uniform in character.'

ἴσον λαμπρυνθὲν ἐκ τῆς πλύσεως· οὕτως, μολυνθείσης  
 τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ τε καὶ τελευτῇ  
 καὶ τοῖς διὰ μέσου πᾶσιν, ἔδει διὰ πάντων γενέσθαι τὴν  
 ἐκπλύνουσαν δύναμιν, καὶ μὴ τὸ μὲν τι θεραπεῦσαι τῷ  
 5 καθαρσίῳ, τὸ δὲ περιδεῖν ἀθεράπευτον. τούτου χάριν  
 τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν δύο πέρασιν ἐκατέρωθεν διειλημμένης,  
 τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν φημι καὶ τὸ τέλος, καθ' ἑκάτερον  
 εὐρίσκεται πέρασ ἢ διορθωτικὴ τῆς φύσεως δύναμις, καὶ  
 τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀψαμένη καὶ μέχρι τοῦ τέλους ἑαυτὴν ἐπεκ-  
 10 τείνασα καὶ τὰ διὰ μέσου τούτων πάντα διαλαβοῦσα.  
 μιᾶς δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τῆς εἰς τὴν ζωὴν οὐσης παρό-  
 δου, πόθεν ἔδει τὸν εἰσιόντα πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰσοικισθῆναι  
 τῷ βίῳ; ἔξ οὐρανοῦ, φησὶ τυχὸν ὁ διαπτύων ὡς αἰσχρόν  
 τε καὶ ἄδοξον τὸ εἶδος τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης γενέσεως. ἀλλ'  
 15 οὐκ ἦν ἐν οὐρανῷ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, οὐδέ τις ἐν τῇ ὑπερ-  
 κοσμίῳ ζωῇ κακίας νόσος ἐπεχωρίαζεν. ὁ δὲ τῷ ἀν-  
 θρώπῳ καταμιγνύμενος τῷ σκοπῷ τῆς ὠφελείας ἐποιεῖτο  
 τὴν συνανάκρασιν. ἔνθα τοίνυν τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἦν, οὐδὲ  
 ὁ ἀνθρώπινος ἐπολιτεύετο βίος, πῶς ἐπιζητεῖ τις ἐκεῖθεν

4 om τι deghnr || 7 τω κατα dehn || 9 om του e || επεκτεινουσα e ||  
 10 το δια p || 11 μιᾶς δε] exstant seqq in euth 1456 || 12 οικισθηναι | vulg ||  
 13 φησει e1\* vidn φυσει h euth 16 || 16 επεχωριασεν [g]p || 16-18 ο δε...συν-  
 ανακρασιν om euth 16 || 17 προς τω σκοπω f || 18 ανακρασιν d και συνανακ.  
 f || 19 om ο fl vulg

4-5. τῷ καθαρσίῳ] On the word *καθάρσιον* see Suicer. It is here used in its primary sense of a 'purification.'

6. διειλημμένης] 'embraced within two limits, one on either side.' Cp. διαλαβοῦσα below.

10. τὰ διὰ μέσου] Gr. assigns a place in the work of redemption to the whole of Christ's earthly life and not merely to the death. Similarly Iren. ii 33, 2 says: Omnes enim venit per semetipsum salvare...infantes, et parvulos, et pueros, et iuvenes, et seniores. Ideo per omnem venit aetatem.

11. μιᾶς δε] The section which follows as far as the end of ch. 28 is reproduced in Euthymius Zig. *Pan. Dogm.* pt i tit. vii pp. 224 f. (Migne).

12. εἰσοικισθῆναι] Cp. c. 24 τῆς ζωῆς τῷ θανάτῳ εἰσοικισθείσης.

13. ἔξ οὐρανοῦ] The belief that the flesh of Christ descended from Heaven was actually attributed to Apollinaris (cp. Vincent Lir. *Commun.* xii (17)), though apparently without sufficient reason. The idea however seems to have been current and was refuted by Greg. Naz. in his first Epistle to Cleodnius. This may have suggested the idea here to Gr.

τῷ θεῷ περιπλακῆναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐχὶ ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ ἀνθρώπου τι εἶδωλον καὶ ὁμοίωμα; τίς δ' ἂν ἐγένετο τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἢ διόρθωσις, εἰ τοῦ ἐπιγείου ζώου νενοσηκότος ἕτερόν τι τῶν οὐρανίων τὴν θείαν ἐπιμιξίαν ἐδέξατο; οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ θεραπευθῆναι 5 τὸν κάμνοντα, μὴ τοῦ πονοῦντος μέρους ἰδιαζόντως δέξαμένου τὴν ἴασιν. εἰ οὖν τὸ μὲν κάμνον ἐπὶ γῆς ἦν, ἡ δὲ θεία δύναμις τοῦ κάμνοντος μὴ ἐφήψατο, πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῆς βλέπουσα πρέπον, ἄχρηστος ἦν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἢ περὶ τὰ μηδὲν ἡμῖν ἐπικοινωνοῦντα τῆς θείας δυνάμεως ἀσχο- 10 λία. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπρεπὲς ἐπὶ τῆς θεότητος ἴσον, εἶπερ ὄλως θεμιτόν ἐστιν ἄλλο τι παρὰ τὴν κακίαν ἀπρεπὲς ἐννοεῖν. πλὴν τῷ μικροψύχως ἐν τούτῳ κρίνονται τὴν θείαν μεγαλειότητα, ἐν τῷ μὴ δέξασθαι τῶν τῆς φύσεως

3 om η euth 456 || 5 ἐπιμιξ.] ἐπιδημιαν l vulg || 8 εαυτη l<sup>1</sup> euth

1. περιπλακῆναι] lit. 'that the man should be enfolded around the God.' The humanity is conceived of as a vesture with which the Godhead is clothed. For τὸν ἄνθρωπον cp. c. 16 ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀναληφθέντι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπῳ (note).

2. εἶδωλον] A body taken from any other source than human nature would be nothing else than an imitation of a man.

3. τίς δ' ἂν] Another argument against the suggestion contained in ἐξ οὐρανοῦ above. Human nature would not benefit from the commingling of the Divine with anything else but itself. The remedy must be applied to the ailing part.

8-9. πρὸς τὸ...πρέπον] A causal clause attached closely to the hypothetical statement εἰ...μὴ ἐφήψατο. Ἐαυτῆς is governed by πρέπον which is found in a few cases with the *gen.* Cp. Soph. *Ajax* 534 with Jebb's note. Here the *gen.* may be due to the substantival notion contained in τὸ πρέπον.

9-10. ἡ...ἀσχολία] 'The occupa-

tion of the Divine Power with objects which have nothing in common with us would have been of no profit to man.' In τὰ μ. ἡ. ἐπικοινωνοῦντα he is of course referring to τὰ οὐράνια above.

11. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπρεπὲς] Gr. now passes on to another point. The indignity to God is no greater in the case of the assumption of an earthly, than of a heavenly body. The real line of demarcation is not between earthly and heavenly, but between created and uncreated.

ib. εἶπερ] Gr. contests in his usual manner the appropriateness of the use of the word ἀπρεπὲς with reference to anything but moral evil.

13. πλὴν κ.τ.λ.] 'But for him who in a narrow spirit judges that the Divine majesty consists in this, that it does not admit of participation in the peculiarities of our nature, the dishonour is not lessened by the fact that the Divine Being is conformed to a heavenly rather than to an earthly body.'

ἡμῶν ἰδιωμάτων τὴν κοινωνίαν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον παραμυ-  
 θεῖται τὸ ἄδοξον οὐρανίῳ σώματι ἢ ἐπιγείῳ συσχημα-  
 τισθῆναι τὸ θεῖον. τοῦ γὰρ ὑψίστου καὶ ἀπροσίτου κατὰ  
 τὸ ὕψος τῆς φύσεως ἢ κτίσις πᾶσα κατὰ τὸ ἴσον ἐπὶ τὸ  
 5 κάτω ἀφέστηκε, καὶ ὁμοτίμως αὐτῷ τὸ πᾶν ὑποβέβηκε.  
 τὸ γὰρ καθ' ὅλου ἀπρόσιτον οὐ τιμὴ μὲν ἐστὶ προσιτόν,  
 τῷ δὲ ἀπροσπέλαστον, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἴσης πάντων τῶν ὄντων  
 ὑπερανέστηκεν. οὔτε οὖν ἡ γῆ πορρωτέρω τῆς ἀξίας  
 ἐστίν, οὔτε ὁ οὐρανὸς πλησιαίτερος, οὔτε τὰ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ  
 10 τῶν στοιχείων ἐνδιδαιτώμενα διαφέρει τι ἀλλήλων ἐν τῷ  
 μέρει τούτῳ, ὡς τὰ μὲν ἐφάπτεσθαι τῆς ἀπροσίτου φύ-  
 σεως, τὰ δὲ ἀποκρίνεσθαι, ἢ οὔτω γ' ἂν μὴ διὰ πάντων  
 ἐπ' ἴσης διήκειν τὴν τὸ πᾶν ἐπικρατοῦσαν δύναμιν ὑπο-  
 νοήσαιμεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τισὶ πλεονάζουσιν, ἐν ἑτέροις ἐνδε-  
 15 ἐστέραν εἶναι, καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ ἔλαττόν τε καὶ πλέον καὶ  
 μᾶλλον καὶ ἡττον διαφορᾷ σύνθετον ἐκ τοῦ ἀκολουθου  
 τὸ θεῖον ἀναφανήσεται, αὐτὸ πρὸς ἑαυτὸ μὴ συμβαῖνον,  
 εἴπερ ἡμῶν πόρρωθεν ὑπονοοῖτο εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ τῆς  
 φύσεως, ἐτέρῳ δὲ τιμὴ γειννιῶν καὶ εὐληπτῶν ἐκ τοῦ

4-5 ἀφ. ἐπι τ. κ. f || 7 τιμὴ δὲ ἀπ. g<sup>1</sup> || το δὲ ἀπ. vulg || om τῶν  
 ὄντων p || 8 ὑπερανέστηκεν] desunt seqq in euth || 9 πλησιέστερος l vulg ||  
 10 ἀπ ἀλλήλων p || 12 οὐτω] οὐτε vulg || μῃ] μῃτε del vulg εἰ μῃ n ||  
 13 διακρατοῦσαν g<sup>1</sup> || 16 το μᾶλλον καὶ το ἡττον d || 18 μῃ πορρωθεν dghnp ||  
 ἐπινοοῖτο g<sup>\*</sup>p || 19 γειννιω dghnp || εὐληπτῶν f<sup>1</sup> vulg

1. ἰδιωμάτων] slightly diff. from the use *supra* and in c. 26. Here it is rather 'peculiarities.'

ἰθ. παραμυθεῖται] 'pacify,' 'relieve,' 'soften.' The subj. of the verb is συσχ. τὸ θεῖον.

6. καθ' ὅλου] God transcends creation absolutely and not merely relatively.

12. ἢ οὔτω γ' ἂν] To assume that some parts of Creation are nearer than others to the Divine Nature impairs belief in the completeness of the Divine immanence.

16. σύνθετον] 'on account of the difference of measure and degree, the Divine Being will in consequence appear to be composite, and incongruous with itself, if it be conceived to be remote from us, so far as its nature is concerned, but be adjacent to some other created thing and from its nearness easily apprehended.'

18. τῷ λόγῳ τῆς φύσεως] is explained by τῆς ἀπροσίτου φύσεως above. Gr. is referring to the false deductions drawn from the greatness of God.



σύνεγγυς γίγνεται. ἀλλ' ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος ἐπὶ τῆς ὑψη-  
λῆς ἀξίας οὔτε κάτω βλέπει διὰ συγκρίσεως, οὔτε ἄνω·  
πάντα γὰρ κατὰ τὸ ἴσον τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιστατοῦσαν  
δύναμιν ὑποβέβηκεν, ὥστε, εἰ τὴν ἐπίγειον φύσιν ἀνα-  
ξίαν τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οἰήσονται συμπλοκῆς, οὐδ' ἂν 5  
ἄλλη τις εὐρεθείη τὸ ἄξιον ἔχουσα. εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἴσης πάντα  
τῆς ἀξίας ἀπολιμπάνεται, ἐν πρέπον ἐστὶ τῷ θεῷ τὸ  
εὐεργετεῖν τὸν δεόμενον. ὅπου τοίνυν ἦν ἡ νόσος, ἐκεῖ  
φοιτῆσαι τὴν ἰωμένην δύναμιν ὁμολογοῦντες, τί ἔξω τῆς  
θεοπρεποῦς ὑπολήψεως πεπιστεύκαμεν;

10

28. Ἀλλὰ κωμωδοῦσι τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸν τῆς  
γεννήσεως τρόπον διαθρυλλοῦσι, καὶ οἴονται διὰ τού-  
των ἐπιγέλαστον ποιεῖν τὸ μυστήριον, ὡς ἀπρεπὲς ὄν  
θεῷ διὰ τοιαύτης εἰσόδου τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου  
κοινωνίας ἐφάψασθαι. ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τούτου καὶ ἐν 15  
τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν εἶρηται λόγοις, ὅτι μόνον αἰσχροὺς τῇ  
ἑαυτοῦ φύσει τὸ κακὸν ἐστὶ καὶ εἴ τι πρὸς τὴν κακίαν  
οἰκείως ἔχει. ἡ δὲ τῆς φύσεως ἀκολουθία, θεῷ βουλή-

1 τῆς ὑψηλῆς] τῆς ἰσης g<sup>1</sup> om τῆς h || 3-4 τῆς...ἐπιστατουσης δυναμειωσ  
ehn || 7 ἐν πρεπ.] ἐμπρεπον l\*<sup>vid</sup> vulg || om τω θεω d om τω fl 28. 12 γεν-  
νησεως]+ἡμων l vulg || διαθρυλλουσι degp || 13 ον] ων f euth 16 || 14 τω  
θεω l vulg || 17 εαυτου] εφ εαυτου g\*<sup>p</sup> || 17-18 και ει...εχει] καν...εχη l vulg

1. ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος] 'The true account' in dealing with the transcendent dignity of God does not compare what is 'above' with what is 'below' in creation. The true comparison is between creation and the Creator. All created things are equally beneath the Divine Power.

7. ἐν πρέπον] The real justification of the assumption by God of human nature is to be found in the moral character of God. It is consistent with His character to succour the needy.

28. Gr. vindicates the manner of human birth against the objection that it was unbecoming that God should enter human life in this way. The only thing which is inconsistent with the character of God is moral

evil. There is nothing evil or dishonourable in the bodily constitution of man. The organs of human birth are worthy of not less, but more honour than our other organs, for through them is secured the immortality of the race.

11. κωμωδοῦσι] 'they ridicule our nature, and harp upon the manner of our birth.' Διαθρυλλεῖν = 'to keep on talking about.'

12. διὰ τούτων] 'by these means,' i.e. by what they say in derogation of nature and its processes.

15. ἐφάψασθαι] Cp. c. 16 τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν αὐτὸν ἐφήθηται.

ib. ἤδη...εἶρ.] i.e. cc. 9, 16.

18. ἀκολουθία] 'sequence' or 'course of nature.' Contrast Gr.'s language in *de Virg.* c. 12.

ματι καὶ νόμῳ διαταχθεῖσα, πόρρω τῆς κατὰ κακίαν ἐστὶ διαβολῆς, ἢ οὕτω γ' ἂν ἐπὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν ἢ κατηγορία τῆς φύσεως ἐπανίοι, εἴ τι τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν ὡς αἰσχρὸν τε καὶ ἀπρεπὲς διαβάλλοιτο. εἰ οὖν μόνης  
 5 κακίας τὸ θεῖον κεχώριστα, φύσις δὲ κακία οὐκ ἔστι, τὸ δὲ μυστήριον ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ γενέσθαι τὸν θεόν, οὐκ ἐν κακίᾳ λέγει, ἢ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τὸν βίον εἴσοδος μία ἐστὶ, δι' ἧς παράγεται ἐπὶ τὴν ζωὴν τὸ γεννώμενον, τίνα νομοθετοῦσιν ἕτερον τρόπον τῷ θεῷ τῆς εἰς τὸν  
 10 βίον παρόδου οἱ ἐπισκεφθῆναι μὲν παρὰ τῆς θείας δυνάμεως ἀσθενήσασαν ἐν κακίᾳ τὴν φύσιν εὐλογον κρίνοντας, πρὸς δὲ τὸν τῆς ἐπισκέψεως τρόπον δυσαρ- στούμενοι, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι πᾶσα πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἢ κατασκευὴ τοῦ σώματος ὁμοτίμως ἔχει, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐν ταύτῃ  
 15 τῶν πρὸς τὴν σύστασιν τῆς ζωῆς συντελούντων ὡς ἄτιμόν τι ἢ πονηρὸν διαβάλλεται; πρὸς ἕνα γὰρ σκοπὸν ἢ τῶν ὀργανικῶν μελῶν διασκευὴ πᾶσα συντέτακται. ὁ δὲ σκοπὸς ἐστὶ τὸ διαμένειν ἐν τῇ ζωῇ τὸ ἀνθρώ- πινον. τὰ μὲν οὖν λοιπὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τὴν παρούσαν

2 γ αν] γαρ f || 4 om τε vulg || διαβαλοιο f διαβαλλεται e || om μονης euth || 5 η φυσις p φυσει euth 16 || κακιας fl vulg || 7 ει δε el\* vulg || 8 παραγιεται l vulg || ζων] desunt reliqua in euth 4 || γενομενον h || 9 τινα] νομον μεν τινα fl\*vid vulg || 12 κριναντες f || 18 το διαμενειν] om το l vulg || τον ανθρωπον l vulg

1. πόρρω κ.τ.λ.] 'is unassailable on the ground of moral evil.'

2. δημιουργόν] 'the Maker,' a sense of δημ. found in Plato (cp. e.g. *Rep.* 530 A) and esp. in the Neo-Platonic writers.

4. εἰ οὖν] The apodosis begins with τίνα κ.τ.λ., the clauses τὸ δὲ μυστ. and ἢ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρ. forming part of the protasis.

10. ἐπισκεφθῆναι] For this word and ἐπισκέψεως below cp. note on ἐπίσκεψω c. 15.

11. ἀσθεν...τὴν φύσιν] For the construction of this clause cp. c. 16 ἐν τῇ φύσει...πορευομένη and c. 37 τῷ φθοροποιῶ...ἀναμυχθέντι.

14. ὁμοτίμως ἔχει] 'is of uniform value,' as contrasted with ἄτιμον below. Cp. ὁμοτίμον c. 27.

17. ὀργανικῶν μελῶν] 'the whole organic structure of the body.' The phrase τὰ ὀργανικὰ μέλη comes from Aristotle. See *Eth. N.* 3. 1. 16.

19. τὰ μὲν οὖν] The other bodily organs have as their aim the maintenance of the already existing life of man. By them 'the power of perceiving and acting' (ἡ αἰσθητικὴ τε καὶ ἐνεργητικὴ δύναμις) is exercised. The generative organs have in view the future, and secure, by the propagation of the species, the continuance of the race.

συνέχει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζωῆν, ἄλλα πρὸς ἄλλην ἐνέργειαν μεμερισμένα, δι' ὧν ἡ αἰσθητικὴ τε καὶ ἐνεργητικὴ δύναμις οἰκονομεῖται· τὰ δὲ γεννητικὰ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔχει τὴν πρόνοιαν, δι' ἑαυτῶν τῇ φύσει τὴν διαδοχὴν ἀντεισάγοντα. εἰ οὖν πρὸς τὸ χρειῶδες βλέποις, τίνος ἂν εἴη 5 τῶν τιμίῳ εἶναι νομιζομένων ἐκεῖνα δεύτερα; τίνος δὲ οὐκ ἂν προτιμότερα κατὰ τὸ εὐλογον κρίνοιτο; οὐ γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶ καὶ ἀκοῇ καὶ γλώσση, ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων πρὸς τὸ διηνεκὲς τὸ γένος ἡμῶν διεξάγεται· ταῦτα γάρ, καθὼς εἴρηται, τῆς παρούσης ἐστὶν ἀπολαύσεως· 10 ἄλλ' ἐν ἐκείνοις ἡ ἀθανασία συντηρεῖται τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι, ὡς αἰεὶ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐνεργοῦντα τὸν θάνατον ἄπρακτον εἶναι τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἀνήνυτον, πάντοτε πρὸς τὸ λείπου διὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων ἑαυτὴν ἀντεισαγωγούσης τῆς φύσεως. τί οὖν ἀπρεπὲς περιέχει ἡμῶν τὸ μυστήριον, εἰ διὰ τούτων 15 κατεμίχθη ὁ θεὸς τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ, δι' ὧν ἡ φύσις πρὸς τὸν θάνατον μάχεται;

29. Ἄλλα μεταβάντες ἀπὸ τούτου δι' ἐτέρων πάλιν

1 τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ vulg || 2 ἡ ἐνεργητικὴ dhlnp vulg || 4 om τῆ vulg || 6 om νομιζομένων ἐκεῖνα e || 13-14 δια τῶν] δι' αὐτῶν vulg || 14 ἀντεισαγωγούσης vulg || 15 δια τούτων]+εκ παρθενου καθαρᾶς euth || 17 μάχεται] δέχεται e: desinit euth

1. συνέχει] 'hold together,' 'maintain in being.' Cp. συνεκτικὴ c. 5. For this use of ζωῆ cp. c. 8 τὴν ζωὴν...διαλύεσθαι.

5. τὸ χρειῶδες] 'utility.'

ib. τίνος ἂν εἴη] Greg. has in mind the passage 1 Cor. xii 14-24.

9. διεξάγεται] 'conducted,' 'carried on,' 'maintained.' Cp. Greg. Naz. Or. xxviii 16 καθ' ὧν τὸ πᾶν φέρεται τε καὶ διεξάγεται.

10. τῆς π...ἀπολ.] The senses mentioned 'are concerned with present enjoyment.' The gen. is possessive. With τῆς παρ. ἀπολαύσεως cp. τὴν παρούσαν ζωὴν above.

11. ἐκείνοις] refers to τὰ γεννητικὰ.

12. ὡς...εἶναι] The clause is consecutive. 'So that death, though continually operating against us, is rendered, in a way, ineffectual and fruitless.'

14. ἀντεισαγωγούσης] 'Since, by means of the succeeding generations, nature is ever introducing herself to fill up the gap.'

29. 'Why,' it may be asked, 'was the Incarnation so long delayed?' To this Gr. replies by adducing the illustration of the physician who allows a disease to come to the surface before he applies his remedy.

κακίζειν ἐπιχειροῦσι τὸν λόγον καὶ φασιν, εἰ καλὸν καὶ  
 πρέπον τῷ θεῷ τὸ γινόμενον, τί ἀνεβάλετο τὴν εὐεργε-  
 σίαν; τί δὲ οὐκ ἐν ἀρχαῖς οὔσης τῆς κακίας τὴν ἐπὶ  
 τὸ πλεον αὐτῆς πρόοδον ὑπετέμετο; πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο  
 5 σύντομος ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐστὶ λόγος, ὅτι σοφία γέγονε καὶ  
 τοῦ λυσιτελοῦντος τῇ φύσει προμηθεία ἢ πρὸς τὴν εὐερ-  
 γεσίαν ἡμῶν ἀναβολή. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματικῶν  
 νοσημάτων, ὅταν τις διεφθορῶς χυμὸς ὑφέρπη τοὺς  
 πόρους, πρὶν ἅπαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐκκαλυφθῆναι  
 10 τὸ παρὰ φύσιν ἐγκείμενον, οὐ καταφαρμακεύεται τοῖς  
 πυκνοῦσι τὸ σῶμα παρὰ τῶν τεχνικῶς μεθοδεύοντων  
 τὰ πάθη, ἀλλ' ἀναμένουσι τὸ ἐνδομυχοῦν ἅπαν ἔξω  
 γενέσθαι, καὶ οὕτω γυμνῷ τῷ πάθει τὴν ἰατροίαν προσά-  
 γουσιν. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἅπαξ ἐνέσκηψε τῇ φύσει τῆς  
 15 ἀνθρωπότητος ἢ τῆς κακίας νόσος, ἀνέμεινεν ὁ τοῦ παν-  
 τὸς θεραπευτῆς μηδὲν ὑπολειφθῆναι τῆς πονηρίας εἶδος  
 ἐγκεκρυμμένον τῇ φύσει. διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εὐθὺς μετὰ

29. 1 φησι p || 2 om τω γνη || 3 τι δε] exstant seqq in euth 156 ||  
 4 πλειον l vulg || αὐτης] εαυτης e αυτου g\* || παροδον d || υπετεμετο vulg ||  
 τουτους f || 5 παρ ημιν e || om και e || 8-9 τους πορους] πουους l\* om τους  
 f vulg || 9 εμφανειαν vulg || εκκαλυφθ.] εκλυσθηαι euth || 12 μενουσι l\* vulg ||  
 15 ανεμεινεν vulg

1. κακίζειν] 'to find fault with.'  
 Τὸν λόγον, 'our teaching.'

2. τί ἀνεβάλετο] This question is also dealt with by Athanasius *Or. c. Ar.* i 29, ii 68. In the *Or. in diem nat. Christi* (a spurious work, printed in the edd. of Gregory) there is a passage dealing with the same question, which is plainly modelled on the present passage. See Migne, pp. 1130—1.

3. τί δὲ οὐκ] The following passage as far as διοχλοῦσαν τὸν βίον in c. 30 is quoted in Euth. *Zig. Pan. Dogm.* pt i tit. vii (pp. 228, 229, Migne).

4. ὑπετέμετο] 'intercept,' 'cut off' its further advance. Cp. *Ar. Eq.* 291 ὑποτεμοῦμαι τὰς ὁδοὺς σου.

7. ἐπὶ τῶν σωμα.] The same illustration occurs in Origen *de Princ.* iii 13, with reference to God's dealing with sinners. It is reproduced in the *Or. in diem nat. Christi* p. 1132 (Migne).

8. διεφθορῶς] intrans. Χυμὸς 'humour,' used of the bodily juices. 'When some corrupt humour steals beneath the pores.'

10. οὐ καταφ.] 'it is not treated with drugs which close up the body.' The object of the physician in such cases is to open the pores of the body and bring out the disease.

12. τὸ ἐνδομυχοῦν] 'lurking within,' 'hidden.' Ἀναμένειν takes here, and below, the acc. and inf., as often in class. Greek.

τὸν φθόνον καὶ τὴν ἀδελφοκτονίαν τοῦ Κάιν προσάγει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὴν θεραπείαν· οὐπω γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ Νῶε καταφθαρέντων ἢ κακία ἐξέλαμψεν, οὐδὲ τῆς Σοδομικῆς παρανομίας ἢ χαλεπὴ νόσος ἀνεκαλύφθη, οὐδὲ ἡ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεομαχία, οὐδὲ ἡ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ὑπερηφανία, οὐδὲ ἡ τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ τῶν ἀγίων τοῦ θεοῦ μαιφονία, οὐδὲ ἡ τοῦ Ἡρώδου παράνομος παιδοφονία, οὐδὲ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὅσα τε μνημονεύεται καὶ ὅσα ἔξω τῆς ἱστορίας ἐν ταῖς καθεξῆς γενεαῖς κατεπράχθη, πολυτρόπως τῆς τοῦ κακοῦ ρίζης ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων 10 προαιρέσεσι βλαστανούσης. ἐπεὶ οὖν πρὸς τὸ ἀκρότατον ἔφθασε μέτρον ἢ κακία, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι πονηρίας εἶδος ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀτόλμητον ἦν, ὡς ἂν διὰ πάσης τῆς ἀρρωστίας προχωρήσειεν ἢ θεραπεία, τούτου χάριν οὐκ ἀρχομένην, ἀλλὰ τελειωθείσαν θεραπεύει τὴν 15 νόσον.

30. Εἰ δέ τις ἐλέγχειν οἶεται τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον, ὅτι καὶ μετὰ τὸ προσαχθῆναι τὴν θεραπείαν ἔτι πλημ-

3 om καταφθαρεντων e || σοδομικης] σομιτικης h σωματικης dg\*1\*ρ (habet in marg τα γομορρα λεγει ρ) || 4 ἀπεκαλυφθη efln euth || η οἶδε l vulg || 5 θεομαχία] μονομαχία e || 6-7 οὐδε η τ. Ἰουδ...μιαίφονια om l\* vulg || 7 οὐδε...παιδοφονια om n euth || παιδοφονια] μιαίφονια e || 9 τῆς ἐξω ἱστορίας e || 12 μετρον ἐφθασεν ef

5. θεομαχία] 'war against God,' with reference, of course, to Pharaoh. See *Or. in d. n. Christi* l.c. ποῦ γὰρ ὁ θεομάχος Φαραώ; The word θεομάχος occurs in Acts v 39. Similarly Chrysostom, in his panegyric on the Egyptian martyrs (ii 699, ed. Montf.), speaks of Αἰγύπτου τῆς θεομάχου καὶ μανικωτάτης.

ib. ὑπερηφανία] 'pride,' 'arrogance.' The word is used by the fathers to denote contempt of God and insolence to men. See exc. cited by Suicer. The author of the *Or. in diem nat. Christi* l.c. has a similar passage: τὴν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλείαν, καὶ τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορ

τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν. Cp. Is. xxxvii 23, 24. Possibly, however, Gr. was for the moment confusing the Assyrians with the Chaldeans. Cp. Hab. ii 4, 5.

6. Ἰουδαίων] Cp. Mt. xxiii 34, 35. Μιαίφονια, 'blood-guiltiness.'

7. παιδοφονία] Mt. ii 16-18.

9. ἔξω τῆς ἱστ.] i.e. unrecorded.

30. 'Why,' it may be asked, 'has not sin ceased now that the remedy has been applied?' To this Gr. answers by an illustration. When a serpent has received a deadly blow on the head, the blow does not immediately deprive the extremities of life. In like manner sin has received its

μελείται διὰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ὁ ἀνθρώπινος βίος, ὑποδείγματί τιμι τῶν γνωρίμων ὀδηγηθῆτω πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄφους, εἰ κατὰ κεφαλῆς τὴν καιρίαν λάβοι, οὐκ εὐθὺς συννεκροῦται τῇ κεφαλῇ  
 5 καὶ ὁ κατόπιν ὄλκος, ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν τέθνηκε, τὸ δὲ οὐραῖον ἔτι ἐψύχεται τῷ ἰδίῳ θυμῷ καὶ τῆς ζωτικῆς κινήσεως οὐκ ἐστέρηται, οὕτως ἔστι καὶ τὴν κακίαν ἰδεῖν τῷ μὲν καιρίῳ πληγείσαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς λειψάνοις ἑαυτῆς ἔτι διοχλοῦσαν τὸν βίον. ἀλλ' ἀφέντες καὶ τὸ περὶ τούτων  
 10 τὸν λόγον τοῦ μυστηρίου μέμφεσθαι, τὸ μὴ διὰ πάντων διήκειν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν πίστιν ἐν αἰτία ποιοῦνται. καὶ τί δήποτε, φασίν, οὐκ ἐπὶ πάντα ἦλθεν ἡ χάρις, ἀλλὰ

30. 1 δι ἀμαρτηματων d || 3 της κεφαλης degħnr || 5 ο κατ. ολκος] του σωματος ολκος f || ουρεον vulg || 6 ἐμψυχεται f || κινήσεως] δυναμειωs l vulg || 7 ἐστερηται]+τω ιδιω θυμω d || 9 τον βιον] τω βιω l vulg: desinit euth || το] τον hl\* vulg || 10 μεμφονται του μυστ. και το f || 12 φησιν e

*despatch, but though moribund it is not yet wholly dead. A further objection arises out of the fact that grace has not come to all. This, it is argued, shews either a want of will or a want of power on God's part. Gr. replies that the objection might have weight if all had not had the chance of accepting God's offer. But the Christian faith has been proclaimed in all languages. Again, God has left something to man's initiative. He is free to accept or refuse, and if he refuses the grace which is offered, it is not God who is to be blamed for such refusal, but man.*

3. ὥσπερ γάρ] The simile is reproduced in *Or. in diem nat. Christi* p. 1133 (Migne).

4. τὴν καιρίαν] sc. πληγὴν.

5. ὁ κατόπιν ὄλκος] 'the coil behind,' i.e. all that follows the head. Ὀλκος is used of the trail of a serpent. Here = 'coil.'

6. ἐψύχεται] 'kept alive,' 'animated.'

*ib.* θυμῷ] 'spirit,' here used of the animal life, as in Plato's division of the animal part of the soul into θυμός and ἐπιθυμία. See *Rep.* 439 E and cp. 410 D.

*ib.* τῆς ζωτικῆς κινήσεως] 'vital motion.'

8. λειψάνοις] 'still in its remnants harassing the life of man.' Βίον is used absolutely for 'human life.' For this sense cp. c. 8 τὸν βίον ἡμῶν τῇ νεκρότητι σβένυσσθαι (note).

9. ἀλλ' ἀφέντες] Gr. now passes on to another objection, the want of universality in the spread of Christianity. 'But abandoning their complaint against the teaching of our religion on this point also, they make it a matter of accusation that.'

12. ἡ χάρις] A synonym for the Gospel, as commonly in St Paul's epistles. Cp. Acts xx 24, 2 Cor. vi 1, viii 9, Col. i 6 (with Lightfoot's note).

τινῶν προσθεμένων τῷ λόγῳ οὐ μικρὸν ἔστι τὸ ὑπολει-  
πόμενον μέρος, ἢ μὴ βουληθέντος τοῦ θεοῦ πᾶσιν ἀφθόνως  
τὴν εὐεργεσίαν νεῖμαι, ἢ μὴ δυνηθέντος πάντως; ὧν  
οὐθέτερον καθαρεύει τῆς μέμψεως. οὔτε γὰρ ἀβούλητον  
εἶναι τὸ ἀγαθὸν προσήκει τῷ θεῷ, οὔτε ἀδύνατον. εἰ οὖν 5  
ἀγαθὸν τι ἢ πίστις, διὰ τί, φασίν, οὐκ ἐπὶ πάντας ἢ χάρις;  
εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ κατεσκευάζετο,  
τὸ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήματος ἀποκληροῦσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώ-  
ποις τὴν πίστιν, τῶν μὲν καλουμένων, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν  
ἀμοιρούντων τῆς κλήσεως, καιρὸν εἶχεν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔγ- 10

1 λειπομενον f || 2 πασαν l vulg || 3 νειμαι] ειναι l vulg || 3-4 ων ουθ  
ετερων dp vulg παντως ουν ου θατερον f || 5 προσηκει τ. α. f || 6 φησιν e ||  
8 om το f vulg || 9 των μεν] τωνδε μεν l || 10 αν ειχε deghnp

1. προσθεμένων] *'while some attached themselves to the word.'* Λόγος is used as commonly in the N.T. of the preaching of the Gospel. Cp. e.g. Acts iv 4.

2. ἢ μὴ βουλ.] Such want of universality, it is urged, shewed either a lack of will, or a lack of power, on God's part. Compare with this whole section Butler's *Analogy* ii 6 'Of the want of Universality in Revelation.'

4. ἀβούλητον] 'not according to His will,' i.e. that God does not will to do what is good.

7. ταῦτα] i.e. τὸ...ἀποκληροῦσθαι which follows. *'If, therefore, in our argument, we had taken up this position.'* For κατασκευάζειν, used of the structure of an argument, cp. c. 1 κατασκευάσει (note).

8. ἀποκληροῦσθαι] *'That faith is dealt out at haphazard, some being called and the rest having no part in the call.'* Ἀποκληροῦν = 'to assign by lot,' with the further thought of distribution at random, and not on a rational principle. Thus ἀποκληρωτικῶς is contrasted by Origen with τεταγμένως and ὀρισμένως, and co-ordinated with κατὰ συντυχίαν. See *Philocal.* (ed. Rob.) p. 210, and esp. p. 242 where he says φρονοῦσιν

ὡς ἄρα κατὰ ἀποκλήρωσιν ὁ θεὸς δν θέλει ἐλεεῖ, δν δὲ θέλει σκληρύνει. This rendering is preferable to that of Hervetus (in the Latin version of 1573), who translates 'abdicaretur fides,' taking ἀποκληροῦν in the sense of 'exhaeredes facere.' Cp. Ar. *Pol.* vii 11. 8 ἀποκληροῦν τοὺς πλείους, and the cognate word ἀπόκληρος. The idea of Gr. is that there is no exclusive or arbitrary bestowal of grace on particular classes. It is offered by God freely to all. In this denial of an un-scriptural form of the doctrine of election, and in his insistence on the freedom of the will, Gregory's language recalls that of Justin Martyr *Apol.* i 43 εἰ γὰρ εἴμαρται τόνδε τινὰ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ τόνδε φαῦλον, οὐθ' οὗτος ἀπόδεκτος οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος μεμπτέος. καὶ αὐ εἰ μὴ προαιρέσει ἐλευθέρᾳ πρὸς τὸ φεῖγειν τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ αἰρεῖσθαι τὰ κατὰ δύναμιν ἔχει τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος, ἀνάτιόν ἔστι τῶν ὁποσδήποτε πραττομένων. For Gr.'s insistence on free-will see c. 7 (notes).

9. καλουμένων] used in its N.T. sense, like κλήσις, which follows, of the call to the knowledge of the Gospel.

10. εἶχεν] The omission of ἄν (acc. to the best MSS) marks the

κλημα κατὰ τοῦ μυστηρίου προφέρεσθαι· εἰ δὲ ὁμότιμος ἐπὶ πάντας ἢ κλήσις, οὔτε ἀξίας, οὔτε ἡλικίας, οὔτε τὰς κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη διαφορὰς διακρίνουσα· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ παρὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀρχὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος ὁμόγλωσσοι πᾶσι  
 5 τοῖς ἔθνεσιν οἱ διακοινοῦντες τὸν λόγον ἐκ θείας ἐπιπνοίας ἀθρώως ἐγένοντο, ὡς ἂν μηδεὶς τῆς διδαχῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀμοιρήσειεν· πῶς ἂν οὖν τις κατὰ τὸ εὐλογον ἔτι τὸν θεὸν αἰτιῶτο τοῦ μὴ πάντων ἐπικρατῆσαι τὸν λόγον; ὁ γὰρ τοῦ παντὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς  
 10 εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τιμῆς ἀφήκέ τι καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐξουσίαν εἶναι, οὗ μόνος ἕκαστός ἐστι κύριος. τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ προαίρεσις, ἀδούλωτόν τι χρῆμα καὶ αὐτεξούσιον, ἐν τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ τῆς διανοίας κείμενον. οὐκοῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ προσαχθέντας τῇ πίστει δικαιότερον ἂν τὸ τοιοῦτον  
 15 ἔγκλημα μετατεθείη, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν κεκληκότα πρὸς συγκατάθεσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πέτρου κατ' ἀρχὰς τὸν λόγον ἐν πολυανθρώπῳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ κηρύξαντος, τρισχιλίων κατὰ ταύτῃ παραδεξαμένων τὴν

4 om πρωτην e || om του vulg || 6 om αθρωσ d || om της διδαχης vulg || 7 om ουν deg\*hlmp || 7-8 αιτιωτο τις l om τις deg\*hnp vulg || ετι κ. τ. ε. f || το θειον f || αιτιωντο vulg || 15 μεταθειη e || την καταθεσιν l\*vid vulg || 18 κατ αυτον d κατ αυτο f

certainly of the conclusion stated in the apodosis.

1. ὁμότιμος] See *antea* cc. 27, 28 (notes).

2. ἀξίας] 'worth,' 'rank.'

3. διὰ τοῦτο] a parenthesis. The apodosis begins with πῶς ἂν οὖν τις.

4. ὁμόγλωσσοι] Acts ii 8—11.

6. ἀθρώως] 'all at once,' as contrasted with the gradual acquirement of a language.

ιβ. τῆς διδαχ.] The *gen.* is dependent on τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

7. πῶς ἂν οὖν τις] The text is in some confusion, as *τις* has fallen out of several MSS, while *f* alone preserves οὖν.

9. ὁ γὰρ τ. π.] Another argu-

ment is now adduced to account for the want of universality in the spread of the Gospel. God respects man's free-will and leaves him free to accept or refuse grace.

10. τιμῆς] 'by reason of the exceeding honour in which He held man.'

12. ἀδούλωτόν τι χρ.] Cp. c. 5 τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀδέσποτον καὶ αὐτεξούσιον χάριτος.

15. συγκατάθεσιν] Cp. c. 5 οὐκ ἔξω τῆς τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων συγκαταθέσεως (note).

16. ἐπὶ τοῦ Π.] Acts ii 41.

17. ἐκκλησίᾳ] used here quite generally of a gathering of people. Cp. Acts xix 32.



πίστιν, πλείους ὄντες τῶν πεπιστευκότων οἱ ἀπειθήσαντες ἐμέμφαντο τὸν ἀπόστολον ἐφ' οἷς οὐκ ἐπίεσθησαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν εἰκός, ἐν κοινῷ προτεθείσης τῆς χάριτος, τὸν ἐκουσίως ἀποφοιτήσαντα μὴ ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλ' ἕτερον τῆς  
5  
δυσκληρίας ἐπαιτιάσθαι.

31. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἀποροῦσιν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα τῆς ἐριστικῆς ἀντιλογίας. λέγουσι γὰρ δύνασθαι τὸν θεόν, εἴπερ ἐβούλετο, καὶ τοὺς ἀντιτύπως ἔχοντας ἀναγκαστικῶς ἐφελκύσασθαι πρὸς τὴν παραδοχὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος. ποῦ τοίνυν ἐν τούτοις τὸ αὐτεξούσιον; ποῦ δὲ ἡ ἀρετή; ποῦ 10  
δὲ τῶν κατορθούντων ὁ ἔπαινος; μόνων γὰρ τῶν ἀψύχων ἢ τῶν ἀλόγων ἐστὶ τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ βουλήματι πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν περιάγεσθαι. ἡ δὲ λογικὴ τε καὶ νοερὰ φύσις, εἰάν τὸ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἀπόθηται, καὶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ νοεροῦ συναπώλεσεν. εἰς τί γὰρ χρήσεται τῇ διανοίᾳ, τῆς τοῦ 15  
προαιρεῖσθαί τι τῶν κατὰ γνώμην ἐξουσίας ἐφ' ἑτέρῳ κειμένης; εἰ δὲ ἄπρακτος ἢ προαίρεσις μένειεν, ἠφάνισται

3 om ην d || προταθεισης vulg      31. 7 ἐριστικῆς] αἰρετικῆς f ||  
8 ἐβουλετο] sic codd || 10 που δε η ἀρετη om vulg || 12 η] και f || 17 μενοιεν  
l μενοι vulg

5. δυσκληρίας] lit. 'ill luck.'  
The word is opposed to λῆξις.

31. 'But,' it may be urged, 'why did not God compel belief?' This, Gr. replies, would have been to destroy free-will, and with free-will, virtue. Praise or blame in such a case would no longer be applicable to human actions. It is not God's goodness, then, but the disposition of the hearers, which is responsible for the fact that all have not received the faith.

6-7. τῆς ἐριστ. ἀντ.] Τῆς would be represented in English by the indefinite article, 'a captious reply.' Ἐριστικῆς denotes that the opponents reply from a mere love of disputing, without having any serious arguments to put forward. See Plato's definition of τὸ ἐριστικόν *Soph.* 225

c sq. There is also a disparaging reference in ἀντιλογίας.

8. ἀναγκαστικῶς] opp. to συμβουλευτικῶς. Cp. Plato *Legg.* 930 B συμβουλευτικός ἂν εἴη νόμος...οὐκ ἀναγκαστικός.

11. κατορθούντων] intransitive, 'those who succeed.' Gr. is thinking, of course, of moral success, a sense of the word which Stoicism had brought into common use.

13. ἡ δὲ λογ.] Cp. *antea* c. 8 ἡ νοερὰ φύσις.

14. ἀπόθηται] 'if it puts aside its freedom, it loses at the same time its privilege of belonging to the intellectual order.' Cp. Gr.'s treatment of free-will in cc. 5, 7.

15. τῇ διανοίᾳ] See note on τὴν διανοητικὴν δύναμιν c. 6.

κατ' ἀνάγκην ἢ ἀρετῇ, τῇ ἀκινήσιᾳ τῆς προαιρέσεως ἐμπε-  
 δηθεῖσα· ἀρετῆς δὲ μὴ οὔσης, ὁ βίος ἠτίμωται, ἀφήρηται  
 τῶν κατορθούντων ὁ ἔπαινος, ἀκίνδυνος ἢ ἄμαρτία, ἄκριτος  
 ἢ κατὰ τὸν βίον διαφορά. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἔτι κατὰ τὸ εὐλογον  
 5 ἢ διαβάλλοι τὸν ἀκόλαστον ἢ ἐπαινοῖ τὸν σόφρονα;  
 ταύτης κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον οὔσης ἐκάστῳ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως,  
 τὸ μηδὲν ἐφ' ἡμῖν τῶν κατὰ γνώμην εἶναι, δυναστεία δὲ  
 κρείττονι τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας προαιρέσεις πρὸς τὸ τῷ κρα-  
 τοῦντι δοκοῦν περιιάγεσθαι. οὐκοῦν οὐ τῆς ἀγαθότητος  
 10 τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἐγκλημα, τὸ μὴ πᾶσιν ἐγγενέσθαι τὴν πίστιν,  
 ἀλλὰ τῆς διαθέσεως τῶν δεχομένων τὸ κήρυγμα.

**32.** Τί πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι παρὰ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων  
 προφέρεται; τὸ μάλιστα μὲν μηδὲ ὅλως δεῖν εἰς θανάτου

1 εμποδισθεῖσα vulg || 2 ἠτιμωται] + και καθ εμαρμενη χωρει ο λογος  
 1 vulg || 3 ακινδυνος] ακινητος vulg || 5 διαβαλοι hp **32.** 13 om το f ||  
 μη vulg

2. ὁ βίος] 'life there and then  
 loses its honour.' The perfects ἠφά-  
 νισται, ἠτίμωται, ἀφήρηται imply that  
 the result follows immediately. For  
 this use of βίος cp. *antea* cc. 8, 30  
 (notes). After ἠτίμωται 1 and the  
 Paris edd. have the gloss καὶ καθ'  
 εμαρμενην χωρεῖ ὁ λόγος, 'reason  
 moves in accordance with fate.'

3. ἀκίνδυνος] 'sin may be in-  
 dulg'd in with impunity.'

ib. ἄκριτος] 'and all difference  
 with regard to the manner of life be-  
 comes no longer discernible,' i.e. the  
 distinctions between a good and a  
 bad life no longer exist.

10. ἐγκλημα] It is not God's  
 goodness, but the disposition of the  
 hearers, which is responsible for the  
 fact that all have not received the  
 Gospel.

**32.** Another ground of objection  
 is the death of Christ, or, if not the  
 death, at least the shame attending  
 it. But without such death our  
 Lord's assumption of human nature  
 would have been incomplete. The  
 death again was necessary in order

that man might be delivered from  
 death. By dying Christ stretched  
 out His hand to fallen man to raise  
 him up to life. The union which  
 Christ has effected with mankind  
 enables us to share in His resurrec-  
 tion. The death upon the Cross has  
 a mystic meaning, and reveals His  
 Divine nature no less than His  
 humanity. The projecting arms of  
 the Cross witness openly to our eyes  
 the fact that Christ binds all Crea-  
 tion to Himself, and brings all things  
 into harmony. His Death was fol-  
 lowed by His Resurrection and As-  
 cension, which bore unmistakable  
 testimony to His Divine power.

13. τὸ μάλιστα μὲν] The corre-  
 sponding clause is introduced by εἰ  
 δὲ καὶ below. The objection is first  
 stated in a more sweeping form.  
 Gr.'s opponent protests against the  
 introduction of death in any form  
 into the plan of redemption. The  
 clause τὸ...μηδὲ...δεῖν answers to τί,  
 and is paralleled below by τὸ μὴ...  
 καθυβρισθῆναι.

πειραν ἐλθεῖν τὴν ὑπερέχουσαν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίχα  
 τούτου τῇ περιουσίᾳ τῆς δυνάμεως δύνασθαι ἂν μετὰ  
 ῥαστώνης τὸ δοκοῦν κατεργάσασθαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ πάντως  
 ἔδει τοῦτο γενέσθαι κατὰ τινα λόγον ἀπόρρητον, ἀλλ' οὖν  
 τὸ μὴ τῷ ἀτιμῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ θανάτου καθυβρισθῆναι. τίς 5  
 γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο, φησί, τοῦ διὰ σταυροῦ θάνατος ἀτιμότερος;  
 τί οὖν καὶ πρὸς ταυτά φαμεν; ὅτι τὸν θάνατον μὲν ἀναγ-  
 καῖον ἢ γένεσις ἀπεργάζεται. τὸν γὰρ ἅπαξ μετασχεῖν  
 ἐγνωκότα τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος διὰ πάντων ἔδει γενέσθαι τῶν  
 ἰδιωμάτων τῆς φύσεως. εἰ τοίνυν δύο πέρασι τῆς ἀνθρω- 10  
 πίνης ζωῆς διειλημμένης ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ γενόμενος τοῦ ἐφεξῆς  
 μὴ προσήψατο, ἡμιτελής ἂν ἢ πρόθεσις ἔμεινε τοῦ ἑτέρου  
 τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἰδιωμάτων οὐχ ἀψαμένου. τάχα  
 δ' ἂν τις δι' ἀκριβείας καταμαθὼν τὸ μυστήριον εὐλογώ-  
 τερον εἴποι μὴ διὰ τὴν γένεσιν συμβεβηκέναι τὸν θάνατον, 15  
 ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔμπαλιν τοῦ θανάτου χάριν παραληφθῆναι τὴν

4 om γενεσθαι l\* vulg || 5 τω μη ατιμῶ ε μη τω ατιμω vulg ||  
 6 om γαρ e || 8 κατεργαζεται l vulg || 12 εμενε dg\* hnr γεγομε e || 13 om  
 των l vulg || ἰδιωματος l vulg || 14 μαθων f

2. μετὰ ῥαστώνης] 'with ease,'  
 i.e. without submission to suffering.

3. εἰ δὲ καί] A modified form  
 of the preceding objection. If for  
 some inscrutable reason (κατὰ τινα  
 λόγον ἀπόρρητον) it was necessary  
 that Christ should die, the shameful  
 manner of His death might in any  
 case have been avoided.

7. τὸν θάνατον μὲν] Gr. gives  
 two answers to the objection against  
 the introduction of death into the  
 Divine plan. The first is introduced  
 by μὲν in the present clause. The  
 second follows in the clause begin-  
 ning τάχα δ' ἂν τις. The complete  
 assumption of human nature ren-  
 dered the death necessary. A still  
 stronger necessity for it was to be  
 found in man's need of deliverance  
 from death. The particular manner  
 of the death, i.e. Crucifixion, he

justifies below in the passage begin-  
 ning ὁ δὲ σταυρός. With Gregory's  
 treatment of the whole question cp.  
 Ath. *de Inc.* cc. 21—25.

10. ἰδιωμάτων] Cp. c. 26 p. 101  
 (note) and c. 27 *init.*

*ib.* δύο πέρασι] Cp. c. 27.

11. τῷ ἐνὶ] i.e. birth. Τοῦ ἐφ. i.e.  
 death.

12. ἡμιτελής] 'but half complete.'  
 With ἀψαμένου we must supply  
 αὐτοῦ.

13. τάχα δ' ἂν τις] A still stronger  
 argument (εὐλογώτερον). The death  
 was necessary to deliver man from  
 death.

14. δι' ἀκριβείας] A more exact  
 knowledge of the revelation shews  
 a deeper significance in the Death  
 of Christ. Τὸ μυστήριον is here used  
 in a general sense for the Christian  
 revelation.

γένεσιν· οὐ γὰρ τοῦ ζῆσαι δεόμενος ὁ ἀεὶ ὦν τὴν σωμα-  
 τικὴν ὑποδύεται γένεσιν, ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν ζωὴν ἐκ τοῦ  
 θανάτου ἀνακαλούμενος. ἐπεὶ οὖν ὅλης ἔδει γενέσθαι τῆς  
 φύσεως ἡμῶν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου πάλιν ἐπάνοδον, οἰοεὶ  
 5 χεῖρα τῷ κειμένῳ ὀρέγων διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ ἡμέτερον  
 ἐπικύψας πτώμα, τοσοῦτον τῷ θανάτῳ προσήγγισεν, ὅσον  
 τῆς νεκρότητος ἄψασθαι καὶ ἀρχὴν δοῦναι τῇ φύσει τῆς  
 ἀναστάσεως τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι, ὅλον τῇ δυνάμει συνανα-  
 στήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλοθεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ  
 10 τοῦ ἡμετέρου φυράματος ὁ θεοδόχος ἄνθρωπος ἦν, ὁ διὰ

1 ὦν] ζῶν fl vulg || 2 γεννησιν fl vulg || 3 ολως fl<sup>1</sup> || εδει γενεσθαι ολης  
 1\*<sup>vid</sup> vulg || 4 om την vulg || 5 ορεγων]+και el<sup>1\*</sup> <sup>vid</sup> vulg || 7 απτεσθαι  
 dgħnp τη νεκροτητι προσαψασθαι e || την φυσιν f vulg || 8-9 συναν. τ. αν.  
 τ. δυναμει l vulg || 9 αλλαχοθεν f || 10 ο...ανθρωπος] η...σαρξ 1\*<sup>vid</sup> vulg  
 Thdrt<sup>sirm</sup> || η...συνεπαρθεισα 1\*<sup>vid</sup> vulg Thdrt<sup>sirm</sup>

1. ζῆσαι] The force of the aorist is 'to enter into life.' Cp. Ign. Rom. 6 μὴ ἐμποδιστέ μοι ζῆσαι.

*ib.* ὁ ἀεὶ ὦν] Cp. c. 25 τοῦ γὰρ ὄντος ἐξῆπται τὰ ὄντα. The MSS, however, are divided in the present passage between ζῶν and ὦν. The reading ζῶν may be due to the tendency of the group *fl* to paraphrase the text. Fronto Ducaeus thinks that the phrase ὁ ἀεὶ ζῶν may contain a reference to Heb. vii 25, but this is very improbable. Krab., following the Latin Version of the Parisedd., renders 'aeternus,' though he retains ζῶν in his text. For the phrase ὁ ἀεὶ ὦν cp. Ex. iii 14, Ps. lxxxix (xc) 2, Rev. i. 8.

6. πτώμα] Krab. rightly translates 'cadaver,' following Hervetus. Fronto Ducaeus, however, suggests 'lapsus,' in view of κύπτει πρὸς τὸν πεπτωκότα below.

7. νεκρότητος] Cp. c. 8 *init.* τὸ τὸν βίον ἡμῶν τῇ νεκρότητι σβέννυσθαι and *ibid.* ἡ νεκρότης...περιετέθη τῇ εἰς ἀθανασίαν κτισθείση φύσει. 'Our state of death.'

*ib.* ἄψασθαι] Cp. c. 15 θεὸν ἀνθρώπινῃς ἄψασθαι φύσεως (note). The inf. is consecutive after τοσοῦτον.

8-9. ὅλον...τὸν ἄνθ.] 'the whole man,' i.e. body as well as soul.

9. ἐπειδὴ γάρ] The passage which follows as far as ἀνορθῶσαι τὸν κείμενον is reproduced in Theodoret *Dial.* iii (Impatibilis), p. 300 (Migne).

10. φυράματος] The use of this word, which lit. means 'a lump of clay' or 'dough,' is derived from such passages as Rom. ix 21, xi 16, 1 Cor. v 7. Cp. Numb. xv 19, 20. It is used by patristic writers to denote 'the human body,' 'human nature,' 'the lump of humanity.' Cp. Gen. ii 7.

*ib.* ὁ θεοδόχος ἄνθρωπος] This inexact language might seem to indicate that the humanity of Christ was itself a personal subject. In later times, when Nestorianism had arisen, such language would have been avoided. The expression has been altered in the text of *l* and the Paris edd. into ἡ θεοδόχος σὰρξ. For simi-

τῆς ἀναστάσεως συνεπαρθεῖς τῇ θεότητι, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς σώματος ἢ τοῦ ἐνὸς τῶν αἰσθητηρίων ἐνέργεια πρὸς ἅπαν τὴν συναίσθησιν ἄγει τὸ ἠνωμένον τῷ μέρει, οὕτως, καθάπερ ἐνός τινος ὄντος ζώου πάσης τῆς φύσεως, ἢ τοῦ μέρους ἀνάστασις ἐπὶ τὸ πᾶν διεξέρχεται, κατὰ τὸ 5 συνεχές τε καὶ ἠνωμένον τῆς φύσεως ἐκ τοῦ μέρους ἐπὶ τὸ ὅλον συνεκτιδομένη. τί οὖν ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ μαθαίνομεν, εἰ κύπτει πρὸς τὸν πεπτωκότα ὁ ἐστὼς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνορθῶσαι τὸν κείμενον; ὁ δὲ σταυρὸς εἰ μὲν τινα καὶ ἕτερον περιέχει λόγον βαθύτερον, εἰδέειν 10 ἂν οἱ τῶν κρυπτῶν ἐπίστορες. ὁ δ' οὖν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐκ

3 απαν] πασαν deghnp Thdrt<sup>rom</sup> || αισθησιν f || το] τον Thdrt || 4 τινος ενος l om ενος vulg || 5 του] εκ του Thdrt<sup>rom</sup>: desunt folia nonnulla in g || om κατα Thdrt<sup>rom</sup> || 7 συντιδομενης f συντιδομενη l vulg συντιδομενον Thdrt || 7-8 εκ του μυστηριου d μυστηριου Thdrt<sup>rom</sup> || 9 επι το] επι τω ef || ανορθ.] αναστησαι l vulg || 10 ει μεν] ημιν l ει μη vulg || ειδειεν f vulg || 11 κρυπτομενων l vulg || επιστορες l\*<sup>vid</sup> vulg

lar language see Greg. Naz. Or. xxix 19, xxx 2, with Dr Mason's notes.

1. ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τ.] 'just as the action of one of the organs of sense communicates a common sensation to the whole which is united with the particular member.' The MSS are divided between ἅπαν and πᾶσαν. The latter reading is found in the Roman edition of Theodoret. But the alteration of ἅπαν into πᾶσαν before συναίσθησιν is a natural one for scribes to make. For the idea cp. 1 Cor. xii 26, 27.

4. καθάπερ ἐνός τινος] 'as though the whole of human nature were one living being.' Τῆς φύσεως here refers specially to human nature, but the whole idea is based on the Platonic view of the Universe as ζῶον ἐμψυχον. See Plato *Tim.* 30, and esp. 69 C πᾶν τότε ξυνεστήσατο, ζῶον ἐν ζῶα ἔχον ἅπαντα ἐν αὐτῷ θνητὰ ἀθάνατά τε. Similarly Synes. *Calv. Enc.* p. 71 D εἶδει γὰρ, οἶμαι, εἶναι τὸν

κόσμον ζῶον ἐκ ζῶων συγκείμενον. For Plotinus' view see Ritter and Preller *Hist. of A. Philosophy*, vol. iv p. 581 ff., and, for the Stoic conception of συμπάθεια with regard to the Universe, Zeller *Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics* pp. 183 ff.

5. τοῦ μέρους] 'the particular member' i.e. Christ, whose Resurrection, by virtue of the συμπάθεια of humanity, becomes a principle of life for the race.

7. συνεκτιδομένη] 'being imparted from the member to the whole, by reason of the continuity and unity of the race.'

9. ὁ δὲ σταυρὸς] Gr. now passes on to give a second reason for the manner of the death of Christ.

10. εἰ μὲν τινα καὶ ἕτερον] Gr. does not profess to exhaust the mystical teaching of the Cross in what he is about to say. It may have some other deeper meaning, for those who are 'versed in mystical

παραδόσεως ἤκει, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν. ἐπειδὴ πάντα κατὰ τὸν ὑψηλότερόν τε καὶ θειότερον λόγον ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ καὶ εἶρηται καὶ γεγένηται, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι μὴ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὃ οὐχὶ πάντως μίξις τις ἐμφαίνεται τοῦ θείου  
 5 πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, τῆς μὲν φωνῆς ἢ τῆς πράξεως ἀνθρωπικῶς διεξαγομένης, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὸ κρυπτόν νοουμένου τὸ θεῖον ἐμφαίνοντος, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἶη καὶ ἐν τῷ μέρει τούτῳ μὴ τὸ μὲν βλέπειν, παρορᾶν δὲ τὸ ἕτερον, ἀλλ' ἐν  
 10 πολυπραγμονεῖν τὸ θειότερον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἴδιόν ἐστι τῆς θεότητος τὸ διὰ πάντων ἤκειν καὶ τῇ φύσει τῶν ὄντων κατὰ πᾶν μέρος συμπαρεκτείνεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τι διαμένοι

2 λογον] βιον I<sup>\*vii</sup> vulg || εν τω ευαγγ.] om f || 3 εστι τι I<sup>1</sup> p || ο μη p ουδεν τοιουτον εστιν vulg || 4 ο] ω defhl<sup>1</sup>hp εν ω vulg || φαινεται e || 8 δε] δια I<sup>\*</sup> || 9 θανατω] αθανατω Thdrt<sup>irm</sup> || τροπω] ανθρωπω vulg Thdrt<sup>irm</sup> σκοπω Thdrt<sup>rom</sup>

teaching.' Κρυπτῶν i.e. the hidden sense of Scripture. He is referring to the allegorical method of interpretation, which was so marked a feature of the school of Origen. Gr. claims that his own exposition in the following passage is ἐκ παραδόσεως, i.e. an interpretation which had become traditional among the churches. See notes below. Ἐπίστωρ—a poetical word, 'conversant with,' 'practised in.'

1. κατὰ τ. ὑψ.] Gr. here expounds the principle on which the allegorical interpretation rests. All words and events (καὶ εἶρηται καὶ γεγένηται) in the Gospel have 'a higher and more divine meaning' than that which lies upon the surface. There is a mixture of the 'human' and 'divine element' in Scripture. Cp. Origen *in Lev. Hom.* v, and see Bigg *Christian Platonists* pp. 136 foll.

6. διεξαγομένης] Cp. διεξάγεται c. 28 (note).

ib. τοῦ δὲ κ. τ. κρυπτόν] 'while the mystical sense manifests the divine element.'

7. ἀκόλουθον κ.τ.λ.] These words as far as πολυπραγμονεῖν τὸ θειότερον are quoted by Theodoret *Dial.* iii (Impatibilis) p. 300 (Migne) with reference to the two natures in Christ. There are however considerable variations in the text of the passage as it appears in the edd. of Theodoret, Sirmond reading ἀθανάτω for θανάτω, and ἀνθρώπω for τρώπω.

ib. ἐν τῷ μέρει τούτῳ] 'in this part also,' i.e. in regard to the death of Christ, no less than the other events of His life.

10. πολυπραγμονεῖν] Cp. c. 10 πολυπραγμοσύνης (note).

ib. ἐπειδὴ] The apodosis begins with τοῦτο διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ.

12. συμπαρεκτείνεσθαι] 'extend throughout the nature of existing things in every part.' Διαμονή, 'duration,' 'continuance.'

ἐν τῷ εἶναι, μὴ ἐν τῷ ὄντι μένον· τὸ δὲ κυρίως καὶ πρῶτως ὄν ἡ θεία φύσις ἐστίν, ἣν ἐξ ἀνάγκης πιστεύειν ἐν πᾶσιν εἶναι τοῖς οὖσιν ἢ διαμονὴ τῶν ὄντων καταναγκάζει· τοῦτο διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ διδασκόμεθα, τετραχῆ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν σχήματος διηρημένου, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ μέσου, καθ' ὃ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν 5 συνάπτεται, τέσσαρας ἀριθμῆσθαι τὰς προβολάς, ὅτι ὁ ἐπὶ τούτου ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς κατὰ τὸν θάνατον οἰκονομίας διαταθεὶς ὁ τὸ πᾶν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν συνδέων τε καὶ συναρμύζων ἐστὶ, τὰς διαφόρους τῶν ὄντων φύσεις πρὸς μίαν σύμπνοιάν τε καὶ ἀρμονίαν δι' ἑαυτοῦ συνάγων. ἐν γὰρ 10 τοῖς οὖσιν ἢ ἄνω τι νοεῖται, ἢ κάτω, ἢ πρὸς τὰ κατὰ τὸ πλάγιον πέρατα διαβαίνει ἢ ἔννοια. ἂν τοίνυν λογίσῃ

6 προσβολας h || 7 τουτω f || om τω d || 8 εαυτω l\*vid vulg || συνδεων] συνδεσμων df || 9 om ἐστι vulg || 12 τα πλαγια e vulg προς τα πλαγια περατα j\*vid

3. τοῦτο διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ] Similarly Ath. *de Inc.* c. 25 says that Christ spread out His hands upon the Cross to draw to Him, and unite in one, both Jew and Gentile. Cp. Lactantius *Divin. Instit.* iv 26 (Migne, p. 507) *Extendit ergo in passione manus suas orbemque dimensus est ut iam tunc ostenderet ab ortu solis usque ad occasum magnum populum ex omnibus linguis et tribus congregatum sub alas suas venturum.* Gr. presents the same thought in a fine passage in *Christi Resurr. Or.* i pp. 621 ff. (Migne). Cp. also *contra Eunom.* v p. 696 (Migne).

4. τετραχῆ] 'seeing that its figure is divided into four parts.'

5. ὡς ἐκ τοῦ μέσου] 'so that from the centre, where the whole converges, the projections are four in number.' Προβολάς refers of course to the four divisions of the Cross diverging from the centre.

6. ὅτι] resumes the τοῦτο.

7. τῷ καιρῷ] i.e. the hour when he carried out the plan of redemption by the death on the Cross.

*ib.* τῆς κ. τ. θάνατον οἰκ.] Cp. *c. Eunom.* v p. 708 (Migne), where the same phrase occurs. Similarly Gr. speaks of ἡ κατὰ τὸ πάθος οἰκ. and ἡ κατὰ τὸν σταυρὸν οἰκ. 'The dispensation of His death.' Οἰκονομία is here used of the 'plan' of redemption. See c. 5 τὴν κατ' ἀνθρωπον οἰκονομίαν (note).

11. τὰ κατὰ τὸ π. πέρατα] 'the boundaries on either side.'

12. διαβαίνει ἢ ἔννοια] 'thought passes over to.' For the idea cp. in *Chr. Resurr. Or.* i l.c. Ἀνάβλεψον γὰρ εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ τὰ κάτω βάθῃ τῷ λογισμῷ κατανόησον, ἔκτεινον ἐπὶ τὰ πλάγια καὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς τοῦ παντὸς συστάσεως τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ λόγισαι τίς ἐστὶν ἢ ταῦτα συνέχουσα δύναμις, οἷον τις σύνδεσμος τοῦ παντὸς γινομένη. καὶ ὄψει ὡς αὐτομάτως ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ ἢ περὶ τῆς θείας δυνάμεως ἔννοια τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐγχαράσσεται. For the attempt to find the symbolism of the Cross in nature see Methodius *adv. Porphyrium* c. 1 (ed. Bonw. p. 346).

τῶν ἐπουρανίων ἢ τῶν ὑποχθονίων ἢ τῶν καθ' ἐκάτερον  
 τοῦ παντὸς περάτων τὴν σύστασιν, πανταχοῦ τῷ λογισμῷ  
 σου προαπαντᾷ ἢ θεότης, μόνη κατὰ πᾶν μέρος τοῖς οὖσι  
 ἐνθεωρουμένη καὶ ἐν τῷ εἶναι τὰ πάντα συνέχουσα. εἶτε  
 5 δὴ θεότητα τὴν φύσιν ταύτην ὀνομάζεσθαι χρῆ εἶτε λόγον  
 εἶτε δύναμιν εἶτε σοφίαν εἶτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ὑψηλῶν τε καὶ  
 μᾶλλον ἐνδείξασθαι δυναμένων τὸ ὑπερκείμενον, οὐδὲν ὁ  
 λόγος ἡμῶν περὶ φωνῆς ἢ ὀνόματος ἢ τύπου ῥημάτων  
 διαφέρεται. ἐπεὶ οὖν πᾶσα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἢ κτίσις βλέπει,  
 10 καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ δι' ἐκείνου πρὸς ἑαυτὴν συμφυῆς  
 γίνεται, τῶν ἄνω τοῖς κάτω καὶ τῶν πλαγίων πρὸς ἄλληλα  
 δι' ἐκείνου συμφυομένων, ἔδει μὴ μόνον δι' ἀκοῆς ἡμᾶς πρὸς  
 τὴν τῆς θεότητος κατανόησιν χειραγωγείσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τὴν ὄψιν γενέσθαι τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων νοημάτων διδάσκαλον,  
 15 ὅθεν καὶ ὁ μέγας ὀρμηθεὶς Παῦλος μυσταγωγεῖ τὸν ἐν  
 Εφέσῳ λαόν, δύναμιν αὐτοῖς ἐντιθεὶς διὰ τῆς διδασκαλίας  
 πρὸς τὸ γινῶναι τί ἐστὶ τὸ βάθος καὶ τὸ ὕψος, τό τε πλάτος  
 καὶ τὸ μῆκος. ἐκάστην γὰρ τοῦ σταυροῦ προβολὴν ἰδίῳ

4 θεωρουμένη f || 5 δη] δε dehn p || 6 om τι ε || 7 τον υπερκ. e] \*vid  
 vulg || 9 προς αυτον πασα l vulg || 17 το υψος] om το dhn p || 18 το μηκος]  
 om το f || προσβολην f συμπροβολην l \*vid vulg

3. προαπαντᾷ] 'everywhere your thought is preceded and met by the presence of Deity.' Cp. Ps. cxxxviii [cxxxix] 8—10.

7. τὸ ὑπερκ.] Cp. *prol.* εἶναι τινα δύναμιν τὴν...τοῦ παντὸς ὑπερκειμένην.

8. φωνῆς κ.τ.λ.] 'expression or title or form of phrase.'

10. περὶ αὐτόν] 'about Him,' i.e. by reason of the Divine immanence.

*ib.* συμφυῆς] lit. 'grown together with.' 'And through Him acquires union throughout, the parts above being, through Him, connected with those below, and the opposite sides with one another.'

13. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν] The

Cross teaches 'sublime thoughts' by the spectacle which it offers to the eyes.

15. ὅθεν] St Paul 'starts from' the spectacle of the Cross with its four projections. Eph. iii 18. Gr. has the same application in *in Chr. Resurr. Or.* i p. 624 (Migne). Cp. *Iren.* v 17. 4; *Rufinus Comm. in Symb. Apost.* § 14; *Aug. de Doctr. Chr.* ii 41 (62).

*ib.* μυσταγωγεῖ] 'initiates.' Cp. *Ign. Eph.* 12 Παῦλον συμμύσται τοῦ ἡγιασμένου. For the Christian application of terms which were used of the heathen mysteries see *Phil.* iv 12, *1 Cor.* ii 7 &c. Cp. also *Wisd.* viii 4. See further note on *μηθεῖσι* c. 33.



ρήματι κατονομάζει, ὕψος μὲν τὸ ὑπερέχον, βάθος δὲ τὸ ὑποκείμενον, πλάτος τε καὶ μῆκος τὰς πλαγίας ἐκτάσεις λέγων. καὶ σαφέστερον ἐτέρωθι τὸ τοιοῦτον νόημα πρὸς Φιλιππησίους, οἶμαι, ποιεῖ οἷς φησὶν ὅτι Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψει ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων 5 καὶ καταχθονίων. ἐνταῦθα τὴν μέσσην κεραίαν μιᾷ προσηγορίᾳ διαλαμβάνει, πᾶν τὸ διὰ μέσου τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ ὑποχθονίων ὀνομάσας ἐπίγειον. τοῦτο μεμαθήκαμεν περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τὸ μυστήριον. τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τοιαῦτα κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον περιέχει ὁ λόγος, ὡς ὁμολογεῖσθαι 10 καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀπίστων μηδὲν ἀλλότριον εἶναι τῆς θεοπροποῦς ὑπολήψεως. τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἐμμεῖναι τῷ θανάτῳ, καὶ τὰς διὰ τοῦ σιδήρου κατὰ τοῦ σώματος γενομένας πληγὰς μηδὲν ἐμπόδιον πρὸς τὸ εἶναι ποιήσασθαι, κατ' ἐξουσίαν τε φαίνεσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῖς μαθηταῖς, ὅτε 15 βούλοιο παρεῖναι τε αὐτοῖς μὴ ὀρώμενον καὶ ἐν μέσῳ

6 κεραϊαν] καιρεαν I<sup>\*vii</sup> και γαιαν vulg || 7 καταλαμβάνει I<sup>\*vii</sup> vulg λαμβανει h || 14 εἶναι] ἀναστῆναι l vulg || 15 τοῖς μαθ. μ. τ. α. l vulg

2. τὰς πλαγίας ἐκτάσεις] *'the extensions on each side,'* i.e. the two horizontal arms of the Cross.

3. ἐτέρωθι] Phil. ii 10.

6. τὴν μέσσην κεραίαν] *'the central cross-beam.'* Κεραία is used of the 'yard-arm' of a ship. Here it refers to the transverse beam which divides the upright beam of the Cross; hence it is called ἡ μέσση κεραία. Cp. πᾶν τὸ διὰ μέσου τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ ὑποχθονίων below. Gr. uses language closely resembling this in the passage already cited from c. *Eurom.* v p. 696 (Migne) where he says τὴν δὲ ἐγκάρσιον καθ' ἐκότερον κεραϊαν τῷ τοῦ μήκους τε καὶ πλάτους ὀνόματι διασημαίνων.

ib. μιᾷ προσηγορίᾳ] refers to ἐπιγείων, which includes acc. to Gr. both πλάτος and μῆκος.

9. τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου] The words τοιαῦτα κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον form a

kind of secondary predicate. *'The events which follow, as contained in the account, are so consistent in character, that even unbelievers &c.'* Κατὰ τὸ ἀκ. i.e. consistent with the character of a Divine Being.

10. ὡς] depends upon τοιαῦτα.

11. θεοπροποῦς ὑπολ.] Cp. c. 10 τὴν θεοπροπη διάνοιαν and c. 24 δεῖ γὰρ διὰ πάντων τὸ θεῖον ἐν ταῖς προπούσαις ὑπολήψουσιν εἶναι.

13. σιδήρου] Jn xix 34 [Mt. xxvii 49].

14. πρὸς τὸ εἶναι] *'offered no impediment to his existence.'* Gr. is thinking of the Resurrection life. The best MSS read εἶναι, while l and the Paris edd. have ἀναστῆναι, which is obviously a conjectural emendation.

16. μὴ ὀρώμενον] prob. a reference to Lk. xxiv 36, where the phrase ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν is also found.

γίγνεσθαι, μηδὲν τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς διὰ τῶν θυρῶν προσ-  
 δεόμενον, ἐνισχύειν τε τοὺς μαθητὰς τῇ προσφυσήσει τοῦ  
 πνεύματος, ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι τε καὶ τὸ μετ' αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ  
 μηδενὶ μέσῳ διατειχίζεσθαι, καὶ τῷ μὲν φαινομένῳ πρὸς  
 5 τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνιέναι, τῷ δὲ νοουμένῳ πανταχοῦ εἶναι, καὶ  
 ὅσα τοιαῦτα περιέχει ἡ ἱστορία, οὐδὲν τῆς ἐκ τῶν λογισμῶν  
 συμμαχίας προσδέεται πρὸς τὸ θεῖά τε εἶναι καὶ τῆς ὑψη-  
 λῆς καὶ ὑπερεχοῦσης δυνάμεως. περὶ ὧν οὐδὲν οἶμαι δεῖν  
 καθ' ἕκαστον διεξιέναι, αὐτόθεν τοῦ λόγου τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν  
 10 φύσιν ἐμφαίνοντος. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ μέρος τι τῶν μυστικῶν  
 διδαγμάτων καὶ ἡ κατὰ τὸ λουτρόν ἐστιν οἰκονομία, ὃ εἶτε  
 βάπτισμα εἶτε φῶτισμα εἶτε παλιγγενεσίαν βούλοιτό τις  
 ὀνομάζειν, οὐδὲν πρὸς τὴν ὀνομασίαν διαφερόμεθα, καλῶς  
 ἂν ἔχοι καὶ περὶ τούτου βραχέα διεξελθεῖν.

1 μηδεν] μηδε fl vulg || 6 λογισμων] λογων d || 8 om δειν e ||  
 10 εκφαινοντος l vulg || αλλ] exstant sqq in euth 457 || 11 κατα] περι  
 l vulg || 12 εἶτε φωτισμα om e\*

1. εἰσόδου] Jn xx 19.

2. προσφυσήσει] Jn xx 22.

3. τὸ μετ' αὐτῶν εἶναι] Mt. xxviii

20. The present inf. εἶναι reproduces the *εἶμι* of the Evangelist.

4. μηδενὶ μέσῳ] Cp. c. 6 πολλῶ τῷ μέσῳ (note).

4-5. τῷ μὲν φαινομένῳ...τῷ δὲ νοουμένῳ] 'to the eye...to the mind.'

5. ἀνιέναι] Acts i 9.

10. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ] Here Gr. passes on to the subject of the next section of his treatise, in which he deals with baptism. The whole of the following passage, as far as τὸ ἐπηγγελμένον οὐκ ἀμφιβάλλοντες in c. 34, is quoted in Euth. *Zig. Pan. Dogm.* tit. xxv pp. 1252 ff. (Migne).

*ib.* μυστικῶν δ.] 'a part of the doctrines of revelation.' Μυστικός refers to the earlier sense of μυστήριον, 'a revealed truth of the Christian religion.' Cp. c. 9 τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἀληθείας. There is no reference here to the other

sense of μυστήριον = 'a sacramental rite,' as sacraments have not yet been mentioned, and the καὶ before ἡ κατὰ τὸ λουτρόν κ.τ.λ. definitely connects what Gr. says with what precedes, i.e. the μυστήρια of the Incarnation and the Cross.

11. ἡ κατὰ τὸ λ...οικ.] 'the dispensation of the washings.' Cp. Eph. v 26, Tit. iii 5, the latter of which passages supplies also the word παλιγγενεσία.

12. φῶτισμα] Cp. Heb. vi 4, x 32. Cp. Justin *Ap.* i 61 καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λουτρόν φωτισμός, ὡς φωτιζομένων τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ταῦτα μανθανόντων. Similarly Gr. says, in *Bapt. Christi* p. 592 (Migne) ὅπου ὕδωρ τὸ μυστικόν, ἐκεῖ καὶ πνεῦμα τὸ ζωπυροῦν, τὸ θερμόν, τὸ πυροειδές, τὸ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καίον καὶ τοὺς πιστοὺς φωτίζον. For alternative titles of Baptism see Clem. Al. *Paed.* i 6 (p. 113, Potter), Greg. Naz. *Or.* xl p. 698.

33. Ἐπειδὴν γὰρ παρ' ἡμῶν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀκούσωσιν, ὅτι, τοῦ θνητοῦ πρὸς τὴν ζωὴν μεταβαίνοντος, ἀκόλουθον ἦν τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως ἐπὶ τὸν θνητὸν παραγούσης βίον ἐτέραν γένεσιν ἐξευρεθῆναι, μήτε ἀπὸ φθορᾶς ἀρχομένην, μήτε εἰς φθορὰν καταλήγουσαν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀθάνατον ζωὴν 5 τὸν γεγεννημένον παράγουσαν, ἕν', ὡσπερ ἐκ θνητῆς γενέσεως θνητὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸ γεγεννημένον ὑπέστη, οὕτως ἐκ τῆς μὴ παραδεχομένης φθορὰν τὸ γεννώμενον κρεῖττον γένηται τῆς ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου φθορᾶς· ἐπειδὴν οὖν τούτων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀκούσωσιν καὶ προδιδαχθῶσι τὸν τρόπον, 10 ὅτι εὐχὴ πρὸς θεὸν καὶ χάριτος οὐρανίας ἐπίκλησις καὶ

33. 4 γεννησιν euth 7 vulg || 6 γεγεννημενον dehp το γ. 1 || ιν ωσπερ] ωσπερ γαρ I vulg || γεννησεως I vulg || 7 γεγεννημ. hnp || 8 φθοραν] + γεννησεως fl vulg || 9 γεννηται] γεγεννηται d || om ουν I vulg || 10 προσδιδαχθωσι euth 45

## CHAPS. XXXIII—XL. THE SACRAMENTS.

### i. Chaps. XXXIII—XXXVI. On Baptism.

33. *Just as the natural birth is our introduction to this mortal life, so the new birth of baptism is our introduction to eternal life. The means by which this regeneration is effected is prayer to God, the invocation of Divine grace, water, and faith. If it be asked how these effect the beginning of a new life, it may be sufficient to reply that we do not understand how the natural process of generation effects the production of a human being. In either case the answer is the same. The result is due to the presence and working of the Divine Power, using natural means to effect some higher end.*

For Gr.'s treatment of Baptism see further his treatise in *Baptismum Christi*, esp. pp. 581, 584, 585 (Migne).

1. τὸ τοιοῦτον] explained by ὅτι.

The protasis is resumed by ἐπειδὴν οὖν τούτων, and the apodosis begins at δυσπειθῶς ἔχουσι.

2. πρὸς τὴν ζωὴν] i.e. to eternal life.

11. εὐχὴ π. θ.] Cp. Justin *Ap.* i 61 εὐχασθαί τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν προμαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται, ἡμῶν συνευχομένων καὶ συνηστευόντων αὐτοῖς.

*ib.* χάριτος οὐρ. ἐπίκλησις] Cp. in *Bapt. Christi* p. 584 (Migne) τὸ ὕδωρ οὐδὲν ἄλλο τυγχάνον ἢ ὕδωρ, ἀνακαυρίζει τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὴν νοητὴν ἀναγέννησιν, τῆς ἀνωθεν χάριτος εὐλογούσης αὐτό: de *Baptismo* p. 421 (Migne) πᾶν ὕδωρ ἐπιτήδειον εἰς τὴν τοῦ βαπτίσματος χρεῖαν, μόνον ἐὰν εὐρῆ πίστιν τοῦ λαμβάνοντος, καὶ εὐλογίαν τοῦ ἀγιαζοντος ιερῶς.

ὔδωρ καὶ πίστις ἐστὶ δι' ὧν τὸ τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως πληροῦται μυστήριον, δυσπειθῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον βλέποντες, ὡς οὐ συμβαῖνον τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ τὸ σωματικῶς ἐνεργούμενον. πῶς γάρ, φασίν, εὐχὴ καὶ δυνάμεως θείας 5 ἐπὶ κλησις ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος γενομένη ζωῆς ἀρχηγὸς τοῖς μνηθεῖσι γίνεται; πρὸς οὓς, εἴπερ μὴ λίαν ἔχοιεν ἀντιτύπως, ἀπλοῦς ἔξαρκεῖ λόγος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ δόγματος ἀγαγεῖν συγκατάθεσιν. ἀντερωτήσωμεν γάρ, τοῦ τρόπου τῆς κατὰ σάρκα γεννήσεως πᾶσιν ὄντος προδήλου, πῶς 10 ἄνθρωπος ἐκείνο γίνεται τὸ εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῆς συστάσεως τοῦ ζῶου καταβαλλόμενον. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδεὶς ἐπ' ἐκείνου λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ λογισμῶ τινὶ τὸ πιθανὸν ἐφευρίσκων. τί γὰρ κοινὸν ἔχει ὄρος ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὴν ἐν ἐκείνῳ θεωρουμένην

3 σωματικον e || 4 φησιν en || 5 γενομενη e || 6 μνουμενοις fl vulg || om μη vulg || 7 απλως e || 8 αντερωτησω μεν vulg || περι του τροπου p || 9 γεννησεως] + του dnp || 12 εξευρισκων l vulg euth 45 || 13 om εχει vulg || ορος] σπερμα l σπερματι vulg ορασις f || om θεωρουμενην d

2. μυστήριον] here approaches the sense of 'sacrament.' Cp. c. 34 τῆς μυστικῆς ταύτης οἰκονομίας.

ib. πρὸς τὸ φαιν.] i.e. τὸ σωματικῶς ἐνεργούμενον, which includes the ritual action, the material employed, and the formula of Baptism.

3. τῇ ἐπαγγ.] The grace promised in Baptism is a spiritual gift. How can the bestowal of such a gift be said to 'coincide with' the performance of an outward, bodily act? In *in Bapt. Christi* p. 581 (Migne) Gr. defends the sacramental principle by a different argument from that of the present chapter.

5. ζωῆς ἀρχηγός] Ἄρχ. is here used as an adjective. 'A source of life.'

6. μνηθεῖσι] Cp. c. 32 μυσταγωγεῖ (note). On the use of the words μέιν and μυστήριον with reference to the Christian Sacraments see Lightfoot's note on Ign. *Eph.* 12.

8. συγκατάθεσιν] Cp. c. 5 οὐκ ἔξω τῆς τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ἐστὶ συγκαταθέσεως (note).

9-10. πῶς ἄ. ἐκείνο γίν.] Cp. *in Bapt. Christi* p. 584 (Migne) πῶς ἡ ὑγρὰ καὶ ἄμορφος οὐσία ἀνθρώπου γίνεται; The same illustration is used by Justin (*Ap.* i 19) in treating of the resurrection of the body, and also by Methodius *de Resurr.* ii 20 (ed. Bonw. p. 235).

10. ἀφορμὴν] Cp. c. 5 πάντων αὐτῶ τῶν καλῶν τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐγκατασκεύασας (note).

11. καταβαλλ.] used of the sowing of seed in Plat. *Theaet.* 149. Cp. Heb. xi 11.

ib. ἀλλὰ μὴν] 'Yet surely in that case there is no principle which discovers by any process of calculation the probable cause.'

13. ὄρος] 'the definition' of a man. This is a common sense of the word in philosophical writers.

ib. ἐν ἐκείνῳ] i.e. τῷ σπέρματι.

ποιότητα συγκρινόμενος; ἄνθρωπος λογικόν τι χρῆμα καὶ  
 διανοητικόν ἐστι, νοῦ καὶ ἐπιστήμης δεκτικόν· ἐκεῖνο δὲ  
 ὑγρᾷ τινὲ ἐνθεωρεῖται ποιότητι, καὶ πλείον οὐδὲν τοῦ κατ'  
 αἴσθησιν ὀρωμένου καταλαμβάνει ἢ ἔννοια. ἦν τοίνυν  
 εἰκός ἐστιν ἀπόκρισιν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἐρωτηθέν- 5  
 των ὅτι πῶς ἐστὶ πιστὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου συστήναι ἄνθρωπον,  
 τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τῆς διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος γινομένης ἀναγεννήσεως  
 ἐρωτηθέντες ἀποκρινοῦμεθα. ἐκεῖ τε γὰρ πρόχειρόν ἐστιν  
 ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἠρωτημένων εἰπεῖν ὅτι θεία δυνάμει ἐκεῖνο 10  
 ἄνθρωπος γίνεται, ἥς μὴ παρούσης ἀκίνητόν ἐστιν ἐκεῖνο  
 καὶ ἀνεέργητον. εἰ οὖν ἐκεῖ οὐ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ποιεῖ  
 τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' ἡ θεία δύναμις πρὸς ἀνθρώπου φύσιν  
 μεταποιεῖ τὸ φαινόμενον, τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀν εἴη ἀγνωμοσύνης  
 ἐκεῖ τοσαύτην τῷ θεῷ προσμαρτυροῦντας δύναμιν ἀτονεῖν  
 ἐν τῷ μέρει τούτῳ τὸ θεῖον οἶεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν 15  
 τοῦ θελήματος. τί κοινόν, φασίν, ὕδατι καὶ ζωῇ; τί δὲ  
 κοινόν, πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐροῦμεν, ὑγρότητι καὶ εἰκόνι θεοῦ;

1 ποιότητα; συγκρινόμενος vulg συγκρινομένην f || 2 ο ἄνθρωπος vulg ||  
 2 ἐκεῖνα e || 3 θεωρεῖται dehn̄p euth || πλεον dehn̄p euth || 5 γενέσθαι ἡμῖν  
 l vulg ἡμῶν e γινεσθαι dhnp euth || 6 ἐξ ἐκείνου πιστὸν dehn̄p euth || 7 ὁμ  
 δια f || ὕδατος]+καὶ πνεύματος euth || γενομένης f || 8 ὁμ τε ehn || προχειρόν]  
 προτερον l vulg: rursus incipit g || 9 ἐρωτωμένων f || ἐκεῖνος l vulg || 10 ἐκεῖνο  
 a. e. e ὁμ ἐκεῖνο l vulg || 12 πρὸς] eis l vulg || 16 φησιν n || δε] δαι d ||  
 17 αὐτον f vulg

1. ποιότητα] 'quality.'

2. διανοητικόν] Cp. c. 6 τὴν  
 διανοητικὴν δύναμιν (note). The  
 definition of man as ζῶον λογικόν...,  
 νοῦ καὶ ἐπιστήμης δεκτικόν was a  
 common one. See Reid's note on  
 Cic. Acad. ii 21.

3. ποιότητι] a *dat.* of attendant  
 circumstances. For θεωρ. with an  
 adv. or adverbial clause, see c. 16  
 τὸ δ' ὅσον ... διεξοδικῶς θεωρεῖται  
 (note). 'Is seen to possess a quality  
 of moistness.'

4. ἦν τοίνυν] 'The reply then  
 which, it is probable, may be given  
 by those whom we asked how it is  
 credible.' The ὅτι is recitative, and

merely introduces the question πῶς  
 κ.τ.λ.

11. τὸ ὑποκείμενον] used here in  
 its Aristotelian sense of 'matter' as  
 opposed to 'form' = ὕλη. Cp. Arist.  
*Pol.* i 8. 2 λέγω δὲ ὕλην τὸ ὑποκεί-  
 μενον ἐξ οὗ τι ἀποτελεῖται ἔργον,  
 οἷον ὑφάνθη μὲν ἔρια, ἀνδριαντοποιῶ  
 δὲ χαλκόν. 'The matter does not  
 produce the man, but the Divine  
 power changes the visible thing into  
 a man's nature.'

14. ἀτονεῖν] fr. ἄτονος, 'slack,'  
 'relaxed'; hence 'to be powerless.'

15. ἐν τῷ μέρει] 'in this respect.'  
 See Lightfoot's note on Col. ii 16.

ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἐκεῖ τὸ παράδοξον, εἰ θεοῦ βουλομένου πρὸς τὸ τιμιώτατον ζῶον τὸ ὑγρὸν μεταβαίνει. τὸ ἴσον καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου φαμὲν μηδὲν εἶναι θαυμαστὸν εἰ θείας δυνάμεως παρουσία πρὸς ἀφθαρσίαν μετασκευάζει τὸ ἐν τῇ φθαρτῇ  
5 φύσει γενόμενον.

34. Ἀλλὰ ζητοῦσιν ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ παρεῖναι τὸ θεῖον ἐπὶ ἀγιασμῷ τῶν γινομένων καλούμενον. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο ζητῶν ἀναγνώτω πάλιν τὰ κατόπιν ἐξετασμένα. ἡ γὰρ κατασκευὴ τοῦ τὴν διὰ σαρκὸς ἡμῖν ἐπιφανεῖσαν δύναμιν  
10 ἀληθῶς θεῖαν εἶναι τοῦ παρόντος λόγου συνηγορία γίνεται. δειχθέντος γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθέντα,

4 φθαρτῇ] φθορα ε || 5 γεννωμενον d 34. 7 τω αγιασμω p αγιασμω  
vulg || γινομενων] τελουμενων f

2. τιμιώτατον ζῶον] a Platonic expression. Krab. quotes Plat. Legg. p. 766 A ἄνθρωπος δέ, ὡς φαμὲν, ἡμερον, ὅμως μὴν παιδείας μὲν ὀρθῶς τυχὸν καὶ φύσεως εὐτυχῶς θεότατον ἡμερώτατον τε ζῶον γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ.

4. τὸ ἐν τ. φ.] 'transforms what is born in a nature subject to corruption, into a state of incorruption,' i.e. by the regeneration of baptism.

34. What proof, it may be asked, have we of the presence of the Divine Being, when invoked in Baptism? To this Gr. replies that the miracles of the incarnate Christ shew that the Divine power has been present among men. Moreover God is a God of truth, and He has promised to be present with believers who call upon Him. Add to this the fact that the baptismal rite is preceded by the invocation of God through prayer, and we thus have more than sufficient proof of His operation in the sacrament. In human generation the Divine power acts through the human parents without any such invocation. In baptism there is the action of God's power, in accordance with His promise to be present in

this way, cooperating with the human will, and at the same time there is the help which comes through prayer. Such prayer, even if it does not effect an addition to the grace received, does not hinder its operation. The operation of grace then in baptism is due to the fact that He Who promised it is Divine, while His Divinity is shewn by miracles.

7. ἐπὶ ἀγιασμῷ τ. γ.] 'for the sanctification of the rite.' For ἐπὶ to denote purpose see c. 5 ἐπὶ τούτοις (note).

8. τὰ κατ. ἐξ.] 'our preceding investigations,' i.e. the argument by which Gr. has established the Divine nature of Christ in cc. 11, 12.

9. κατασκευή] 'proof,' cp. prol. κατασκευαῖς (note).

ib. τὴν διὰ σαρκὸς] Cp. c. 12 ἐπὶ τοῦ διὰ σαρκὸς ἡμῖν φανερωθέντος θεοῦ (note).

11. δειχθέντος] agrees with the substantival clause τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι κ.τ.λ., the whole forming a *gen. absolute*. Δείξαντα κ.τ.λ. forms a subordinate clause, dependent on τὸν...φανερωθέντα. The reading of *ehn* and *Euth.* is an attempt to simplify the construction. 'For when it

τοῖς διὰ τῶν γινομένων θαύμασι τὴν φύσιν ἑαυτοῦ δείξαντα, συναπεδείχθη τὸ παρεῖναι τοῖς γινομένοις αὐτὸν κατὰ πάντα καιρὸν ἐπικλήσεως. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκάστου τῶν ὄντων ἔστι τις ἰδιότης ἢ τὴν φύσιν γνωρίζουσα, οὕτως ἴδιον τῆς θείας φύσεώς ἐστιν ἢ ἀλήθεια. ἀλλὰ μὴν αἰεὶ 5 παρέσσεσθαι τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐπήγγελται, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πιστευόντων εἶναι, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι μένειν καὶ ἐκάστῳ συνεῖναι. οὐκέτ' οὖν ἂν ἑτέρας εἰς τὸ παρεῖναι τὸ θεῖον τοῖς γινομένοις ἀποδείξεως προσδεοίμεθα, τὸ μὲν θεὸν εἶναι διὰ τῶν θαυμάτων αὐτῶν πεπιστευκότες, ἴδιον δὲ 10 τῆς θεότητος τὸ ἀμίκτως πρὸς τὸ ψεῦδος ἔχειν εἰδότες, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀψευδεῖ τῆς ὑποσχέσεως παρεῖναι τὸ ἐπηγγελμένον οὐκ ἀμφιβάλλοιτες. τὸ δὲ προηγεῖσθαι τὴν διὰ

1 και δια τ. γ. θαυματων ehn euth θαυμασιων f || 4 ιδιοτης τις f || 5 ιδιον ε. τ. θ. φ. l vulg || 8 om ουν fl vulg και ουκετ l vulg om αν deglhp euth || 9 προσδεομεθα d || τον μεν vulg || 10 αυτον dhnp || πιστευοντες f || 10-11 ιδιον...ειδοτες om l\* vulg || 13 ουκ] μη f || αμφιβαλλοντες] desinit euth

was shewn that He Who was manifested in the flesh is God, seeing that He revealed His own nature by means of the wonders exhibited in the events of His life.'

2. συναπεδείχθη] The two arguments on which Gr. rests his proof of the operation of God through sacraments are: (1) the Incarnation has shewn that God's power has been at work among men. (2) Christ's promise to be present with the faithful and have special intercourse with them can be relied upon, because God is a God of truth. The present passage deals with the former of these. The latter is the subject of the following sentences.

ib. τοῖς γινομένοις] Cp. *supra* τῶν γινομένων. 'It was shewn that He is present at what is done every time that He is invoked.'

4. ἰδιότης] 'peculiarity.'

5. ἀλλὰ μὴν] 'well, then.'

ib. αἰεὶ παρέσσεσθαι] Mt. vii 7; Jn xiv 13, xv 7, 16, xvi 23.

6. ἐν μέσῳ] Mt. xviii 20, xxviii 20.

7. ἐν πᾶσι μένειν] Jn xv 4 foll.

8. συνεῖναι] 'have intercourse with.' Jn xiv 23.

12. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀψ.] 'that the thing promised is there in virtue of the unfailing truth of the promise.'

13. τὸ δὲ προηγ.] 'while the fact that the invocation by prayer precedes the Divine dispensation constitutes as it were a superabundance of proof.' Gr. means that the facts already cited are sufficient to prove the working of Divine grace, apart from the argument derived from the invocation of God by prayer. He illustrates his meaning by the analogy of human generation in which Divine power cooperates with human effort irrespective of such invocation.

τῆς εὐχῆς κλήσιν τῆς θείας οἰκονομίας περιουσία τίς ἐστὶ  
 τῆς ἀποδείξεως τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τὸ ἐνεργού-  
 μενον. εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου τῆς ἀνθρωποποιίας εἶδους  
 αἱ τῶν γεννώντων ὀρμαί, κὰν μὴ ἐπικληθῆῖ παρ' αὐτῶν  
 5 δι' εὐχῆς τὸ θεῖον, τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμει, καθὼς ἐν τοῖς  
 ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, διαπλάσσουσι τὸ γεννώμενον, ἥς  
 χωρισθείσης ἄπρακτός ἐστὶν ἡ σπουδὴ καὶ ἀνόνητος,  
 πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ πνευματικῷ τῆς γεννήσεως τρόπῳ,  
 καὶ θεοῦ παρέσεσθαι τοῖς γινομένοις ἐπηγγελμένου καὶ  
 10 τὴν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἐντεθεικότος τῷ ἔργῳ, καθὰ  
 πεπιστεύκαμεν, καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας προαιρέσεως πρὸς τὸ  
 σπουδαζόμενον τὴν ὀρμὴν ἐχούσης, εἰ συμπαραληφθεῖη  
 καθηκόντως ἢ διὰ τῆς εὐχῆς συμμαχία, μᾶλλον ἐπιτελὲς  
 ἔσται τὸ σπουδαζόμενον; καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ ἐπιφαῦσαι  
 15 τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῖς εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ οὐδὲν ἀμβλύνουσι τὸ  
 πάντως γινόμενον, οὐδὲ μὴν ἄχρηστον εἶναί τις φήσει τὴν  
 τῶν προσευχομένων σπουδὴν, εἰ περὶ τοῦ πάντως ἐσομένου  
 τὸν θεὸν ἰκετεύουσιν, οὕτως οἱ πεπεισμένοι κατὰ τὴν

4 παρ αυτοις f || 5 το θ. δι ευχης e om δι ευχης f || 8 γενεσεως deglhp ||  
 9 γινομενοις] βουλομενοις f γενομενοις l vulg || 10 καθως vulg || 14 γαρ] om  
 d δε l vulg || επιφαναι vulg || 15 εαυτοις e || 16 γινομενον] εσομενον fg<sup>1</sup> ||  
 18 πεπεισμ.] πεπιστευμενοι fl<sup>\*vid</sup> vulg

1. οἰκονομίας] here used of that part of the Divine 'plan' which relates to the use of sacramental means. Cp. *infra* τῆς μυστικῆς ταύτης οἰκονομίας.

5. ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν] in c. 33.

7. ἄπρακτος] 'their effort is inoperative and fruitless.'

10. καθὰ πεπιστ.] on the strength of such passages e.g. as Eph. v 25, 26.

12. εἰ συμπ.] 'if, at the same time, the help which comes through prayer be duly invited.'

14. καθάπερ κ.τ.λ.] The purpose of this illustration appears to be to shew that, even apart from any invocation to God to bestow His grace,

His Divine power and His promise to come in this way constitute sufficient proof of His presence in the rite of baptism.

*ib.* ἐπιφαῦσαι] a word found in Eph. v 14.

15. αὐτοῖς] = ἑαυτοῖς. For this reflexive use of the oblique cases of αὐτός see Lightfoot's note on Col. i 20.

16. πάντως] 'that which happens in any case.'

18. οὕτως οἱ πεπεισμένοι] Gr. has not fully expressed his thought in this sentence. We have to supply, with Glauber (quoted by Krab.), some such words as 'and make request to God.'



ἀψευδῆ τοῦ ἐπαγγειλαμένου ὑπόσχεσιν πάντως παρεῖναι τὴν χάριν τοῖς διὰ τῆς μυστικῆς ταύτης οἰκονομίας ἀναγεννωμένοις ἢ προσθήκην τινὰ ποιοῦνται τῆς χάριτος, ἢ τὴν οὖσαν οὐκ ἀποστρέφουσιν. τὸ γὰρ πάντως συνεῖναι διὰ τὸ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπαγγειλάμενον πεπίστευται· ἢ δὲ 5 τῆς θεότητος μαρτυρία διὰ τῶν θαυμάτων ἐστίν. ὥστε διὰ πάντων τὸ παρεῖναι τὸ θεῖον οὐδεμίαν ἀμφιβολίαν ἔχει.

35. Ἡ δὲ εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ κάθοδος καὶ τὸ εἰς τρεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἕτερον ἐμπεριέχει μυστήριον. 10 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν τρόπος οὐ τοσοῦτον ἐκ

4 συνεῖναι] om f εἶναι dg\* hnp παρεῖναι g<sup>1</sup> || 5 το] τον fh 35. 9 εἰς τρεῖς] om eis fg<sup>1</sup> vulg τρεῖς defg\* hnp

2. μυστικῆς...οἰκ.] 'through this sacramental dispensation.' For this use of *μυστικός* with reference to the sacraments cp. c. *Eunom.* xi p. 880 (Migne) τῇ τῶν μυστικῶν ἐθῶν τε καὶ συμβόλων κοινωνίᾳ τὴν σωτηρίαν κρατύνεσθαι. Similarly in *in Bapt. Christi* p. 581 (Migne) Gr. speaks of τῆς μυστικῆς πράξεως.

3. προσθήκην] i.e. by their prayers.

4. συνεῖναι] cp. *supra* ἐκάστῳ συνεῖναι.

5. ἢ δὲ τῆς θ. μαρτυρία] See *supra* and cc. 11, 12.

35. Gr. *noto* unfolds the inner significance of the rite of baptism. The redemptive acts of Christ, His Death and Resurrection, rather than His teaching, are the means by which man's salvation is effected. These must be reproduced or copied by His disciples. Baptism is the means by which we imitate what Christ did. The threefold immersion and rising again from the water represent the three days' burial and resurrection. But in our case the process of the resurrection is only accomplished in

stages, of which Baptism is the first. The imitation of Christ consists in the break with sin begun in baptism. The two things which contribute to the overthrow of sin are repentance and the copying of the death of Christ, so far as the poverty of our nature allows. Our rising again out of the water corresponds to Christ's rising from the tomb, and shows the ease with which Christ first, and mankind after Him, pass to their resurrection. The humble beginning made in baptism is a necessary prelude to our rising again to a blessed and divine life. For those who lack the purifying grace of baptism there will also be a resurrection, but in their case, in place of the washing of baptism, there is prepared the refining fire.

9. εἰς τρεῖς] Cp. ἐπὶ τρεῖς Acts x 16, xi 10. 'And the threefold immersion of the person in it.'

10. μυστήριον] The μυστήριον here is the inner teaching contained in the rite of baptism, which he expounds in this chapter.

τῆς κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν ὑφηγήσεως ἐνεργὸς γέγονεν ὅσον δι' αὐτῶν ὧν ἐποίησεν ὁ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑποστάς κοινωνίαν, ἔργῳ τὴν ζωὴν ἐνεργήσας, ἵνα διὰ τῆς ἀναληφθείσης παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ συναποθεωθείσης σαρκὸς ἴπαν 5 συνδιασωθῇ τὸ συγγενὲς αὐτῇ καὶ ὁμόφυλον, ἀναγκαῖον

1 κατα διαδοχην f\* vulg || 5 διασωθη f συνδιασωθηται vulg

1. κατὰ τ. διδ. ὑφ.] 'did not owe its effectiveness so much to instruction by way of teaching.' For ὑφήγησις, which is a Platonic word, see note on ὑφηγούμενον c. 4 sub fin. The words κατὰ τ. διδ. define the character of such 'instruction.' The essence of the Gospel lies, according to Gr., not so much in the verbal teaching of Christ, as in the redemptive acts of His life.

2. ὑποστάς κοιν.] For the idea that the Death and Resurrection of Christ were representative and corporate acts, in which He unites mankind with Himself, according to the teaching of St Paul (Rom. vi 3—11), cp. Ign. *Magn.* 5 δι' οὗ ἔαν μὴ ἀθαιρέτως ἔχωμεν τὸ ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος, τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν: *Smyrn.* 5 μέχρις οὗ μετανοήσωσιν εἰς τὸ πάθος, ὃ ἔστιν ἡμῶν ἀνάστασις. It is a special feature of the treatment of the Atonement in Athanasius. See e.g. *de Inc.* 8, 37; *c. Ar.* ii 7.

3. ἔργῳ...ἐνεργήσας] explanatory of ἐποίησεν. 'Seeing that He has made life an accomplished fact.' Ἔργῳ opposed to λόγῳ. Christ did not merely teach men how life could be found. He actually effected it in them through His assumption of human nature.

4. συναποθεωθείσης] Cp. c. 37 συναποθεωθῆ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, and for the idea see c. 25 κατεμίχθη πρὸς τὸ ἡμέτερον, ἵνα τὸ ἡμέτερον τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἐπιμιξία γένηται θεῖον. The idea of a θέωσις of human nature resulting from the Incarnation is

found as early as Irenaeus (iv *praef.* 3 fin., 38. 4). It appears in Clement and Origen, and is of common occurrence in Athanasius and later fathers. The scriptural starting point of the phrase is to be found in the two passages Ps. lxxxii (lxxxii) 6 and 2 Pet. i 4. Cp. also Eph. iv 17—24. By Athanasius it is frequently associated with the idea of immortality. He also has the expressions 'renew' and 'deify' *c. Ar.* ii 47, 'hallow' and 'deify' *c. Ar.* iii 39, 'adopt' and 'deify' *c. Ar.* i 39. In using such language, however, these writers carefully distinguish the Sonship of Christ from the adoption of Christians. See further on the history of the terms θέωσις and θεοποίησις Harnack *Hist. of Dogm.* (Eng. tr.) vol. iii 164 note 2; Inge *Bampton Lectures* p. 13 and App. C. pp. 356 ff. On the θέωσις of the Lord's humanity Origen says in *c. Cels.* iii 474 (*Philocal.* ed. Rob. p. 124) τὸ δὲ θνητὸν αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπινὴν ἐν αὐτῷ ψυχὴν τῇ πρὸς ἐκείνον οὐ μόνον κοινωνία ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνώσει καὶ ἀνακράσει τὰ μέγιστα φαμεν προσειληφέναι, καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου θεότητος κεκοινωνηκότα εἰς θεὸν μεταβεβληκέναι: and again *ibid.* τί θαυμαστὸν τὴν ποιότητα τοῦ θνητοῦ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ σῶμα προνοίᾳ θεοῦ βουληθέντος μεταβαλεῖν εἰς αἰθέριον καὶ θεῖον ποιότητα;

5. ὁμόφυλον] Cp. c. 5 ὡς οἰκείον ἑκατέρον καὶ ὁμόφυλον...τῷ μὲν τὸν ἀέρα, τῷ δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ εἶναι (note).

ἦν ἐπινοηθῆναί τινα τρόπον, ἐν ᾧ τις ἦν συγγένειά τε καὶ  
 ὁμοιότης ἐν τοῖς γινομένοις παρὰ τοῦ ἐπομένου πρὸς τὸν  
 ἡγούμενον. χρὴ τοίνυν ἰδεῖν ἐν τίσιν ὁ τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν  
 καθηγησάμενος ἐθεωρήθη, ἵνα, καθὼς φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος,  
 κατὰ τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν κατορθωθῆ τοῖς 5  
 ἐπομένοις ἢ μίμησις. ὥσπερ γὰρ παρὰ τῶν πεπαιδευ-  
 μένων τὰ τακτικὰ πρὸς τὴν ὀπλιτικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἀνάγονται  
 οἱ δι' ὧν βλέπουσιν πρὸς τὴν εὐρυθμὸν τε καὶ ἐνόπλιον  
 κίνησιν παιδευόμενοι, ὁ δὲ μὴ πράττων τὸ προδεικνύμενον  
 ἀμέτοχος τῆς τοιαύτης ἐμπειρίας μένει, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν 10  
 τρόπον τῷ πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡμῶν ἐξηγουμένῳ πάντως  
 οἷς ἴση πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶν ἡ σπουδὴ ὁμοίως ἐπάναγκες  
 διὰ μιμήσεως ἔπεσθαι, τὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ προδειχθὲν εἰς ἔργον  
 ἄγοντας. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πρὸς τὸ ἴσον καταντῆσαι πέρασ,  
 μὴ διὰ τῶν ὁμοίων ὁδεύσαντας. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ τὰς τῶν 15  
 λαβυρίνθων πλάνας διεξελλθεῖν ἀμηχανοῦντες, εἴ τις

3 καθιδεῖν f\* || 4 εθεωρηθη] επενοηθη e || 6 παιδενομενων g\* p || 7 ενα-  
 γονται efg<sup>1</sup> || 8 δι ων βλεπουσιν οι l<sup>1</sup> vulg om οι l\* g || 11 παντας h ||  
 14 αγαγοντας l\*<sup>vid</sup> vulg || καταρτισαι l\* vulg

1. ἐπινοηθῆναι] Cp. c. 22 τὸν δίκαιον τρόπον ἐπινοηθῆναι.

ib. συγγένεια] used here as little more than a synonym for ὁμοιότης.

2. ἐν τ. γιν.] 'in what is done by him who follows.' The reference is, of course, to the rite of baptism. Πρὸς τὸν ἡγ. depends on ὁμοιότης.

3-4. ἐν τίσιν...ἐθεωρήθη] Θεωρεῖσθαι as usual is a mere synonym for εἶναι or γίνεσθαι. For the expression εἶναι ἐν or γίνεσθαι ἐν cp. c. 1 ἐν ζωῇ...εἶναι.

ib. ὁ τῆς ζωῆς...καθηγ.] 'the Author of life.'

4. ὁ ἀπόστολος] Heb. ii 10. Gr., like Athanasius and Gregory of Nazianzus, includes the Epistle among those of St Paul.

5. κατορθωθῆ] lit. 'may be set right,' 'may be directed in accordance with.' Cp. Aesch. Cho. 512 δρᾶν κατάρθωσαι φρενί. Τοῖς ἐπ.

dat. of interest.

6. ὥσπερ γάρ] 'For as they who are trained by what they see into rhythmical and orderly movement are led on to skill in arms by trained tacticians.' Ἐνόπλιος is used of the metrical time adapted to the tune of a march. Cp. Ar. Nuθ. 651 ἐπαλοῦθ' ὁποῦς ἐστὶ τῶν ῥυθμῶν κατ' ἐνόπλιον. Hence it is used of a rhythmical movement.

11. τῷ...ἐξηγουμένῳ] i.e. Jesus Christ. Τῷ ἐξ. is governed by ἔπεσθαι. 'They who have an equal zeal for what is good must in like manner follow by way of careful imitation Him who conducts us to our salvation.'

16. λαβυρίνθων πλάνας] 'the windings of mazes.' Τῶν οἰκῶν shows that Gr. has in view some such building as the labyrinth of Minos of Crete.

ἐμπείρως ἔχουτος ἐπιτύχοιεν, κατόπιν ἐπόμενοι τὰς ποικί-  
 λας τε καὶ ἀπατηλὰς τῶν οἰκῶν ἀναστροφὰς διεξέρχονται,  
 οὐκ ἂν διεξελθόντες, μὴ κατ' ἔχνος ἐπόμενοι τῷ προάγοντι,  
 οὕτω μοι νόησον καὶ τὸν τοῦ βίου τούτου λαβύριθον  
 5 ἀδιεξίτητον εἶναι τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει, εἰ μὴ τις τῆς αὐτῆς  
 ὁδοῦ λάβοιτο δι' ἧς ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ γενόμενος ἔξω κατέστη τοῦ  
 περιέχοντος. λαβύριθον δέ φημι τροπικῶς τὴν ἀδιέξοδον  
 τοῦ θανάτου φρουράν, ἣ τὸ δέλαιον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γένος  
 περιεσχέθη. τί οὖν περὶ τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν  
 10 ἔθεασάμεθα; τριήμερον νέκρωσιν καὶ πάλιν ζωὴν. οὐκ-  
 οὖν χρή τι τοιοῦτον καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐπισηθῆναι ὁμοίωμα.  
 τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπίνοια δι' ἧς καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν πληροῦται τοῦ  
 παρ' ἐκείνου γεγονότος ἡ μίμησις; ἅπαν τὸ νεκρωθὲν  
 οἰκεῖόν τινα καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει χῶρον, τὴν γῆν, ἐν ἣ  
 15 κλίνεται τε καὶ κατακρύπτεται. πολλὴν δὲ πρὸς ἄλληλα  
 τὴν συγγένειαν ἔχει γῆ τε καὶ ὕδωρ, μόνα τῶν στοιχείων  
 βαρέα τε ὄντα καὶ κατωφερῆ, καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλοις μένοντα  
 καὶ δι' ἀλλήλων κρατούμενα. ἐπεὶ οὖν τοῦ καθηγουμένου  
 τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ὁ θάνατος ὑπόγειος κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν γέγονε  
 20 φύσιν, ἡ τοῦ θανάτου μίμησις ἡ παρ' ἡμῶν γινομένη ἐν τῷ  
 γείτονι διατυπῶνται στοιχείῳ. καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἄνωθεν  
 ἄνθρωπος ἀναλαβὼν τὴν νεκρότητα μετὰ τὴν ὑπόγειον

3 μη] ει μη 1<sup>1</sup> om 1\* || 6 om ο dhv || 7 ἀδιεξοδευτον εν || 8 φρουραν] φθοραν vulg || 9 om ημων 1\* vulg || 11 om τι deg\* hnp || 15 κλίνεται τε] και αναλευεται f om τε l vulg || 19 υπογειος] + και ehl vulg || 21 αποτυπ- vulg

6. ὁδοῦ] 'take to the same path.'  
 For this use of the *gen.* with λαμβάνειν see cp. Thucyd. iii 24 λαβόμενοι τῶν ὁρῶν.

ib. δι' ἧς] 'by which He who entered it succeeded in passing outside His environment.'

8. φρουράν] Cp. c. 23 ἐν τῇ τοῦ θανάτου φρουρᾷ. Kral. compares Plato *Phaed.* 62 B ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ ἐσμέν οἱ ἄνθρωποι.

ib. τοῦ ἀνθρώπου] here used of 'mankind' as a whole.

10. νέκρωσιν] 'a state of death.'

17. κατωφερῆ] = κάτω φερόμενα.

18. δι' ἄλλ. κρατ.] 'held by one another.'

21. διατυπῶνται] 'is represented in the neighbouring element.' Gr. has the same idea in *in Bapt. Christi* p. 585 (Migne) ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ συγγενὲς τῆς γῆς στοιχείῳ, τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐρχόμενοι, ἐκείνω ἑαυτοὺς ἐγκρύπτομεν, ὡς ὁ σωτὴρ τῇ γῆ.

ib. ὁ ἄνωθεν ἄνθ.] Jn iii 31, I Cor. xv 47.

22. ἀναλαβὼν] 'after He had assumed a state of death.'

θέσιν τριταῖος ἐπὶ τὴν ζῶην πάλιν ἀνέδραμεν, οὕτω πᾶς ὁ συνημμένος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος φύσιν ἐκείνῳ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ κατόρθωμα βλέπων, τὸ κατὰ τὴν ζῶην λέγω πέρας, ἀντὶ γῆς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπιχεάμενος καὶ ὑποδὺς τὸ στοιχεῖον ἐν τρισὶ περιόδοις τὴν τριήμερον τῆς ἀνα- 5  
στάσεως χάριν ἀπεμιμήσατο. εἴρηται δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ ἐν τοῖς φθάσασιν, ὅτι κατ' οἰκονομίαν ἐπήκται τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει παρὰ τῆς θείας προνοίας ὁ θάνατος, ὥστε τῆς κακίας ἐν τῇ διαλύσει τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκρυσίσεως πάλιν διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως σῶον καὶ 10  
ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἀκέραιον καὶ πάσης τῆς κατὰ κακίαν ἐπιμιξίας ἀλλότριον ἀναστοιχειωθῆναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ καθηγουμένου τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν τὸ τέλειον ἢ κατὰ τὸν θάνατον ἔσχευ οἰκονομία, κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον

3 βλέπει e || 4 επιχεομενος dp || 6 om το vulg || 9 ωστε] ως f vulg

3. κατόρθωμα] a philosophical term denoting 'right conduct' or 'duty.' On the patristic use of the word = 'a right action,' 'a good work,' see Suicer *Thesaurus*. So Krab. (following the Paris editors) translates here 'ad idem, quod ab ipso recte gestum est, intuens.' The word, however, seems here to be used in the simpler sense of 'a successful accomplishment.' 'Looking to the same successful issue.' So Oehler, 'in Aussicht auf das gleiche glückliche Werk.' Cp. c. 36 τῇ εὐκολίᾳ τοῦ κατορθώματος.

ib. τὸ κ. τ. ζ...πέρας] 'the goal, which is life.' For this use of κατὰ with the acc. as a circumlocution for the gen. see Blass *N.T. Gramm.* (Eng. tr.) p. 133.

4. ἐπιχεάμενος] 'having water poured upon him.' This is the force of the mid. Cp. *infra* τὸ ὕδωρ τρὶς ἐπιχεάμενοι. The word suggests affusion, rather than immersion. But ὑποδὺς which follows implies immersion.

5. περιόδοις] Gr. is thinking of the 'three separate times' that the

convert is immersed and rises again from the baptismal waters.

ib. τριήμερον] 'attained after three days.' Cp. *in Bapt. Chr.* p. 585 (Migne) τὴν τριήμερον ἑαυτοῖς τῆς ἀναστάσεως χάριν ἐξεικονίζομεν.

7. ἐν τοῖς φθάσ.] i.e. in c. 8. See also c. 16.

ib. κατ' οἰκονομίαν] 'by way of accommodation,' i.e. in view of the circumstances of man's Fall. 'Επήκται, 'introduced.'

10. ἐκρυσίσεως] Cp. c. 16 τῆς ἐμιμχθείσεως τῇ φύσει κακίας διὰ τῆς διαλύσεως ἡμῶν ἐκρυσίσεως.

11. ἀπαθῆ] 'free from passion.' 'Ἀκέραιον, 'pure.' Cp. Rom. xvi 19.

12. ἀναστοιχειωθῆναι] Cp. c. 8 πρὸς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κάλλος ἀναστοιχειώσει τὸ σκεῦος.

14. ἡ κ. τ. θ...οίκ.] Cp. c. 32 ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς κατὰ τὸν θάνατον οἰκονομίας. Gr. means that in Christ's death the purpose for which death was appointed was fully attained (τὸ τέλειον ἔσχευ). This is further explained in the following sentence διεστάλη τε γὰρ κ.τ.λ.

ib. κατὰ τ. ἰδ. σκοπόν] 'being

σκοπὸν ἐντελῶς πληρωθεῖσα. διεστάλη τε γὰρ διὰ τοῦ  
θανάτου τὰ ἠνωμένα καὶ πάλιν συνήχθη τὰ διακεκριμένα,  
ὡς ἂν καθαρθείσης τῆς φύσεως ἐν τῇ τῶν συμφυῶν  
διαλύσει, ψυχῆς τε λέγω καὶ σώματος, πάλιν ἢ τῶν  
5 κεχωρισμένων ἐπάνοδος τῆς ἀλλοτρίας ἐπιμιξίας καθα-  
ρεύουσα γένοιτο· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀκολουθούντων τῷ καθηγου-  
μένῳ οὐ χωρεῖ τὴν ἀκριβῆ μίμησιν δι' ὄλων ἢ φύσις, ἀλλ'  
ὅσον δυνατῶς ἔχει, τοσοῦτον νῦν παραδεξαμένη, τὸ λείπον  
τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα ταμιεύεται χρόνῳ. τί οὖν ἔστιν ὁ μιμείται;  
10 τὸ τῆς ἐμιχθείσης κακίας ἐν τῇ τῆς νεκρώσεως εἰκόνι τῇ  
γενομένῃ διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος τὸν ἀφανισμόν ἐμποιῆσαι, οὐ μὴν  
τελείως ἀφανισμόν, ἀλλὰ τινα διακοπὴν τῆς τοῦ κακοῦ  
συνεχείας, συνδραμόντων δύο πρὸς τὴν τῆς κακίας ἀναί-  
ρεσιν, τῆς τε τοῦ πλημμελήσαντος μεταμελείας καὶ τῆς  
15 τοῦ θανάτου μιμήσεως, δι' ὧν ἐκλύεται πῶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος  
τῆς πρὸς τὸ κακὸν συμφυίας, τῇ μεταμελείᾳ μὲν εἰς μίσός

4 om λεγω f || 5-6 γένοιτο καθαρυνουσα l om γένοιτο h || 8 νυν] + δυνατως  
f || 9 εν τω μετα l vulg || τεταμιευεται e || 10 επιμιχθεισης d || 11 εμφανισμον e ||  
13 δυοιν f vulg

completely fulfilled in accordance with its special aim.' For ἐντελῶς see note on ἐντελῆ c. 24.

1. διεστάλη] For the argument see c. 16, upon which the language of the present passage is largely modelled.

3. συμφυῶν] Cp. c. 16 ἀλλήλοις συμφυομένων.

7. οὐ χωρεῖ] 'our nature does not admit of.'

9. ταμιεύεται] 'what is lacking it stores up for (lit. 'in') the time to come.' For ταμιεύειν cp. c. 8 ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ τεταμιεύεται ἢ θεραπεία.

10-11. τὸ...ἐμποιῆσαι] The action here described is the answer to the preceding question τί...ἔστιν ὁ μιμείται; 'The effecting of the destruction of the evil mingled in our nature, represented in the image of mortification conveyed by the

water.' Διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος goes with γενομένη. The passing beneath the water is an εἰκὼν of mortification, just as the rising again is a type of the resurrection. Cp. *infra* τὴν σωτήριον ταφήν καὶ ἀνάστασιν...ὑποκρινόμεθα.

12. διακοπήν] It is not so much a complete destruction of sin, as 'a kind of break in the continuity of sin.' Διακοπή is lit. 'a gash' or 'cleft.'

14. μεταμελείας] 'repentance,' used here in the same sense as μετάνοια.

14-15. τ. τ. θ. μιμήσεως] Gr. means by this expression the baptismal imitation of the death of Christ. The complete 'death unto sin' is only ideally and not actually realized in baptism.

16. συμφυίας] Cp. συμφυῶν *supra* and c. 8 πολλὴν γεγενῆσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς τὸ κακὸν συμφυίαν.

τε καὶ ἀλλοτρίωσιν τῆς κακίας χωρῶν, τῷ δὲ θανάτῳ τοῦ κακοῦ τὸν ἀφανισμόν ἐργαζόμενος. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἦν δυνατὸν ἐν τελείῳ τῷ θανάτῳ γενέσθαι τὸν μιμούμενον, οὐδ' ἂν μίμησις, ἀλλὰ ταυτότης τὸ γινόμενον ἦν, καὶ εἰς τὸ παντελὲς τὸ κακὸν ἐκ τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἠφανίζετο, ὥστε, 5 καθὼς φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἐφάπαξ ἀποθανεῖν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ. ἐπεὶ δέ, καθὼς εἴρηται, τοσοῦτον μιμούμεθα τῆς ὑπερχούσης δυνάμεως ὅσον χωρεῖ ἡμῶν ἡ πτωχεία τῆς φύσεως, τὸ ὕδωρ τρίς ἐπιχεάμενοι καὶ πάλιν ἀναβάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος, τὴν σωτήριον ταφήν καὶ ἀνάστασιν τὴν ἐν τριημέρῳ 10 γενομένην τῷ χρόνῳ ὑποκρινόμεθα, τοῦτο λαβόντες κατὰ διάνοιαν ὅτι, ὡς ἡμῖν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστί, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἀναδύναί, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ἦν ὁ τοῦ παντὸς ἔχων τὴν δεσποτείαν, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ ὕδατι, οὕτως ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῷ 15 θανάτῳ καταδυεῖς, πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀναλύειν μακαριότητα. εἰ οὖν τις πρὸς τὸ εἶκός βλέποι καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ δύναμιν τὰ γινόμενα κρίνοι, οὐδεμίαν ἐν τοῖς

1 om τε f || 3 om τω h || 5 τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν το κακὸν l vulg || 6 ἀποθανη vulg || 9 ἀναβαινοντες f || 11 υποτυπουμεθα f<sup>g</sup>1<sup>1</sup> ἀποκρινόμεθα vulg (1\* rasuram habet) || 12 το ὕδωρ ἐν ἐξουσία l vulg || 14 τω...επεχοντι f<sup>1</sup> || 15-16 ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ] ἀθανατω e || 16 καταδυει f<sup>1</sup> || ἀναλυσαι f<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> || 17 om ἐν l vulg || 18 τα γιν. κρινοι δυναμιν f

1. ἀλλοτρ.] 'putting away of vice.'

3. τελείῳ] 'a death that was complete.' The adj. is used as a predicate.

6. ὁ ἀπόστολος] Rom. vi 10.

10. ταφ. καὶ ἀνάστασιν] Similarly Cyril of Jerusalem says *C. M.* ii 4, 5 κατεδυετε τρίτον εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀνεδυετε πάλιν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα διὰ συμβόλου τὴν τριήμερον τοῦ Χριστοῦ αἰνιττόμενοι ταφήν...οὐκ ἀληθῶς ἀπεθάνομεν, οὐδ' ἀληθῶς ἐτάφημεν, οὐδ' ἀληθῶς σταυρωθέντες ἀνέστημεν, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰκόνι ἡ μίμησις, ἐν ἀληθείᾳ δὲ ἡ σωτηρία. The basis of this exposi-

tion of baptism is of course Rom. vi 3—11.

11. τοῦτο] refers to what follows ὅτι κ.τ.λ.

ib. λαβ. κ. διάνοιαν] 'thus interpreting it with the mind.'

12. ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ] It was in the power of Christ to rise from the dead, just as it is in the power of man to rise out of the waters of baptism.

16. ἀναλύειν] 'return.' Cp. c. 23 τὴν τε τῶν τεθνηκότων ἐπὶ τὸν βίον ἀνάλυσιν (note) and c. 39 πρὸς εαυτὸν ἀναλύωιν.

γινόμενοις εὐρήσει διαφοράν, ἐκατέρου κατὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως μέτρον ἐξεργαζόμενου τὰ κατὰ δύναμιν. ὡς γὰρ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ ὕδωρ πρὸς τὸ ἀκινδύνως ἐπιθυγάνειν, εἰ βούλοιοτο, ἀπειροπλασίως τῇ θείᾳ δυνάμει κατ' εὐκολίαν 5 ὁ θάνατος πρόκειται, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ τραπήναι πρὸς πάθος. διὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι προμελετῆσαι τὴν τῆς ἀναστάσεως χάριν, ὡς ἂν εἰδείημεν ὅτι τὸ ἴσον ἡμῖν εἰς εὐκολίαν ἔστιν ὕδατί τε βαπτισθῆναι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου πάλιν ἀναδύναί. 10 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον γινόμενοις τινὰ τινῶν ἔστιν ἀρχηγικώτερα, ὧν ἄνευ οὐκ ἂν τὸ γινόμενον κατορ-

1 διαφωνίαν I\*vid vulg || κατα] προς f || 2 ἐπεργάζ- n ἐξεργασαμ- fl vulg || 4-5 ο θανατος κ. ε. f || 5 om ο vulg || 6 το παθος en || 6-7 το προ. εν υδατι αναγκαιον ημιν f || 7 om το ε || 10 γενομενοις fl vulg || 11 αρχικωτερα degnp || om ουκ vulg || αν] καν vulg

1. διαφοράν] The idea of Gr. is that in each case the result is in proportion to the capacity of each. Christ by His Passion and Resurrection effected a result proportionate to His supernatural character. Man by submitting to Baptism equally effects that which is within his capacity, i.e. such a death unto sin as he is capable of.

2. ἔστιν]=ἐξεστίν.

3. ἐπιθυγάνειν] A marginal note in *e* explains this as equivalent to ψαύειν, ἄπτεισθαι, while the margin of *p* has ἐγγίξειν. As used here it is a somewhat colourless term. 'Come in contact with.'

4. ἀπειροπλασίως] 'infinitely more,' strengthens κατ' εὐκολίαν.

ib. κατ' εὐκολίαν] 'with facility' or 'ease.' Εὐκολία is used by Plato (*Legg.* 942 D) of bodily agility. Logically ἀπειροπλασίως and κατ' εὐκολίαν are connected with γενέσθαι and μὴ τραπήναι, rather than with πρόκειται.

5. πρόκειται] 'is set before.' The

following infinitives γενέσθαι and μὴ τραπήναι are explanatory of πρόκειται.

ib. τραπήναι πρὸς πάθος] 'to suffer any change involving weakness.' Cp. the argument of c. 16.

7. προμελετῆσαι] Baptism is a representation in act or 'preparatory rehearsal' of the resurrection.

8. τὸ ἴσον...εἰς εὐκ.] Τὸ ἴσον modifies εἰς εὐκ. Cp. ἀπειροπλασίως κατ' εὐκολίαν *supra*.

9. ἀναδύναί] suggested by the rising from the immersion of baptism.

10. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ] Baptism, Gr. says, may seem a humble beginning of a process which finds its climax in a resurrection to a life of blessedness. Yet it is a necessary beginning, if that final state is to be attained, just as the humble beginnings of human life are a necessary stage in the production of a man.

11. ἀρχηγικώτερα] 'there are some things which are primary in comparison with others.'



θωθείη, καίτοι, εἰ πρὸς τὸ πέρας ἢ ἀρχὴ κρίνοιτο, ἀντ' οὐδενὸς εἶναι δόξει τοῦ πράγματος ἢ ἀρχὴ συγκρινομένη τῷ τέλει· τί γὰρ ἴσον ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν σύστασιν τοῦ ζώου καταβαλλόμενον; ἀλλ' ὅμως, εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνο εἶη, οὐδ' ἂν τοῦτο γένοιτο· οὕτως καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην 5 ἀνάστασιν, μείζον ὄν τῇ φύσει, τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἔχει· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ δυνατόν ἐκεῖνο γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο προκαθηγήσαιο. μὴ δύνασθαι δέ φημι δίχα τῆς κατὰ τὸ λουτρὸν ἀναγεννήσεως ἐν ἀναστάσει γενέσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ συγκρίματος ἡμῶν ἀνά- 10 πλασίιν τε καὶ ἀναστοιχείωσιν βλέπων· πρὸς τοῦτο γὰρ δεῖ πάντως πορευθῆναι τὴν φύσιν οἰκείαις ἀνάγκαις κατὰ

2 τα πραγματα d || 11 αναβλεποντες vulg || 12 δη παντως δει dgl\*<sup>vid</sup> δει παντως δει hnp

1. πρὸς τὸ πέρας] 'with reference to (or 'by comparison with') the end.' *ib.* ἀντ' οὐδενός] 'as good as nothing,' 'of no account.'

3. τί γάρ κ.τ.λ.] Cp. c. 33. 'What equality is there between a man and' etc.

4. ἐκεῖνο] refers to τὸ...καταβαλλόμενον, τοῦτο to ἄνθρωπος.

5. τὴν μεγάλην ἀν.] The words μεγάλην and μείζον contrast the resurrection with its symbolic beginning in baptism.

6. ἐντεῦθεν] i.e. from baptism.

9. κατὰ τὸ λουτρὸν] Cp. c. 32 *fin.* ἢ κατὰ τὸ λουτρὸν οἰκονομία.

10-11. οὐ...βλέπων] By the resurrection Gr. does not mean the general resurrection of all men resulting from the mere 'refashioning' and 'renewal' of the composite elements of man's being, which were dissolved in death. He means the restoration to the blessed and divine life (τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ μακάριόν τε καὶ θεῖον...ἀποκατάστασιν).

*ib.* συγκρίματος] Cp. c. 16 τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου συγκρίματος.

11. ἀναστοιχείωσιν] On the words ἀναστοιχειῶν and ἀναστοιχείωσις see

c. 8 (notes). They are used commonly by Gr. to denote the renewal of humanity through the Incarnation. Here, however, Gr. uses ἀναστοιχείωσις in a more general sense of the recombination of the elements of human nature, after the dissolution of death.

*ib.* πρὸς τοῦτο] This clause, as far as μνήσεως, is a parenthesis, explaining what he means by the general resurrection.

12. οἰκ. ἀνάγκαις] 'for to this our nature must in any case attain, impelled by its own fixed laws, in accordance with the plan of Him who so designed it.' Gr. means that the resurrection of mankind is due to the operation of natural laws, and distinct from the resurrection to a life of blessedness, which is the work of grace. Gr. assumes here, what he has already stated (cc. 5, 8), that man is by nature immortal. See esp. c. 8 ἡ νεκρότης οἰκονομικῶς περιέτεθη τῇ εἰς ἀθανάσιαν κτισθείσῃ φύσει.....τὸ αἰσθητὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μέρος διαλαμβάνουσα, αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς θείας εἰκόνας οὐ προσαπομένῃ.

τὴν τοῦ τάξαντος οἰκονομίαν συνωθουμένην, κὰν προσλάβῃ  
 τὴν ἐκ τοῦ λουτροῦ χάριν, κὰν ἄμοιρος μείνῃ τῆς τοιαύτης  
 μνήσεως· ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ μακάριόν τε καὶ θεῖον καὶ  
 πάσης κατηφείας κεχωρισμένον ἀποκατάστασιν. οὐ γὰρ  
 5 ὅσα δι' ἀναστάσεως τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ εἶναι πάλιν ἐπάνοδον  
 δέχεται, πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπάνεισι βίον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τὸ  
 μέσον τῶν τε κεκαθαρμένων καὶ τῶν τοῦ καθαρσίου  
 προσδεομένων ἐστίν. ἐφ' ὧν γὰρ κατὰ τὸν βίον τοῦτον  
 ἢ διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ προκαθηγήσατο κάθαρσις, πρὸς τὸ  
 10 συγγενὲς τούτοις ἢ ἀναχώρησις ἔσται· τῷ δὲ καθαρῷ  
 τὸ ἀπαθὲς προσφκείωται, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀπαθείᾳ τὸ μακάριον  
 εἶναι οὐκ ἀμφιβάλλεται. οἷς δὲ προσεπωρώθη τὰ πάθη  
 καὶ οὐδὲν προσήχθη τῆς κηλίδος καθάρσιον, οὐχ ὕδωρ  
 μυστικόν, οὐκ ἐπὶ κλησις θείας δυνάμεως, οὐχ ἢ ἐκ μετα-  
 15 μελείας διόρθωσις, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα καὶ τούτους ἐν τῷ  
 καταλλήλῳ γενέσθαι. κατάλληλον δὲ τῷ κεκιβδηλευ-

2 τὴν] τινα f || 3 μνήσεως d || 4 κεχωρισμενον] ἀπηλλαγμενην f<sup>1</sup> ||  
 9 om του f || 10 συγγενες] + ἡδη f || om η l\* vulg || 13 προηχθη l\* vulg ||  
 15 ὀρθωσις l\* vulg || 16 το κεκιβδηλευμενον χρυσιον f\*

3. μνήσεως] Cp. *antea* c. 33  
 μνηθείσι (note).

4. κατηφείας] Cp. James iv 9  
 (with Mayor's note).

5. ἐπὶ τὸ εἶναι] For this use of  
 εἶναι cp. c. 32 μηδὲν ἐμπόδιον πρὸς  
 τὸ εἶναι ποιήσασθαι.

6. τὸ μέσον] Cp. c. 6 πολλῶ  
 τῷ μέσῳ, and c. 32 μηδενὶ μέσῳ.

7. καθαρσίου] Cp. *antea* c. 27  
 τῷ καθαρσίῳ (note).

9. πρὸς τὸ συγγενές] explained  
 in what follows as τὸ ἀπαθές. Those  
 who have been purified by baptism  
 enter upon a life congenial (*συγ-*  
*γενές*) to their state. The appro-  
 priate state (*προσφκείωται*) for the  
 pure is freedom from passion. In  
 c. 6 Gr. speaks of man as originally  
*ἀπαθῆς τὴν φύσιν*. Man's nature  
 first became *ἐμπαθῆς* through the  
 Fall. Cp. *de An. et Res.* p. 148

(Migne), where he also says *πρὸς*  
*δὲ τὴν ἀπαθῆ μακαριότητα πάλιν*  
*ἀναδραμούσα οὐκέτι τοῖς ἐπακολου-*  
*θοῦσι τῆς κακίας συνενεχθήσεται.*

12. προσεπωρώθη] Cp. c. 8 ἐπι-  
 πωροῦται (note). 'But those whose  
 natures have become crusted over with  
 their passions.' The idea is that the  
 passions have formed a covering or  
 crust upon the heart. Cp. Rom. xi 7  
 (with Sanday and Headlam's note)  
 and 2 Cor. iii 14.

13. ὕδωρ μυστικόν] 'sacramental  
 water.' Cp. c. 34 τῆς μυστικῆς ταύτης  
*οἰκονομίας* (note).

15. διόρθωσις] 'amendment,' 're-  
 form' of life, resulting from peni-  
 tence.

*ἢ. ἐν τῷ καταλλήλῳ γεν.*] 'should  
 be in their appropriate place.'

16. κατάλληλον] The appropriate  
 place for gold which is adulterated

μένω χρυσίω τὸ χωνευτήριον, ὡς τῆς ἐμμιχθείσης αὐτοῖς κακίας ἀποτακείσης μακροῖς ὕστερον αἰῶσι καθαρὰν ἀποσωθῆναι τῷ θεῷ τὴν φύσιν. ἐπεὶ οὖν ῥυπτικὴ τίς ἐστὶ δύναμις ἐν τῷ πυρὶ καὶ τῷ ὕδατι, οἱ διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ μυστικοῦ τὸν τῆς κακίας ῥύπον ἀποκλυσάμενοι τοῦ 5 ἐτέρου τῶν καθαρσίων εἶδους οὐκ ἐπιδέονται· οἱ δὲ ταύτης ἀμύητοι τῆς καθίρσεως ἀναγκαίως τῷ πυρὶ καθαρίζονται.

36. Μὴ γὰρ εἶναι δυνατὸν ὅ τε κοινὸς δείκνυσι λόγος καὶ ἡ τῶν γραφῶν διδασκαλία ἐντὸς τοῦ θείου γενέσθαι 10 χοροῦ τὸν μὴ καθαρῶς πάντας τοὺς ἐκ κακίας σπίλους ἀπορρυψάμενον. τοῦτό ἐστιν ὃ μικρὸν ὄν καθ' ἑαυτὸ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἀρχὴ τε καὶ ὑπόθεσις γίνεται. μικρὸν

1 ως] ὡστε gl<sup>1</sup> || 2 om καθαρὰν d || 8 καθαρίζονται] παραδίδονται f  
36. 11 τον] το n || εκ της κακίας f

is the refiner's furnace. For the idea see c. 26 (notes). Gr. is speaking of a purification which follows the resurrection, not of a purgatory in some intermediate state between death and the resurrection. The *κάθαρσις* of which he speaks refers only to those who have not passed through the waters of baptism. He nowhere states that the baptized person has to enter the *χωνευτήριον*. For the source of the idea see the passage of Origen quoted in the notes on c. 26. Other passages in Gr. dealing with the subject are *de An. et Res.* pp. 100, 152, 157, 160 (Migne), *de Mortuis* p. 524 (Migne).

1. *χωνευτήριον*] 'a smelting furnace.' The word is used of the refiner's furnace in Malachi iii 2 (LXX), a passage which was probably in Gr.'s mind.

2. *μακροῖς ὕστ. αἰῶσι*] Cp. c. 26 *ταῖς μακραῖς περιόδοις* (note).

3. *ἀποσωθῆναι*] Cp. c. 26. See further *Or. in illud Tunc ipse filius* (of doubtful authorship) p. 1316

(Migne) and passages quoted *supra*.

36. *A complete purification from the stains of sin is necessary before man can enter the company of the blessed. The means of effecting this provided by baptism may seem insignificant and easy of performance. The efficacy of baptism however depends on the immanence of God, His special presence when invoked, and His activity in succouring the needy. The means by which baptism is effected is faith and water. The one is within the power of our wills, the other is an element closely connected with human life. The blessing which results from baptism is nothing less than kinship with God.*

9. *κοινὸς...λόγος*] 'the general reason' of mankind, 'common sense.' Cp. c. 5 *τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν*.

10-11. *θελοῦ...χοροῦ*] i.e. the company of the blessed.

13. *ἀρχὴ τ. κ. ὑπόθεσις*] Cp. c. 6 *ἡ ἀπάθεια τῆς κατ' ἀρετὴν ζωῆς ἀρχὴ καὶ ὑπόθεσις γίνεται* (note).

δέ φημι τῇ εὐκολίᾳ τοῦ κατορθώματος. τίς γὰρ πάρεστι  
 πόνος τῷ πράγματι, πιστεῦσαι πανταχοῦ τὸν θεὸν εἶναι,  
 ἐν πᾶσι δὲ ὄντα, παρεῖναι καὶ τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τὴν  
 ζωτικὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν, παρόντα δὲ τὸ οἰκεῖον ποιεῖν;  
 5 ἴδιον δὲ τῆς θείας ἐνεργείας ἢ τῶν δεομένων ἐστὶ σωτηρία.  
 αὕτη δὲ διὰ τῆς ἐν ὕδατι καθάρσεως ἐνεργὸς γίνεται. ὁ δὲ  
 καθαρθεὶς ἐν μετουσίᾳ τῆς καθαρότητος ἔσται, τὸ δὲ  
 ἀληθῶς καθαρὸν ἢ θεότης ἐστίν. ὀρᾶς ὅπως μικρὸν τι  
 τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐστὶ καὶ εὐκατόρθωτον, πίστις καὶ  
 10 ὕδωρ, ἢ μὲν ἐντὸς τῆς προαιρέσεως ἡμῶν ἀποκειμένη, τὸ  
 δὲ σύντροφον τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ ζωῇ. ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκ τούτων  
 ἀναφνόμενον ἀγαθὸν ὅσον καὶ οἶον, ὡς πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ θεῖον  
 ἔχειν τὴν οἰκειότητα.

3 ἐν τοῖς ἐπι. f || 7 καθαρῖσθεῖς | vulg

1. κατορθώματος] Cp. c. 35  
 κατόρθωμα (note). 'I call it small  
 owing to the ease with which it is  
 successfully done.' Cp. εὐκατόρθωτον  
*infra*.

ib. τίς γάρ] There can be no  
 difficulty, Gr. maintains, for the  
 baptized person in believing that  
 God is present in the baptismal  
 rite. In what follows he sum-  
 marizes the arguments of cc. 33, 34.

4. τὸ οἰκεῖον] 'that which befits  
 His character,' explained in what  
 follows as ἢ τῶν δεομένων σωτηρία.  
 Gr. has used the same argument  
 before. Cp. c. 27 ἐν πρέπον ἐστὶ  
 τῷ θεῷ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν τὸν δεόμενον.

6. αὕτη] sc. ἡ σωτηρία. The  
 purification effected in Baptism is  
 the means by which the convert  
 enters upon a state of σωτηρία. This  
 σωτηρία is defined below as πρὸς

αὐτὸ τὸ θεῖον ἔχειν τὴν οἰκειότητα.  
 The process is of course only  
 ideally complete in baptism. Hence  
 Gr. uses ἔσται, not ἐστίν, in the next  
 sentence.

9. εὐκατόρθωτον] 'easily effected.'  
 Cp. *supra* τῇ εὐκολίᾳ τοῦ κατορθώ-  
 ματος.

10. τὸ δὲ σύντροφον] 'while the  
 other is intimately associated with  
 man's life.' For σύντροφος cp. c. 23  
 πρὸς τὸ σύντροφόν τε καὶ συγγενὲς  
 αὐτῷ βλέπων. For the idea cp.  
*in Bapt. Christi* p. 581 B (Migne)  
 σύνθετος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ οὐχ ἀπλοῦς  
 ...καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῷ διπλῷ καὶ συνε-  
 ζευγμένῳ τὰ συγγενῇ καὶ ὁμοία φάρ-  
 μακα πρὸς θεραπείαν ἀπεκληρώθη·  
 σώματι μὲν τῷ φαινομένῳ, ὕδωρ τὸ  
 αἰσθητὸν· ψυχῇ δὲ τῇ ἀοράτῳ, Πνεῦμα  
 τὸ ἀφανές, πίστει καλούμενον, ἀρρή-  
 τως παραγιγνόμενον.

37. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ διπλοῦν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, ψυχῇ τε καὶ σώματι συγκεκραμένον, δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἀνάγκη τοῦ πρὸς τὴν ζῶν κατηγουμένου τοὺς σωζομένους ἐφάπτεσθαι. οὐκοῦν ἡ ψυχὴ μὲν διὰ πίστεως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνακραθεῖσα

37. 2-3 ἀνάγκη...δι ἀμφοτερων τους σωζ. vulg || τω...κατηγουμενω | vulg || 3 ἐφεπεσθαι fl\* vulg

## ii. Chap. XXXVII. On the Eucharist.

37. *In Baptism the soul is knit to God by faith. But the body too needs grace. The means by which the body is brought into union with the Author of salvation is the Eucharist. The antidote to the poison which has corrupted the body must, like the poison which it counteracts, be distributed through the body. Thus it is that the Body of Christ which was made immortal by God enters into our body and wholly transforms it. The means by which this is effected is eating and drinking. But how can the one body be given whole to thousands of believers? A study of the nature of the body supplies an answer. The human body retains its bulk by the continual influx of nourishment. Food and drink become the 'body' and 'blood' of man. The Word of God Himself, when on earth, received nourishment from bread and wine, while His Body also by its union with the Word was raised to the dignity of Godhead. In like manner the bread which is consecrated by the Word of God is transformed, no longer by eating, but immediately, into His Body by the Word. In the same way we may explain how the wine becomes the Blood of Christ. Thus He plants Himself in the bodies of the faithful that they may partake of incorruption.* Gr.'s treatment of the Eucharist should be compared with

the contemporary language of Ambrose *de Myst.* cc. viii—ix, and with the later teaching of John of Damascus *de Fid. Orth.* iv 13, which shews clear traces of the influence of this chapter. For a discussion of the language of the present chapter see Harnack *Hist. of Dogma* (Eng. tr.) vol. iv pp. 294 ff. Cp. also Schwane *Dogmengesch.* vol. ii pp. 780 ff., Neander *Ch. Hist.* (Bohn) iv 438 ff. Other passages in which Gr. refers to the Eucharist are in *Bapt. Christi* p. 581 (Migne), in *Chr. resurr. Or.* i p. 612 (Migne), *de Vita Moysis* p. 368 (Migne), *de perf. Christi* p. 268 (Migne).

1. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ διπλ.] In the preceding chapters Gr. has shewn the efficacy of baptism as a cleansing of the soul from sin. He now proceeds to discuss the provision made for the redemption of the body.

3. ἐφάπτεσθαι] 'lay hold of.' This reading is preferable to the reading τῷ...κατηγουμένῳ...ἐφέπεσθαι which is found in *f.* Fronto Ducaeus cites Chrys. *Hom.* 82 (83) in *Matt.* T. vii p. 787 D (ed. Montfaucon) εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀσώματος εἰ, γυμνὰ ἂν αὐτὰ σοι τὰ ἀσώματα παρέδωκε δῶρα· ἐπεὶ δὲ σώματι συμπλέκεται ἡ ψυχὴ, ἐν αἰσθητοῖς τὰ νοητά σοι παραδίδωσι.

4. ἀνακραθεῖσα] Cp. c. 11 κατακινῶνται and *ibid.* ἀνακράσεως (notes).

τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐντεῦθεν τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχει· ἡ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν  
ζωὴν ἔνωσις τὴν τῆς ζωῆς κοινωνίαν ἔχει· τὸ δὲ σῶμα  
ἕτερον τρόπον ἐν μετουσίᾳ τε καὶ ἀνακράσει τοῦ σώζοντος  
γίνεται. ὡσπερ γὰρ οἱ δηλητήριον δι' ἐπιβουλῆς λαβόντες  
5 ἄλλω φαρμάκῳ τὴν φθοροποιὸν δύναμιν ἔσβεσαν, χρὴ δὲ  
καθ' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ ὀλεθρίου καὶ τὸ ἀλεξητήριον ἐντὸς τῶν  
ἀνθρωπίνων γενέσθαι σπλάγχχνων, ὡς ἂν δι' ἐκείνων ἐφ'  
ἅπαν καταμερισθεῖη τὸ σῶμα ἢ τοῦ βοηθοῦντος δύναμις,  
οὕτω τοῦ διαλύοντος τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν ἀπογευσίμενοι  
10 πάλιν ἀναγκαίως καὶ τοῦ συνάγοντος τὸ διαλελυμένον  
ἐπεδεύθημεν, ὡς ἂν ἐν ἡμῖν γινόμενον τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀλεξη-  
τήριον τὴν προεντεθείσαν τῷ σώματι τοῦ δηλητηρίου  
βλάβην διὰ τῆς οἰκείας ἀντιπαθείας ἀπόσωιτο. τί οὖν  
ἐστι τοῦτο; οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ἐκείνο τὸ σῶμα ὃ τοῦ τε

2 ενωσις] γνωσις f || 4 ωσπερ] exstant seqq in euth 3457 || 6 om και f ||  
αλεξιτηριον euth 7 vulg αλεξιτηριον e || 6-7 εν τοις των ανθρωπων γενεσθαι  
σπλαγχνοις f || 8 μερισθειη d || 10 αναγκαιον ως l\*vid vulg || 11 αλεξιτηριον  
hl euth 7 vulg αλεξιφαρμακον e

2. τὸ δὲ σῶμα] The antithesis suggests that the Eucharist is regarded mainly as a principle of life for the body. For the view held as to the effects of the Eucharist on the body see Iren. *adv. Haer.* iv 18. 4. Cyril of Jer. *C. M.* iv 1, 3, v 9, 15. A similar view may possibly be implied in Ign. *Eph.* 20 ἕνα ἄρτον κλώντες, ὃ ἐστὶν φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν κ.τ.λ. The starting point of such language is Jn vi 54, 58.

4. ὡσπερ γάρ] The remainder of the chapter is reproduced in Euthym. *Zig. Pan. Dogm.* Tit. xxv pp. 1262 ff. (Migne), and in *Theoriantī disputatio cum Nersete* (Mai *Script. Vett.* vi 366 sq.).

ἰβ. δηλητήριον] Gr. has used the same illustration in a different connexion in c. 26.

ἰβ. δι' ἐπιβουλῆς] Cp. ὁ ἐπιβουλεύων c. 26.

5. ἔσβεσαν] a gnomic aorist.

7. σπλάγχχνων] 'the vital organs' of the body of man.

ἰβ. δι' ἐκείνων] i.e. τῶν σπλάγχχνων. The antidote is distributed by means of the vital organs throughout the whole body.

9. τοῦ διαλύοντος τὴν φύσιν] i.e. τοῦ θανάτου. Cp. *de Hom. Orif.* c. 20 ἡ δὲ βρώσις ἐκείνη θανάτου μήτηρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γέγονεν. The ref. in ἀπογευσίμενοι is to the story in Genesis iii. On the dissolution of human nature resulting from the Fall see c. 8.

11-13. ὡς...ἀπόσωιτο] For this use of the *fut. opt.* in a final clause see Goodwin *Greek Moods* p. 39.

12. προεντεθείσαν] 'the mischief already introduced into the body by the deadly drug.'

13. ἀντιπαθείας] 'the reaction' of the antidote upon the poison.

θανάτου κρείττον ἐδείχθη καὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῖν κατήρξατο. καθάπερ γὰρ μικρὰ ζύμη, καθὼς φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ὅλον τὸ φύραμα πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἐξομοιοῖ, οὕτως τὸ ἀθανατισθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σῶμα ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ γενόμενον ὅλον πρὸς ἑαυτὸ μεταποιεῖ καὶ μετατίθησιν. ὡς γὰρ τῷ φθοροποιῷ 5 πρὸς τὸ ὑγιαῖνον ἀναμιχθέντι ἅπαν τὸ ἀνακραθὲν συνηχρεῖται, οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἀθάνατον σῶμα ἐν τῷ ἀναλαβόντι αὐτὸ γενόμενον πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν καὶ τὸ πᾶν μετεποίησεν. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως ἐντός τι γενέσθαι

1 ημων ehl euth 457 vulg || προκατηρξατο euth 345 || 3 αυτην e || συνεξομοιοι eghlp || θανατισθεν 1\* vulg αποθανατισθεν f || 4 ομ του f || 5-6 του φθοροποιου...αναμιχθεντος l vulg || 6 συνηχρειωθη fg<sup>1</sup> || 8 ομ και euth || 9 γινεσθαι fl γιγν- vulg

1. κατήρξατο] ‘became the source of life.’

2. ὁ ἀπόστολος] 1 Cor. v 6. For ζυμοῖ Gr. substitutes πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἐξομοιοῖ, ‘assimilates to itself.’

3. ἀθανατισθέν] For the idea cp. *infra* ὁ δὲ φανερωθεὶς θεὸς διὰ τοῦτο κατέμιξεν ἑαυτὸν τῇ ἐπικήρῳ φύσει, ἵνα τῇ τῆς θεότητος κοινωνία συναποθεωθῇ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον. Prob. in both passages the main benefit which Gr. connects with the Eucharist is that of immortality. Cp. Ign. *Eph.* 20 (quoted above). See further note on *συναποθεωθείσης* c. 35.

5. μεταποιεῖ] ‘transmutes and translates.’ On Gr.’s use in the present chapter of the words *μεταποιεῖν*, *μετατιθέναι*, *μεθιστάναι*, and *μεαστοιχειοῦν* see Pusey *Doctr. of Real Presence from the Fathers* p. 162 ff. *Μεταποιεῖν* is used (1) in the present passage and in the following sentence of the transformation of our bodies by union with the immortal Body of Christ: (2) of the transformation of the Lord’s human Body to a Divine dignity by the indwelling of the Word. See *infra* τὸ δὲ σῶμα τῇ ἐνοικήσει τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου πρὸς τὴν θεϊκὴν ἀξίαν μετεποιήθη: (3) of the

assimilation of bread by our Lord to His human Body, *infra* ὁ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ σώματι μεταποιηθεὶς ἄρτος: (4) of the sacramental change of the elements, *infra* τὸν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἁγιαζόμενον ἄρτον εἰς σῶμα τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου μεταποιεῖσθαι πιστεύομεν, and again ὁ ἄρτος...εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸ σῶμα διὰ τοῦ λόγου μεταποιούμενος: (5) of the transmutation of the wine in our bodies into heat, *infra*: (6) of the change effected by baptism in the regenerate. Cp. c. 40. This variety of usage forbids us to attach to the word any particular idea of the kind of change denoted. The context alone must decide its force in each case.

*ib.* μετατίθησιν] used here as practically a synonym of *μεταποιεῖν*.

*ib.* ὡς γάρ] ‘for as when a deadly drug is mixed with a healthy body, the whole of what is mingled with it becomes as worthless as the drug.’ Gr. returns to his illustration. The *dat.* is governed by the *σύν* in *συνηχρ.* τὸ ἀνακρ. is the body which has assimilated the drug. Gr.’s point is that as the deadly drug affects the whole body into which it is infused, so the immortal Body affects the whole body of him who receives it.

9. ἀλλὰ μὴν] The remedy for

τοῦ σώματος, μὴ διὰ βρώσεως καὶ πόσεως τοῖς σπλάγχνοις  
καταμιγνύμενον. οὐκοῦν ἐπάναγκες κατὰ τὸν δυνατὸν τῇ  
φύσει τρόπον τὴν ζωοποιὸν δύναμιν τῷ σώματι δέξασθαι.  
μόνου δὲ τοῦ θεοδόχου σώματος ἐκείνου ταύτην δεξαμένου  
5 τὴν χάριν, ἄλλως δὲ δειχθέντος μὴ εἶναι δυνατὸν ἐν  
ἀθανασίᾳ γενέσθαι τὸ ἡμέτερον σῶμα, μὴ διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸ  
ἀθάνατον κοινωνίας ἐν μετουσίᾳ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας γινόμενον,  
σκοπῆσαι προσήκει, πῶς ἐγένετο δυνατὸν τὸ ἐν ἐκείνῳ  
σῶμα ταῖς τοσαύταις τῶν πιστῶν μυριάσι κατὰ πᾶσαν  
10 τὴν οἰκουμένην εἰς αἰὲ καταμεριζόμενον ὅλον ἐκάστου διὰ  
τοῦ μέρους γίνεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸ μένειν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅλον.  
οὐκοῦν ὡς ἂν πρὸς τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἡμῖν ἢ πίστις βλέπουσα

1 και] η deghnp euth 35 || 3 τω σωματι] του πνευματος l vulg || 4 μονον  
vulg || 6 ει μη l vulg || 7 γενομενον eg<sup>1</sup> || 8 εν εκεινω g<sup>1</sup> || 10 οικουμενην]  
desunt seqq in f || μεριζομενον g\* || εν εκαστω g<sup>1</sup> vulg || 11 γενεσθαι l euth  
5 vulg || εαυτω euth εαυτο g\* p

the body can only be applied to it, Gr. argues, through the processes of eating and drinking.

2. κατὰ τ. δ...τρόπον] i.e. διὰ βρώσεως καὶ πόσεως.

3. τῷ σώματι] dependent on ἐπάναγκες, 'necessary for the body.'

4. ταύτην...τ. χάριν] i.e. τὴν ζ. δύναμιν. Cp. *supra* ἐκείνο τὸ σῶμα, δ τοῦ θανάτου κρείττον ἐδείχθη καὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῖν κατήρξατο.

8. πῶς ἐγένετο] Gr. asks how it was possible for the one Body of Christ to become in its entirety the possession of multitudes of believers through the portion received by each, and yet remain an undivided whole. His subsequent treatment of the Eucharist is intended as an answer to this question, and is accordingly limited in its scope.

10. ἐκάστου] The mss are divided between ἐν ἐκάστῳ and ἐκάστου. The former is probably a correction. With ἐν ἐκάστῳ translate 'enters whole into each recipient through the part given.' For the phrase γίνεσθαι

ἐν cp. *antea* c. 1 p. 9 (note). With ἐκάστου translate 'becomes in its entirety the possession of each recipient through the portion received.' Similarly Zinus, the Latin interpreter of Euthymius (ed. 1555), translates 'totum cuiusque per partem evadat.' Gr.'s idea appears to be that, as the Body of Christ is one and undivided, the recipient, although he receives only a portion, becomes through that portion possessor of the whole. There is no idea, as in some later discussions, that 'totus Christus' is present under each species, and under each particle of the species of bread and wine. See Franzelin *de SS. Eucharistia* pp. 155 sq.

11. μένειν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ] For the constr. μένειν ἐπὶ τινος cp. c. 39 ἐπὶ τῆς τελειότητος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μένον ἀεί.

12. πρὸς τὸ ἀκόλουθον] 'with a view to logical consistency.' The question which Gr. has just been propounding seems to involve a contradiction in terms.



μηδεμίαν ἀμφιβολίαν περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου νοήματος ἔχει, μικρόν τι προσήκει παρασχολῆσαι τὸν λόγον εἰς τὴν φυσιολογίαν τοῦ σώματος. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι ἡ τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν φύσις αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἐν ἰδίᾳ τινὶ ὑποστάσει ζωὴν οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἐπιρρεούσης αὐτῇ 5 δυνάμεως συνέχει τε ἑαυτὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ εἶναι μένει, ἀπαύστῳ κινήσει τό τε λείπον πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἐφελκομένη καὶ τὸ περιττεῦον ἀπωθουμένη; καὶ ὥσπερ τις ἀσκὸς ὑγροῦ τινὸς πλήρης ὢν, εἰ κατὰ τὸν πυθμένα τὸ ἐγκείμενον ὑπεξίῳ, οὐκ ἂν φυλάσσοι τὸ περὶ τὸν ὄγκον ἑαυτοῦ 10 σχῆμα, μὴ ἀντεισιόντος ἄνωθεν ἐτέρου πρὸς τὸ κενούμενον, ὥστε τὸν ὀρώντα τὴν ὀγκώδη τοῦ ἀγγείου τούτου περιοχὴν εἶδέναι μὴ ἰδίαν εἶναι τοῦ φαινομένου, ἀλλὰ τὸ εἰσρέον ἐν αὐτῷ γινόμενον σχηματίζειν τὸ περιέχον τὸν ὄγκον· οὕτω καὶ ἡ τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν κατασκευὴ ἴδιον 15

6 αὐτην e euth 3 || 8 ἀπωθουμένη] desunt seqq in euth 3457 || 10 φυλασσει dr φυλασσοιτο h

1. τοῦ πρ. νοήματος] *'the subject proposed for our thought.'*

2. παρασχολῆσαι] lit. *'to busy oneself by the way.'* *'It is fitting that our argument should turn aside for a moment to discuss the physiology of the body.'*

ib. τὴν φυσιολογίαν] Cp. Arist. *de Sens.* c. 4 ἐν τῇ φυσιολογίᾳ τῇ περὶ τῶν φυτῶν. For Aristotle's doctrine of nutrition and growth see *de Anima* ii 4, *de Gen. et Corr.* i 5, *de Part. Animalium* ii 3. The importance of the following illustration for Gr.'s argument consists in the idea that bread and wine are *potentially* flesh and blood, and become so *actually* by the processes of eating and drinking and digestion.

4. ὑποστάσει] Cp. c. i οὐδὲ ἐν ὑποστάσει πάντως ἐστίν (note).

5. ἐπιρρεούσης] Cp. *antea* c. 16 ἡ διὰ τοῦ ἐπιρρέου τε καὶ ἀπορρέου τῆς τροφῆς τοῦ ὑποκειμένου διαμονή.

6. συνέχει...ἑαυτῇ] *'maintains*

*itself.'* Cp. c. 5 p. 22 συνεκτικὴ (note).

8. ὥσπερ] *'just as a leathern bottle full of some liquid, if its contents were to leak out at the bottom, would not preserve its own shape around the mass, unless there entered into it other liquid from above to fill up the void, so that he who sees the rounded circumference of this vessel knows that it does not belong to what he sees, but that it is the liquid flowing into it and occupying it which gives shape to the thing containing the mass.'*

15. ἴδιον] is a tertiary predicate. *'Has nothing that we can recognize of its own to maintain itself by.'* That which maintains the body, coming as it does from without, cannot be said to belong to (ἴδιον) the body. Γνώριμον refers to that which the senses perceive. He is thinking specially of the shape and bulk referred to in his illustration.

μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῆς σύστασιν οὐδὲν ἡμῖν γινώριμον ἔχει,  
 διὰ δὲ τῆς ἐπεισαγομένης δυνάμεως ἐν τῷ εἶναι μένει.  
 ἡ δὲ δύναμις αὕτη τροφή καὶ ἔστι καὶ λέγεται. ἔστι δὲ  
 οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ πᾶσι τοῖς τρεφομένοις σώμασιν, ἀλλὰ τις  
 5 ἐκάστῳ κατάλληλος παρὰ τοῦ τὴν φύσιν οἰκονομοῦντος  
 ἀποκεκλήρωται. τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ζώων ριζωρυχοῦντα  
 τρέφεται, ἑτέροις ἐστὶν ἡ πῶα τρόφιμος, τινῶν δὲ ἡ τροφή  
 σάρκες εἰσίν, ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸ προηγούμενον ἄρτος.  
 καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὑγροῦ διαμονὴν καὶ συντήρησιν πότον  
 10 γίνεται οὐκ αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀλλ' οἶνῳ πολλακίς  
 ἐφηδυνόμενον, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θερμοῦ τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν συμμαχίαν.  
 οὐκοῦν ὁ πρὸς ταῦτα βλέπων δυνάμει πρὸς τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ  
 ἡμετέρου σώματος βλέπει· ἐν ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα γενόμενα  
 αἷμα καὶ σῶμα γίνεται, καταλλήλως διὰ τῆς ἀλλοιω-  
 15 τικῆς δυνάμεως πρὸς τὸ τοῦ σώματος εἶδος τῆς τροφῆς

3 η δε δυν.] rursus incipit euth || ἐστι δε] ἐτι δε vulg || 6 ριζωρυχοῦντα  
 dg\*lp ριζωρυχοῦντα g<sup>1</sup> || 12 ουκοῦν] ουκ αν dgr || 14 αἷμα και σωμα] εγω l

5. κατάλληλος] Cp. c. 5 καταλλήλως ἕκαστον τῷ τῆς ζωῆς εἶδει κατεσκεύασται.

6. ριζωρυχοῦντα] 'by digging up roots.'

7. τινῶν δέ] The fragment of this chapter preserved in *Mai Script. Vell.* vi 366 reads κυνός for τινῶν.

9. τοῦ ὑγροῦ] i.e. the element of moisture in the human body.

11. τ. θερμοῦ] Wine is a means of supplementing the natural heat of the body. See *infra*.

12. δυνάμει] 'virtually.' Used here in its Aristotelian sense as opposed to *ἐνεργεία*. Similarly below Gr. says of the human Body of Christ ἐκεῖνο τὸ σῶμα ἄρτος τῇ δυνάμει ἦν.

14. καταλλήλως] 'respectively,' i.e. solid food becoming flesh, while liquid passes into blood.

ib. ἀλλοιωτικῆς δ.] the body's 'power of assimilating or digesting'

food. Cp. Theodoret *in Ionam* c. 2 καὶ ἡ ἀλλοιωτικὴ δύναμις τῆς γαστρὸς ἐνεργεῖν ἐκωλύετο. 'Alloioῖσις freq. denotes 'change of quality or affection.' See Arist. *de Gen. et Corr.* i 4, where it is defined in the words ὅταν ὑπομένουτος τοῦ ὑποκειμένου, αἰσθητοῦ ὄντος, μεταβάλλῃ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ πάθεσιν.

15. πρὸς τ. τ. σ. εἶδος] 'the food being changed into the form of the body.' In using *εἶδος* here Gr. appears to have in mind the distinction between the 'form' of matter and its 'substance.' There is a passage in the *de Hom. Opif.* c. 27, which throws light upon the ideas which lie in the background of this passage. In that chapter Gr. is discussing the resurrection of the body. In spite of the continual flux going on in the body, its *εἶδος* remains unchanged, τῶν ἅπαξ ἐπιβληθέντων αὐτῷ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως σημείων οὐκ ἐξιστάμενον, ἀλλὰ πά-

μεθισταμένης. τούτων ἡμῖν τούτον διευκρινηθέντων τὸν τρόπον ἐπανακτέον πάλιν πρὸς τὰ προκείμενα τὴν διανοίαν. ἐζητεῖτο γὰρ πῶς τὸ ἐν ἐκείνῳ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ πᾶσαν ζωοποιεῖ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν, ἐν ὅσοις ἡ πίστις ἐστί, πρὸς πάντας μεριζόμενον καὶ αὐτὸ οὐ μειούμενον. τάχα 5 τοίνυν ἐγγύς τοῦ εἰκότος λόγου γινόμεθα. εἰ γὰρ παντὸς σώματος ἡ ὑπόστασις ἐκ τῆς τροφῆς γίνεται, αὕτη δὲ

1 καθισταμένης 1\*<sup>vid</sup> vulg || 3 ἐν ἐκειῶν 1<sup>1</sup> vulg

σαι ταῖς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα τροπαῖς μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐμφαινόμενον γνωρισμάτων. In the same chapter Gr. discusses the relation of the εἶδος to the στοιχεῖα, and after stating that τὰς κατὰ τὸ εἶδος διαφορὰς αἱ ποιαὶ τῆς κρᾶσεως παραλλαγαὶ μεταμορφοῦσιν, he proceeds: ἡ δὲ κρᾶσις οὐκ ἄλλη τις παρὰ τὴν τῶν στοιχείων μίξιν ἐστί, στοιχεῖα δὲ φαμεν τὰ τῇ κατασκευῇ τοῦ παντὸς ὑποκείμενα, δι' ὧν καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον συνέστηκε σῶμα, ἀναγκαίως τοῦ εἶδους οἶον ἐκμαγεῖω σφραγίδος τῇ ψυχῇ παραμείναντος, οὐδὲ τὰ ἐναπομαζάμενα τῇ σφραγίδι τὸν τύπον ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἀγνοεῖται, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἀναστοιχειώσεως ἐκεῖνα δέχεται πάλιν πρὸς ἑαυτήν, ὡς ἂν ἐναρμόση τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ εἶδους' ἐναρμόσει δὲ πάντως ἐκεῖνα, ὅσα κατ' ἀρχῆς ἐνετυπώθη τῷ εἶδει. The whole passage is important as throwing light upon Gr.'s language throughout the present chapter. In the parallel passage below (τῆς τροφῆς... πρὸς τὴν τ. σ. φύσιν μεθισταμένης) Gr. describes the change of the elements of food as a change of φύσις, where φύσις denotes the sum of the qualities, which are the γνωρίσματα of the εἶδος. Ambrose, in his discussion of the change of the Eucharistic elements uses both 'species' and 'natura.' See *de Myst.* ix § 52 non valebit Christi sermo ut species mutet elementorum?...non enim minus est novas rebus dare quam mutare naturas.

Thus the idea of the whole clause is that the στοιχεῖα of the food have a new 'form' imposed upon them so that they become the body.

1. μεθισταμένης] Like the preceding word μεταποιεῖν, μεθιστάναι is used by Gr. in a variety of senses. (1) Here and *infra* p. 148 it is used of the transformation of food into body. (2) In the words *infra* ὁ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ σώματι μεταποιηθεὶς ἄρτος εἰς θεῖαν μετέστη δύναμιν it is used of the change of bread in the Lord's human body to Divine power. (3) In cc. 39, 40 μετάστασις is used of the moral change effected in the regenerate.

*ib.* διευκριν.] 'after this thorough analysis.' Τὰ προκ. 'the subject of our enquiry,' which he re-states in the next sentence.

3-4. πᾶσαν...τ. τ. ἀνθ. φύσιν] i.e. 'all mankind,' rather than 'the whole nature of man,' body as well as soul, since acc. to Gr. the Eucharist is specially intended for the body, and he would scarcely introduce a further thought at this point.

6. τ. εἰκ. λόγου] 'the probable account of the matter.' Gr. is conscious of the tentative character of his explanation (τάχα).

*ib.* εἰ γάρ] The protasis is continued through the following series of clauses, and again taken up by ὡσπερ τοίνυν. The apodosis begins with οὕτω κακέῖ.

βρώσις καὶ πόσις ἐστίν, ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ βρώσει ἄρτος, ἐν δὲ τῇ πόσει τὸ ὕδωρ ἐφηδυσμένον τῷ οἴνῳ, ὁ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, καθὼς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις διήρηται, ὁ καὶ θεὸς ὢν καὶ λόγος, τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ συνανεκράθη φύσει καὶ ἐν τῷ  
 5 σώματι τῷ ἡμετέρῳ γενόμενος οὐκ ἄλλην τινὰ παρεκαινοτόμησε τῇ φύσει τὴν σύστασιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν συνήθων τε καὶ καταλλήλων ἔδωκε τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸν σώματι τὴν διαμονήν, βρώσει καὶ πόσει περικρατῶν τὴν ὑπόστασιν, ἢ δὲ βρώσις ἄρτος ἦν· ὥσπερ τοίνυν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, καθὼς  
 10 ἤδη πολλάκις εἴρηται, ὁ τὸν ἄρτον ἰδὼν τρόπον τινὰ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἀνθρώπινον βλέπει, ὅτι ἐν τούτῳ ἐκείνο γινόμενον τοῦτο γίνεται, οὕτω κάκει τὸ θεοδόχον σῶμα τὴν τροφήν τοῦ ἄρτου παραδεξάμενον λόγῳ τιῆ ταυτὸν ἦν ἐκείνῳ, τῆς τροφῆς, καθὼς εἴρηται, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σώματος φύσιν  
 15 μεθισταμένης· τὸ γὰρ πάντων ἴδιον καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς σαρκὸς ὠμολογήθη, ὅτι ἄρτῳ κάκεινο τὸ σῶμα διεκρατεῖτο,

1 ἐν]+μεν euth || 2 ἐφηδυσμένον g<sup>11</sup> || 4 συνανεκράθη l euth 5 vulg ανεκράθη euth 4 || 6 ἀνθρωπινῃ φύσει l vulg || 9 οἱ τοίνυν euth || 10 οἱ πολλὰκις euth || 11 ἀνθρώπινον βλέπει σῶμα l: rursus incipit f || ἐκεῖνος euth 345 || γενομένος euth 345 γενομένου dghnp euth 7

1. ἐν τῇ β.] lit. 'included under the head of food is bread.'

4. συνανεκράθη] Cp. c. 11 ἀνακράσεως (note).

5. παρεκαινοτόμησε] The idea of καινοτομεῖν is that of opening up fresh ground, e.g. the cutting into fresh veins in a mine. Thus it comes to be used of any innovation. 'Did not invent some different composition for human nature.'

6. συν. τ. κ. καταλλ.] 'by the usual and appropriate means.' The thought and much of the language of the following passage is reproduced in John Damasc. *F. O.* iv 13.

8. περικρατῶν τ. ὑπ.] 'maintaining' (or 'holding fast') its substance.' Περικρατῶν is used like διεκρατεῖτο below.

11. ἐν τούτῳ] refers, as also does the following τοῦτο, to σῶμα. 'Ἐκεῖνο = ὁ ἄρτος.'

13. λόγῳ τινί] 'in a manner.'

ib. τῆς τροφῆς κ.τ.λ.] Cp. *supra*, where, however, Gr. uses εἶδος instead of φύσιν, which here refers to the natural qualities or properties of body. The change effected by the rearrangement of the στοιχεῖα of the food, so as to form 'body,' resulted in the acquisition of new properties or qualities. Cf. *supra*, notes on ἀλλοιωτικῆς and εἶδος.

15. τὸ γὰρ πάντων] 'for that which is characteristic of all men was admitted in the case of that flesh also, that that body too was maintained by bread.'

τὸ δὲ σῶμα τῆ ἐνοικήσει τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου πρὸς τὴν θεικὴν ἀξίαν μετεποιήθη. καλῶς οὖν καὶ νῦν τὸν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγιαζόμενον ἄρτον εἰς σῶμα τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου μεταποιεῖσθαι πιστεύομεν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τὸ σῶμα ἄρτος τῆ δυνάμει ἦν, ἡγιασθη δὲ τῆ ἐπισκηνώσει τοῦ λόγου τοῦ 5 σκηνώσαντος ἐν τῇ σαρκί. οὐκοῦν ὅθεν ὁ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ σώματι μεταποιηθεὶς ἄρτος εἰς θείαν μετέστη δύναμιν, διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ νῦν τὸ ἴσον γίνεται. ἐκεῖ τε γὰρ ἡ τοῦ λόγου χάρις ἄγιον ἐποίει τὸ σῶμα ᾧ ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου ἡ σύστασις ἦν, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ αὐτὸ ἄρτος ἦν· ἐν- 10 ταῦθά τε ὡσαύτως ὁ ἄρτος, καθὼς φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος,

3 ἀγιαζόμενον] μεταποιούμενον f || om λογου f || 4 πιστευομαι vulg || 5 σκηνώσει d || 6 om οθεν df || 9 ἐποίειτο σωμα l<sup>\*vid</sup> vulg || 10 αυτος f

1. τὸ δὲ σῶμα] A further step in the argument. Not only did bread become the Lord's Body, but that Body itself was transmuted by the indwelling of the Word to the dignity of Godhead. This additional thought is further developed below in the words οὐκοῦν ὅθεν ὁ ἐν ἐκείνῳ κ.τ.λ.

ib. θεικὴν ἀξ.] Cp. c. 35 τῆς ἀναληφθείσης παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ συναποθεωθείσης σαρκός (note).

2. τῷ λόγῳ] Gr. has in mind the passage 1 Tim. iv 5, which he quotes below. In τῷ λόγῳ τ. θ. here, as also in διὰ λόγου θεοῦ in the quotation from St Paul, Gr. intends his readers to see a reference to the personal Word, to which he also refers below in the words διὰ τοῦ λόγου μεταποιούμενος. This is shown by the parallel which he draws with the action of the Word in the Incarnation. In the present passage Gr. is referring to Christ's institution of the Eucharist, when He consecrated bread and wine to the purposes of the Sacrament. It is in virtue of that original consecration by Christ that each succeeding particular consecration is ef-

fect. Cp. Ambrose *de Myst.* ix §§ 52, 54; Chrys. *de Prod. Judae hom.* i 6 (ed. Montf. ii 384); Jo. Damasc. *F. O.* iv 13. Cp. also Justin Martyr's reference (*Apol.* i 66) to τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν. See Scudamore *Notit. Eucharist.* (2nd ed.) pp. 572 sq.

4. τῆ δυνάμει] Cp. *supra* ταῦτα βλέπων δυνάμει πρὸς τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ ἡμετέρου σώματος βλέπει (note). In that passage bread is said to be 'virtually' the body, because it was capable of being converted into it. Here Christ's Body is spoken of as virtually bread, because bread had been converted into it.

5. ἐπισκηνώσει] 'indwelling.' Σκην. Jn i 14.

6. ὅθεν] i.e. through the indwelling or operation of the Logos.

11. καθὼς φησιν] The words are similarly applied to the Eucharist by Origen *Comm. in Matt.* tom. xi (Migne p. 948). On their application in this sense see Scudamore *l.c.* p. 578. In ἐντεύξεως there is a reference to the prayer of consecration.

ἀγιάζεται διὰ λόγου θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως, οὐ διὰ βρώσεως προίων εἰς τὸ σῶμα γενέσθαι τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' εὐθύς πρὸς τὸ σῶμα διὰ τοῦ λόγου μεταποιούμενος, καθὼς εἴρηται

1 βρωσεως]+ και ποσεως | vulg || 2 om γενεσθαι vulg || 3 om δια | vulg

1. οὐ διὰ βρώσεως] Gr. is thinking of the analogy of the Lord's earthly life. Then bread and wine became His Body and Blood mediately through the natural processes of eating and drinking. Now they become such immediately (εὐθύς) through the power of the Word and by means of the prayer of consecration.

2-3. εὐθύς... μεταποιούμενος] Cp. *infra* τῇ τῆς εὐλογίας δυνάμει πρὸς ἐκεῖνο μεταστοιχειώσας τῶν φαινομένων τὴν φύσιν. Gr.'s language in these passages has been generally regarded as teaching a doctrine of the transformation of the elements, resembling in idea, though not in form, the later Western doctrine of transubstantiation. His language is interpreted in this sense by Fronto Ducaeus, and in more modern times by Franzelin *de SS. Euch. Sacr.* p. 232 f., Hilt *Des hl. Greg. von Nyssa Lehre vom Menschen* pp. 207 f., and Schwane *Dogmengesch.* (2<sup>e</sup> Aufl.) ii p. 780 f. Neander (*Ch. Hist.* iv p. 438, Bohn) thinks that some such view underlies the present chapter, but he qualifies it by reference to Gr.'s language in *in Baptismum Christi* p. 581 (Migne), where Gr. compares the effects of consecration in the case of the baptismal water, the anointing oil, ordination, and the bread and wine, as though they were changes of the same class. Pusey *Real Presence from the Fathers* pp. 180 ff., by an examination of the terms employed by Gr., contests the view that any transubstantiation is implied. His argument is conclusive so far as the terms go, but he scarcely does justice to Gr.'s treatment as a whole. For a discussion of the whole ques-

tion see *Introd.* pp. xxxvi foll. In the present passage no argument can be drawn from the word μεταποιούμενον alone. The crucial point of the passage is the statement that bread and wine become actually and immediately (in contrast with διὰ βρώσεως κ.τ.λ.) the Body and Blood of the Lord in the Eucharist. Gr.'s language certainly implies much more than a change of use, such as takes place in the water of baptism. The illustration which he employs points to a change of properties or qualities due to the new relation into which the elements of bread and wine have been brought. It suggests, however, a change of 'form' only, not a change of 'substance.' See notes *supra* on ἀλλοιωτικῆς and εἶδος, and on μεταστοιχειώσας τῶν φαινομένων τὴν φύσιν *infra*. Hence Harnack *Hist. of Dogma* (Eng. tr.) iv p. 296 rightly says that Gr. teaches 'a qualitative unity' between the bread and the Body of Christ, rather than a complete identity, such as is stated by John of Damascus *F. O.* iv 13.

3. καθὼς εἴρ.] Mk xiv 22 [Mt. xxvi 26; Lk. xxii. 19]. The change of the elements, following upon the act of consecration, depends upon the original institution of Christ, and the promise implied in the words τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου. Franzelin (*de SS. Euch. Sacr.* p. 76) sees in Gr.'s reference to these words a proof that he regarded the consecration as effected by the recital of the words of institution. But such a deduction is not justified, as Gr. merely quotes the words to show that the bread is Christ's Body.

ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ὅτι Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου. πάσης δὲ  
 σαρκὸς καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὑγροῦ τρεφομένης· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δίχα τῆς  
 πρὸς τοῦτο συζυγίας τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν γεῶδες ἐν τῷ ζῆν διαμένοι·  
 ὡσπερ διὰ τῆς στερρᾶς τε καὶ ἀντιτύπου τροφῆς τὸ  
 στερρὸν τοῦ σώματος ὑποστηρίζομεν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον 5  
 καὶ τῷ ὑγρῷ τὴν προσθήκην ἐκ τῆς ὁμογενοῦς ποιούμεθα  
 φύσεως, ὅπερ ἐν ἡμῖν γενόμενον διὰ τῆς ἀλλοιωτικῆς  
 δυνάμεως ἐξαιματοῦται καὶ μάλιστα γὰρ εἰ διὰ τοῦ οἴνου  
 λάβοι τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς τὴν εἰς τὸ θερμὸν μεταποίησιν.  
 ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἢ θεοδόχος ἐκείνη σὰρξ πρὸς 10  
 τὴν σύστασιν ἑαυτῆς παρεδέξατο, ὁ δὲ φανερωθεὶς θεὸς  
 διὰ τοῦτο κατέμιξεν ἑαυτὸν τῇ ἐπικέρῳ φύσει, ἵνα τῇ τῆς

3 προς το ζην euth 7 || 4 ωσπερ]+γαρ g<sup>1</sup> || om τε l vulg || 5 om  
 τροπον e || 6 τω υγρω] το υδωρ dg\*nr || 8 γε] δε f || om ει p || 10 om το l vulg ||  
 εκεινου vulg || 11 θεος] λογος l\* vulg || 12 επικηρω]+των ανθρωπων l vulg

2. διὰ τ. ὑγροῦ] For the need of  
 τὸ ὑγρὸν in nutrition cp. Arist. *de*  
*Gen. Anim.* iii 2. 753<sup>b</sup> 25 δὲ γὰρ  
 τὴν τροφήν σωματώδη οὐσαν ὑγρὰν  
 εἶναι καθάπερ τοῖς φυτοῖς. The  
 clause οὐ γὰρ ἂν δίχα...διαμένοι is  
 a parenthesis. The main clause is  
 resumed with ὡσπερ κ.τ.λ., and com-  
 pleted in the sentence beginning τὸν  
 αὐτὸν τρόπον.

4. ἀντιτύπου] 'solid,' 'firm.'  
 Cp. ἀντιτυπίας, c. 23.

7. ἄλλ. δυν.] Cp. *supra* p. 146  
 note.

8. ἐξαιματοῦται] 'is changed into  
 blood.' The word is similarly used  
 in Arist. *de Somn. et Vigil.* c. 3.

9. δύναμιν] 'the power of being  
 changed into heat.' The addition  
 of wine enables the water to become  
 heat in the body.

10. τοῦτο τὸ μέρος] 'this part also,'  
 i.e. wine for the nourishment of the  
 blood.

12. τῇ ἐπικέρῳ φ.] Cp. c. 1  
 ἢ ἡμετέρα φύσις ἐπικηρος οὐσα.

ib. ἵνα...συναποθεωθῆ] Cp. *supra*

τὸ δὲ σῶμα τῇ ἐνοικήσει τοῦ θεοῦ  
 λόγου πρὸς τὴν θεικὴν ἀξίαν μετε-  
 ποιήθη. According to Gr. the object  
 of the Incarnation was to effect the  
 θέωσις of humanity. This was ef-  
 fected in the case of the Lord's  
 human nature by the indwelling of  
 the Word. It is continuously being  
 effected in mankind as a whole by  
 the dissemination (ἐνσπείρει) in be-  
 lievers of that Body which was  
 exalted to Divine dignity. The  
 Eucharist is the 'extension' of the  
 process of the Incarnation. For  
 the idea compare the language of  
 Hilary *de Trin.* viii 13 Si enim  
 vere Verbum caro factum est, et vere  
 nos Verbum carnem cibo dominico  
 sumimus; quomodo non naturaliter  
 manere in nobis existimandus est,  
 qui et naturam carnis nostrae iam  
 inseparabilem sibi homo natus as-  
 sumpsit, et naturam carnis suae ad  
 naturam aeternitatis sub sacramen-  
 to nobis communicandae carnis ad-  
 miscuit? See further *ibid.* § 14.

θεότητος κοινωνία συναποθεωθῆ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, τούτου χάριν πᾶσι τοῖς πεπιστευκόσι τῇ οἰκονομία τῆς χάριτος ἑαυτὸν ἐνσπείρει διὰ τῆς σαρκός, ἧς ἡ σύστασις ἐξ οἴνου τε καὶ ἄρτου ἐστὶ, τοῖς σώμασι τῶν πεπιστευκότων κατα-  
 5 κερνάμενος, ὡς ἂν τῇ πρὸς τὸ ἀθάνατον ἐνώσει καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας μέτοχος γένοιτο. ταῦτα δὲ δίδωσι τῇ τῆς εὐλογίας δυνάμει πρὸς ἐκεῖνο μεταστοιχειώσας τῶν φαινομένων τὴν φύσιν.

1 συναποθεωρηθη l\*<sup>vid</sup> vulg || 3 ης] οὖς vulg || 5 οὖν ο vulg || 6 γενηται f euth 7 || 8 φουσω] desinit euth

3. ἐνσπείρει] 'sows or plants Himself in,' as a seed or principle of life.

ib. διὰ τῆς σαρκός] 'by means of that Flesh, composed of wine and bread.' The Paris edd. read οἶς, thus introducing a fresh and irrelevant thought.

5. ὁ ἄνθρ.] 'man,' corresponding to τὸ ἀνθρώπινον above.

7. τῆς εὐλογίας] i.e. the prayer of consecration, the μυστικὴ εὐχή, on which see Suicer *sub vocc. Εὐχή, Συναξίς*. The use of the word in this connexion is derived from Mk xiv 22; Mt. xxvi 26; 1 Cor. x 16. On its relation to the word εὐχαριστία compare with the passages just cited Mk xiv 23; Mt. xxv 27; Lk. xxii 19; 1 Cor. xi 24, and see Scudamore *l.c.* p. 573 sq. From its use in this sense εὐλογία came to denote the elements, whether before or after consecration. See Brightman *Liturgies E. and W.*, Index.

ib. μεταστοιχειώσας] 'transforming the nature of the visible objects to that thing.' Ἐκεῖνο refers to τὸ ἀθάνατον i.e. the Lord's Body. Μεταστοιχειοῦν is used by Philo *de Somniis* p. 674 (Mangey) of the change of earth into water by Xerxes; also in *de Migr. Abrah.* i 449 (Mangey) of the change of rods into serpents. But more usu-

ally it appears to be used not so much of the substitution of one element for another, as of the rearrangement of the same elements, and the imposition upon them of a new form. Cp. the similar words ἀναστοιχειώσει c. 8 (note), and ἀναστοιχειώσιν c. 35. Gr. uses the word elsewhere: (1) of the change of the body after the Resurrection. Cp. *Hom. i in Cant.* p. 777 (Migne) τὸ μὲν σῶμα μεταστοιχειωθὲν πρὸς τὸ ἀφθαρτον, (2) of the Lord's Body being made impassible after the Resurrection. Cp. *de Vit. Moysis* p. 336 (Migne) τὸ τρεπτόν τε καὶ ἐμπαθὲς εἰς ἀπάθειαν μετεστοιχειώσεν. But he also uses it in a much more general sense of moral and spiritual changes. Cp. *Ep. ad Eustathiam* p. 1021 (Migne) ὁ οὖν τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν πρὸς τὴν θείαν δύναμιν μεταστοιχειώσας, and *Ep. Can. ad Letoium* p. 22 (Migne) τοὺς ἐκ παλιγγενεσίας μεταστοιχειούμενους. For further reff. to the patristic use of the word see Pusey *Real Presence* pp. 198 ff. Thus the word does not alter the conclusion already drawn that Gr. indicates in this chapter a change of 'form' rather than a change of 'substance.' For the latter idea see Hilt *op. cit.* p. 208. For φύσις see notes *supra* on εἶδος and on the words πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σώματος φύσιν μετισταμένης.



38. Οὐδὲν οἶμαι τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐνδεῖν τῶν περὶ τὸ μυστήριον ζητουμένων, πλὴν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πίστιν λόγου, ὃν δι' ὀλίγου μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς παρουσίας ἐκθησόμεθα πραγματείας. τοῖς δὲ τὸν τελεώτερον ἐπιζητοῦσι λόγον ἤδη προεξεθέμεθα ἐν ἑτέροις πόνοις, διὰ τῆς δυνατῆς ἡμῖν 5 σπουδῆς ἐν ἀκριβείᾳ τὸν λόγον ἀπλώσαντες, ἐν οἷς πρὸς τε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀγωνιστικῶς συνεπλάκημεν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς περὶ τῶν προσφερομένων ἡμῖν ζητημάτων ἐπεσκεψάμεθα. τῷ δὲ παρόντι λόγῳ τοσοῦτον εἶπεῖν περὶ τῆς πίστεως καλῶς ἔχειν ὠήθημεν ὅσον ἢ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου 10 περιέχει φωνή, τὸ τὸν γεννώμενον κατὰ τὴν πνευματικὴν ἀναγέννησιν εἶδέναι παρὰ τίνος γεννᾶται καὶ ποῖον γίνεται

38. 1 του μυστηριου l vulg || 4 τελειωτερον f τελειοτερον l vulg || 5 πονοις] λογους d || ημων de || 8 προφερομενων g<sup>1</sup> || 11 και τον γενν. vulg

iii. Chaps. XXXVIII—XL. On Faith and Repentance.

38. *Our remaining task is to speak of the importance of faith. This has been dealt with more fully in other treatises. Here it suffices to show the importance for him who is regenerate of a right knowledge of the Author of his new birth, and of the nature of the life into which he is admitted.*

The three remaining chapters of the treatise are intended to deal with the moral conditions required for a right use of Sacraments. Gr. refers only to Baptism, because that is the initiation of the new life, and the moral conditions of which he speaks begin with Baptism. Moreover this is a 'catechetical oration' designed to help in the preparation of candidates for baptism. Hence there is no need to assume, as has been done by Aubertin *de Sacr. Euch.* ii 487 (quoted by Rupp p. 147), that c. 40 is an interpolation, because it returns to the discussion of Baptism.

1. τὸ μυστ.] here, as elsewhere,

means the Christian religion.

4. πραγματείας] Cp. note c. 6 p. 33.

5. ἑτέροις πόνοις] Gr.'s larger work, *contra Eunomium*, and also the *de Deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti*, both written before this time, deal with this question. See *Introd.* p. xiv.

*ib.* διὰ τῆς δ. ἢ σπουδῆς] 'unfolding the subject with as great pains as lay in our power.'

6. πρὸς τε τ. ἐν.] The purpose of these works was twofold (1) controversial, (2) critical and constructive. Gr. claims not only to have replied to opponents, but to have given an independent (καθ' ἑαυτοὺς) consideration of the questions involved.

10. ὅσον] Gr. is prob. thinking of such passages as Jn i 13, iii 6, 7, the latter of which he quotes in c. 39. The clause τὸ τὸν γενν... ζῶον is in apposition to τοσοῦτον, viz. 'that he who is begotten with the spiritual generation knows' etc.

ζῶον· μόνον γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ τῆς γεννήσεως εἶδος κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἔχει, ὃ τι περ ἂν ἔληται, τοῦτο γενέσθαι.

39. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ λοιπὰ τῶν τικτομένων τῇ ὁρμῇ τῶν ἀπογεννώντων ὑφίσταται, ὁ δὲ πνευματικὸς τόκος τῆς ἐξουσίας ἤρτηται τοῦ τικτομένου. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐν τούτῳ ἐστὶν ὁ κίνδυνος, ἐν τῷ μὴ διαμαρτεῖν τοῦ συμφέροντος, κατ' ἐξουσίαν προκειμένης παντὶ τῆς αἰρέσεως, καλῶς ἔχει φημὶ τὸν πρὸς τὴν γέννησιν τὴν ἰδίαν ὁρμῶντα προδιαγνῶναι τῷ λογισμῷ, τίς αὐτῷ λυσιτελήσει πατῆρ  
10 καὶ ἐκ τίνος ἄμεινον αὐτῷ συστήναι τὴν φύσιν· εἴρηται γὰρ ὅτι κατ' ἐξουσίαν τοὺς γεννήτορας ὁ τοιοῦτος αἰρεῖται τόκος: διχῆ τοίνυν τῶν ὄντων μεμερισμένων εἰς τὸ κτιστὸν

1 τουτου...το ειδος | vulg τουτου...ειδος f 39. 4 αυτο γεννωντων dp αυτα γενν. ehn || om τοκος vulg || 8 γενεσιν ehn || 10 om και f || αυτω αμεινον e αυτου αμ. vulg || 11 του γεννητορος f

1. μόνον γάρ] 'for this form of generation alone has it in its power to become whatsoever it chooses.' By γενν. εἶδος Gr. of course means more exactly the person who is regenerated. Cp. *infra* c. 39 ὁ δὲ πνευματικὸς τόκος τῆς ἐξουσίας ἤρτηται τοῦ τικτομένου. For the special form of expression cp. *ibid.* κατ' ἐξουσίαν τοὺς γεννήτορας αἰρεῖται ὁ τόκος. Gr.'s statement is not of course exact. A man cannot really choose to be born again of a created Son and Spirit. But as the moral condition of the recipient affects the value of baptism, his imperfect faith may deprive him of the full benefits of the rite. Gr. is here asserting the moral value of a right faith. See *Introd.* pp. xxxv fol.

39. *The spiritual birth, unlike natural birth, depends upon the will of him who is being born. It is important that such an one should know what kind of parent he needs for the development of his nature, seeing that it is in his power to choose his parents. It is possible for*

him to be the child of a nature which is uncreated and so unchanging, or of a nature which is created and subject to change. The Gospel sets before us a Trinity of Persons by Whom regeneration is effected. To believe that the Holy Trinity belongs to the uncreated world is to enter upon a steadfast, unchangeable life. To believe in a created Son and Spirit is to trust to an imperfect nature, which itself needs redemption. This is to be born, not from above, but from below.

3-4. τ. ὁρμῆ...ὕψ.] 'attain existence by the impulse of,' i.e. as contrasted with τῆς ἐξουσίας ἤρτηται τοῦ τικτομένου, which follows.

6. ὁ κίνδυνος] The fact that the spiritual birth depends upon the will of him who is born involves the danger of his failing to choose that which is advantageous to him.

12. διχῆ τοίνυν] Gr. now explains the nature of the choice which he has indicated as belonging to the catechumen. It is the choice between a spiritual birth into an

καὶ τὸ ἄκτιστον, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀκτίστου φύσεως τὸ ἄτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀμετάθετον ἐν ἑαυτῇ κεκτημένης, τῆς δὲ κτίσεως πρὸς τροπὴν ἀλλοιουμένης, ὁ κατὰ λογισμόν τὸ λυσιτελοῦν προαιρούμενος τίνος αἰρήσεται μᾶλλον γενέσθαι τέκνον, τῆς ἐν τροπῇ θεωρουμένης ἢ τῆς ἀμετάστατόν τε καὶ 5 παγίαν καὶ αἰὲ ὡσαύτως ἔχουσαν ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ κεκτημένης τὴν φύσιν; ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τὰ τρία παραδέδοται πρόσωπά τε καὶ ὀνόματα δι' ὧν ἡ γέννησις τοῖς πιστεύουσι γίνεται, γεννᾶται δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἴσον ὁ ἐν τῇ τριάδι γεννώμενος παρὰ πατρός τε καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ πνεύματος 10 ἀγίου· οὕτω γάρ φησι περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὅτι Ἐν τῷ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος πνευμά ἐστι, καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ἐν Χριστῷ γεννᾷ, καὶ Ὁ πατὴρ πάντων ἐστὶ πατήρ· ἐνταῦθά μοι νηφέτω τοῦ ἀκροατοῦ ἡ διάνοια,

8 *γενεσις deghnp* || 9 *om τη df* || 10 *παρα τε πατρος και υιου d του πατρος egr vulg του υιου...του πνευματος vulg* || 11 *om το vulg*

eternal and uncreated nature or into a nature which is created and subject to change.

1. τὸ ἄτρεπτον] For the unchangeableness of the Divine Nature cp. Mal. iii 6, where the LXX has οὐκ ἠλλοιωμαι; and for a discussion of the word ἄτρεπτος see W. R. Churton *Theological Papers* pp. 22 ff. For Greek thought cp. Plato *Lev.* ii 381 C ἀδύνατον ἄρα, ἔφην, καὶ θεῷ ἐθέλειν αὐτὸν ἀλλοιοῦν: Arist. *de Caelo* (p. 279 a) πολλάκις προφαίνεται τοῖς λόγοις ὅτι τὸ θεῖον ἀμετάβλητον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πᾶν τὸ πρῶτον καὶ ἀκρότατον. Cp. Philo *de Nom. Mut.* (p. 582, ed. Mangey) ἄτρεπτον γὰρ καὶ ἀμετάβλητον, χρῆζον ἐτέρου τὸ παράπαν οὐδενός.

3. πρὸς τροπὴν ἄλλ.] 'subject to alteration and change,' lit. 'in the direction of change.' Cp. c. 21 ἡ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι πάροδος ἀλλοίωσις τίς ἐστι.

5. ἐν τρ. θεωρ.] For this use of θεωρεῖσθαι cp. *prol. ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς θεωρουμένων.*

7. ἐπεὶ οὖν] The sentence is

finally resumed in the words ἐνταῦθά μοι κ.τ.λ. [Ἐν τ. εὐ.] i.e. Mt. xxviii 19.

8. πρόσωπα] On the history of this word see Bethune-Baker *Texts and Studies* vii 1 pp. 72 ff. Ὀνόματα seems to refer to the words εἰς τὸ ὄνομα in Mt. xxviii 19. The phrase ἐν τῇ τρ. γεννώμενος is probably due to the influence of the passage 1 Cor. iv 15 which Gr. subsequently quotes.

11. οὕτω γάρ] Gr. gives three quotations to prove his contention that the grace of baptism proceeds equally from all three Persons of the Trinity.

*ib.* τὸ εὐαγγ.] Jn iii 6.

13. ὁ Παῦλος] 1 Cor. iv 15.

*ib.* Ὁ πατήρ] The source of this third quotation is possibly Eph. iv 6, where the words εἰς θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων follow immediately upon the mention of the ἐν βάπτισμα.

14. νηφέτω] used here, as often in the N.T., of 'a mental state free from all perturbations or stupefactions' (Hort on 1 Pet. i 13).

μὴ τῆς ἀστατούσης φύσεως ἑαυτὴν ἔκγονον ποιήσῃ, ἐξὸν  
 τὴν ἀτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον ἀρχηγὸν ποιήσασθαι  
 τῆς ἰδίας ζωῆς. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν διάθεσιν τῆς καρδίας τοῦ  
 προσιόντος τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ καὶ τὸ γινόμενον τὴν δύναμιν  
 5 ἔχει, ὥστε τὸν μὲν ἄκτιστον ὁμολογοῦντα τὴν ἀγίαν τριάδα  
 εἰς τὴν ἀτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον εἰσελθεῖν ζωῆν, τὸν  
 δὲ τὴν κτιστὴν φύσιν ἐν τῇ τριάδι διὰ τῆς ἡπατημένης  
 ὑπολήψεως βλέποντα, ἔπειτα ἐν αὐτῇ βαπτιζόμενον, πάλιν  
 τῷ τρεπτῷ τε καὶ ἀλλοιουμένῳ ἐγγεννηθῆναι βίῳ· τῇ γὰρ  
 10 τῶν γεννώντων φύσει κατ' ἀνάγκην ὁμογενές ἐστί καὶ τὸ  
 τικτόμενον. τί οὖν ἂν εἴη λυσιτελέστερον, εἰς τὴν ἀτρε-  
 πτον ζωὴν εἰσελθεῖν ἢ πάλιν τῷ ἀστατοῦντι καὶ ἀλλοιου-  
 μένῳ ἐγκυματοῦσθαι βίῳ; ἐπεὶ οὖν παντὶ δῆλόν ἐστι  
 τῷ καὶ ὅπως οὖν διανοίας μετέχοντι, ὅτι τὸ ἐστὼς τοῦ  
 15 μὴ ἐστῶτος παρὰ πολὺ τιμιώτερον, καὶ τοῦ ἐλλιποῦς τὸ  
 τέλειον, καὶ τοῦ δεομένου τὸ μὴ δεόμενον, καὶ τοῦ διὰ  
 προκοπῆς ἀνιόντος τὸ μὴ ἔχον εἰς ὃ τι προέλθῃ, ἀλλ'  
 ἐπὶ τῆς τελειότητος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μένον ἀεὶ, ἐπάναγκες ἂν εἴη

1 εαυτον eh || 2 την] τον f || 3 om ζωης vulg || 6 τον δε την] την δε vulg ||  
 9-12 ἐγγεννηθῆναι...ἀλλοιουμενω om l || 16 του μη δεομενον το δ. d\*ehn ||  
 17 προκ. αν.] τροπης ανεντος f || 18 επαναγκες αν ειη] om d om αν ειη l\*

2. ἀρχηγόν] Cp. *antea* c. 33 ζωῆς ἀρχηγός (note).

3. τ. διάθ. τ. καρδ.] may possibly contain a reference to Ps. lxxii (lxxiii) 7 (LXX).

4. οἰκονομίᾳ] Cp. c. 34 τῆς μυστικῆς ταύτης οἰκονομίας.

*ib.* τὸ γινόμενον] 'that which takes place' i.e. the birth which results from Baptism. Two of the MSS used by Fronto Ducaeus read τὸ γεννώμενον.

6. τὸν δὲ τ. κτιστὴν] sc. the Anomæan, to whose teaching he refers more fully below in the clause beginning ἢ, εἰ ἕξω τῆς τοῦ πρώτου κ.τ.λ. Τῆν is used in a generic sense.

9. ἐγγεννηθῆναι] 'is again born into an existence which is subject to

variation and change.' Gr. will not call such a life ζωῆ. It is merely βίος, 'existence.' Cp. c. 8 τὸ τὸν βίον ἡμῶν τῇ νεκρότητι σβέννυσθαι.

12-13. πάλιν...ἐγκυμ.] The new birth into a created Son and Spirit carries a man no higher than he was before. It still leaves him in an existence which is unstable. Ἐγκυματ. 'to be tossed about in.'

16. διὰ προκοπῆς] 'by a gradual advance.' So Athanasius *de Syn.* 4 represents Paul of Samosata as teaching concerning Christ ὅστερον αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν ἐκ προκοπῆς τεθεοποιῆσθαι.

18. ἐπὶ τ. τ...μένον] Cp. c. 37 μένειν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ (note).

ἐν ἑξ ἀμφοτέρων αἰρεῖσθαι πάντως τὸν γε νοῦν ἔχοντα, ἢ τῆς ἀκτίστου φύσεως εἶναι πιστεύειν τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα καὶ οὕτως ἀρχηγὸν διὰ τῆς πνευματικῆς γεννήσεως ποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἰδίας ζωῆς, ἢ, εἰ ἔξω τῆς τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἀληθινοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ φύσεως, τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς 5 λέγω, νομίζοι εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν ἢ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, μὴ συμπαραλαμβάνειν τὴν εἰς ταῦτα πίστιν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς γεννήσεως, μήποτε λάθῃ τῇ ἑλλιπεί φύσει καὶ δεομένη τοῦ ἀγαθύνοντος ἑαυτὸν εἰσποιῶν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ πάλιν εἰς τὸ ὁμογενὲς ἑαυτὸν εἰσαγάγῃ, τῆς ὑπερεχούσης φύσεως 10 ἀποστήσας τὴν πίστιν. ὁ γάρ τιμὴ τῶν κτιστῶν ἑαυτὸν ὑποζεύξας λέληθεν εἰς αὐτὸ καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ θεῖον τὴν

1 om παντως hn vulg || 2 πιστευειν ειναι l || 3 αρχ. ποιεισθαι δια τ. πν. γ. fl || γενεσεως degnhr vulg || 4 om ει fl || 6 λεγων h || 7 συμπεριλαμβανειν f συμπαραλαμβανων vulg || ταυτα] ταυτην την l\*vid || φυσιν ητοι πιστιν f || 8 γενεσεως degnhr vulg || 9 αγαθυναντος f αγαθου οντος (οντως d) gr || om και p || 10 εισαγη f || 12 εις αυτο] om εις degnhr vulg εαυτον defghlnr vulg: txt e conject Krab restitui || om και ehn vulg om ουκ h

4. πρώτου] For a summary of Eunomius' teaching see *c. Eunom.* Or. i pp. 297, 324 (Migne). In the latter passage Gr. speaks of Eunomius' definitions *περὶ τῆς πρώτης τε καὶ δευτέρας καὶ τρίτης οὐσίας.*

6. μὴ συμπ.] dependent like πιστεύειν and ποιεῖσθαι upon αἰρεῖσθαι. 'Not to include the belief in these Persons in the faith which he adopts at the time of his birth.' Gr. argues that, in order to be consistent, the Anomœans should not include the Son and the Holy Spirit in their baptismal confession. For on their own principles baptism into the Son and the Spirit involves birth into a created life of the same kind (ὁμογενές) as their own. For the use of the neuter ταῦτα cp. Greg. Naz. Or. xxxi 5 οὗ τρία μὲν εἶναι καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁμολογοῦσι τὰ νοούμενα with Dr Mason's note.

8. ἑλλιπεῖ] i.e. imperfect, because belonging to the created order. Cp. the argument in *prol.*, where Gr.

adduces the perfection of the Divine Nature as an argument for the unity of God.

9. ἀγαθύνοντος] 'someone to make it good.' Ἀγαθύνειν, 'to make good' or 'do good to,' occurs frequently in the LXX. Cp. 3 Reg. i 47; Pss. l (li) 20, cxxiv (cxxv) 4; Jer. li (xli) 27.

ib. εἰσποιῶν] 'cause himself to be adopted into.' The exact phrase εἰσποιεῖν τινά τιμὴ occurs in Plato *Legg.* ix 878.

11. ἀποστήσας τ. π.] 'withdrawing his faith from the transcendent nature,' i.e. by resting it in a created Son and Spirit who are, according to the Anomœan view, external to the Supreme Being.

12. λέληθεν κ.τ.λ.] The mss are here corrupt. Krabinger's conjecture εἰς αὐτὸ for ἑαυτὸν or εἰς ἑαυτὸν has been adopted, as it explains the corruption and supplies the necessary sense. Αὐτό = τὸ κτιστὸν referred to in τινὶ τῶν κτιστῶν.

ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχων. πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ κτίσις τῷ κατὰ  
 τὸ ἴσον ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι προήκειν οἰκείως  
 πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἔχει· καὶ ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων  
 κατασκευῆς πάντα τὰ μέλη πρὸς ἑαυτὰ συμφυῶς ἔχει,  
 5 καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑποβεβηκότα, τὰ δὲ ὑπερανεστῶτα τύχη,  
 οὕτως ἡ κτιστὴ φύσις ἦνωται πρὸς ἑαυτὴν κατὰ τὸν λόγον  
 τῆς κτίσεως καὶ οὐδὲν ἢ κατὰ τὸ ὑπερέχον καὶ ἐνδέον ἐν  
 ἡμῖν διαφορά διίστησιν αὐτὴν τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὴν συμφύσιος·  
 ὧν γὰρ ἐπ' ἴσης προεπινοεῖται ἡ ἀνυπαρξία, καὶ ἐν τοῖς  
 10 ἄλλοις τὸ διάφορον ἦ, οὐδεμίαν κατὰ τὸ μέρος τοῦτο τῆς  
 φύσεως παραλλαγὴν ἐξευρίσκομεν. εἰ οὖν κτιστὸς μὲν  
 ὁ ἄνθρωπος, κτιστὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ  
 θεὸν εἶναι νομίζοι, μάταιος ἂν εἶη ἐν ἐλπίδι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ  
 κρεῖττον μεταστάσεως, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀναλύων. ὅμοιον γὰρ  
 15 ταῖς τοῦ Νικοδήμου ὑπολήψεσιν ἐστὶ τὸ γινόμενον, ὃς  
 περὶ τοῦ δεῖν ἄνωθεν γεννηθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου μαθῶν  
 διὰ τὸ μήπω χωρῆσαι τοῦ μυστηρίου τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὸν

1 τῷ] το εfl || 2 προσηκειν f || 5 υπερανεστηκοτα fg<sup>1</sup> || 9 επινοειται f ||  
 11 κτιστος μεν] +ων vulg || 13 θεον] υιον l || om ειναι l || επ ελπιδι l ανελπιδι vulg

1. τῷ...προήκειν] The *dat.* is causal, 'because it proceeds in an equal degree from non-existence into existence.'

3. τ. τ. σ. κατασκευῆς] Cp. c. 28 πᾶσα πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἢ κατασκευὴ τοῦ σώματος ὁμοτίμως ἔχει. For συμφυῶς cp. c. 32 συμφυῆς and *ibid.* συμφυομένων.

5. ὑποβεβ. ... ὑπεραν.] i.e. the 'lower' and 'upper' parts of the body.

7. καὶ οὐδέν] 'and the difference between what is superior and inferior in us makes no division in the cohesion of all its parts.'

9. ὧν γάρ] 'for if things alike are thought of as coming out of a previous nothingness.'

11. παραλλαγὴν] 'variation.' Cp. James i 17 (Mayor's note).

*ib.* κτιστὸς μὲν...κτιστὸν δέ] The two clauses are logically correlative.

With the former ἐστὶν must be supplied.

12. μονογενῆ θεόν] Cp. *prol.* p. 2 (note).

13. τ. ἐπὶ τ. κ. μεταστάσεως] Cp. c. 40 ἐπὶ ἀνακαινώσῳ καὶ μεταβολῇ τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν τὴν σωτήριον παραλαμβάνεσθαι γέννησιν.

14. πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀναλύων] 'seeing that he returns to himself,' i.e. to one who is like himself a created being, and cannot bring him to perfection. For this sense of ἀναλύειν cp. c. 23 τὴν τε τῶν τεθνηκότων ἐπὶ τὸν βίον ἀνάλωσιν, and c. 35 ἀναλύειν.

15. τ. Νικοδήμου] Jn iii 4. *ib.* τὸ γιν.] i.e. that which happens when a man is baptized into that faith.

17. τοῦ μυστ.] used here of the revelation made by Christ about the new birth.

μητρῶον κόλπον τοῖς λογισμοῖς κατεσύρετο. ὥστε εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἄκτιστον φύσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν συγγενῆ καὶ ὁμόδουλον κτίσιν ἑαυτὸν ἀπάγοι, τῆς κάτωθεν, οὐ τῆς ἄνωθεν ἐστὶ γεννήσεως. φησὶ δὲ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἄνωθεν εἶναι τῶν σωζομένων τὴν γέννησιν.

40. Ἄλλ' οὐ μοι δοκεῖ μέχρι τῶν εἰρημένων αὐτάρκη τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἢ κατήχησις ἔχειν. δεῖ γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο σκοπεῖν, ὃ πολλοὶ τῶν προσιόντων τῇ τοῦ βαπτίσματος χάριτι παρορῶσι, δι' ἀπάτης ἑαυτοὺς παράγοντες, καὶ τῷ δοκεῖν μόνον, οὐχὶ τῷ ὄντι γεννώμενοι. 10 ἢ γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως γινομένη τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν μεταποιήσις οὐκ ἂν εἴη μεταποιήσις, εἰ ἐν ᾧ ἐσμεν διαμῆνοίμεν. τὸν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄντα οὐκ οἶδα πῶς ἐστὶν ἄλλον τινὰ γεγενῆσθαι νομίσαι, ἐφ' οὗ μηδὲν τῶν γνωρισμάτων μετεποιήθη. τὸ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἀνακαινισμῷ καὶ μεταβολῇ 15 τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν τὴν σωτήριον παραλαμβάνεσθαι γέννησιν παντὶ δῆλόν ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἢ ἀνθρωπότης αὐτῆ καθ'

2 om την ante ακτιστον vulg || 3 επαγοι l\* απαγαγοι g<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup> 40. 7 εχει l || 10 το δοκειν lnp του δ. h || 15 τη μεταβολη e

1. κατεσύρετο] *'whose thoughts drew him back to.'*

2. ὁμόδουλον] *'which shares his own bondage.'* Cp. Rom. viii 21.

3. τῆς ἄνωθεν] Jn iii 3. The contrast with the preceding κάτωθεν is decisive as to Gr.'s interpretation of that passage.

40. *The regeneration which comes through Baptism only becomes effectual in those who exhibit a change of life and wholly abandon evil. Otherwise the water is but water, and the gift of the Holy Spirit in no wise appears in what takes place. God rewards godliness and punishes sin in ways that surpass anything of which we have experience in this life. This being so, it is our duty to lay the foundations of blessedness in this fleeting life and put away evil from us.*

6. μέχρι τ. εἰρ.] *'so far as our*

*remarks have gone (or 'with these remarks') our instruction does not seem to me to be complete in its teaching.'* On this inclusive sense of μέχρι see Greg. Naz. Or. xxviii 9 οὐδὲ ἐκεῖ στήσεται μέχρι τοῦ εἰπεῖν (with Dr Mason's note). On κατήχησις see *prol.* ὁ τῆς κατήχησης λόγος (note).

9. δι' ἀπάτης] Cp. c. 7 δι' ἀπατῆς παρασυρέτες.

12. μεταποιήσις] See note on μεταποιεῖ, c. 37.

14. γνωρισμάτων] *'characteristic features,'* i.e. the traits of character by which a man is recognized. Gr. has of course in view the bad traits of character. Cp. *infra* τῶν πονηρῶν γνωρισμάτων.

15. ἐπὶ ἀνακ.] For this use of ἐπὶ cp. c. 5 ἐπὶ τῇ...ἀπολαύσει.

17. ἢ ἀνθρωπότης] *'humanity in itself,'* i.e. the abstract conception

ἑαυτὴν μεταβολὴν ἐκ τοῦ βαπτίσματος οὐ προσίεται, οὔτε τὸ λογικὸν οὔτε τὸ διανοητικὸν οὔτε τὸ ἐπιστήμης δεκτικὸν οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι τῶν χαρακτηριζόντων ἰδίως τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ἐν μεταποιήσει γίνεται. ἢ γὰρ ἂν πρὸς 5 τὸ χεῖρον ἢ μεταποιήσεις εἶη, εἴ τι τούτων ὑπαμειφθεῖη τῶν ἰδίων τῆς φύσεως. εἰ οὖν ἢ ἄνωθεν γέννησις ἀναστοιχειώσις τις τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γίνεται, ταῦτα δὲ τὴν μεταβολὴν οὐ προσίεται, σκεπτέον τίνας μεταποιηθέντος ἐντελής τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως ἢ χάρις ἐστί. δῆλον ὅτι τῶν πονηρῶν 10 γνωρισμάτων ἐξαλειφθέντων τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἢ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον μετέστας γίνεται. οὐκοῦν εἰ, καθὼς φησιν ὁ προφήτης, λουσάμενοι τῷ μυστικῷ τούτῳ λουτρῷ καθαρὸι τὰς προαιρέσεις γειοίμεθα, τὰς πονηρίας τῶν ψυχῶν ἀποκλύσαντες, κρεῖττους γεγονάμεν καὶ πρὸς τὸ 15 κρεῖττον μετεποιήθημεν. εἰ δὲ τὸ μὲν λουτρὸν ἐπαχθείη τῷ σώματι, ἢ δὲ ψυχῇ τὰς ἐμπαθεῖς κηλίδας μὴ ἀπορρῦψαιτο, ἀλλ' ὁ μετὰ τὴν μύησιν βίος συμβαίνοι τῷ ἀμύητῳ βίῳ, κὰν τολμηρὸν εἰπεῖν ἢ, λέξω καὶ οὐκ ἀποτραπήσομαι, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτων τὸ ὕδωρ ὕδωρ ἐστίν, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς δωρεᾶς

3 οὐδὲ] ουτε f || χαρακτηριζομενων ητοι των χαρακτηριζοντων f || 7 τις] τε vulg || 10 γνωρισματων] βουλευματων f || 13 γενωμεθα d γινομεθα f γινοιμεθα vulg || 15 το λουτρον μεν e vulg || 16 απορριψοιτο e vulg απορρψοιτο f || 17 συμβαινει el vulg συμβαινῃ f

of man. Grace does not alter any of the essential properties of human nature.

2. οὔτε τὸ λογ.] For this description of man's faculties see c. 15 *sub fin.* and c. 33 (note).

6. ἢ ἄν. γένν.] Cp. c. 39 *sub fin.* (note).

ἰδ. ἀναστοιχειώσις] Cp. c. 8 ἀναστοιχειώσει (note).

8. ἐντελής] Cp. *antea* c. 24 p. 93 (note).

11. μετέστας] See note on *μεθισταμένης* c. 37.

12. ὁ προφήτης] Isaiah i 16 (LXX) λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γένεσθε, ἀφέλετε τὰς πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν.

13. καθαρὸι τ. π.] 'clean in our wills.'

15. μετεποιήθημεν] For this use of the aorist cp. ἔσβησαν c. 37 p. 142 (note).

16. ἐμπαθεῖς κηλ.] 'the stains caused by its passions.' For ἐμπαθεῖς cp. ἐμπαθές c. 5.

17. μύησιν] Cp. c. 35 τῆς τοιαύτης μύησεως.

ἰδ. συμβαίνοι] 'accord with,' 'be of the same character as.'

19. ἐπὶ τούτων] 'in their case the water is water, and the gift of the Holy Spirit is nowhere manifested in what takes place.' The margin of c has *γεννωμένῳ*, which is a con-



τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπιφανείσης τῷ γιγνομένῳ, ὅταν μὴ  
μόνον τὸ κατὰ τὸν θυμὸν αἰσχος ὑβρίζῃ τὴν θείαν μορφήν  
ἢ τὸ κατὰ πλεονεξίαν πάθος καὶ ἡ ἀκόλαστος καὶ ἀσχημῶν  
διάνοια καὶ τύφος καὶ φθόνος καὶ ὑπερηφανία, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
τὰ ἐξ ἀδικίας κέρδη παραμένῃ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἐκ μοιχείας 5  
αὐτῷ κτηθεῖσα γυνὴ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο  
ὑπηρετῆται. ἐὰν ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὁμοίως πρότερόν τε  
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα περὶ τὸν βίον τοῦ βαπτισθέντος ἡ, τί  
μεταπεποιήται ἰδεῖν οὐκ ἔχω, τὸν αὐτὸν βλέπων ὄνπερ  
καὶ πρότερον. ὁ ἡδικημένος, ὁ σεσυκοφαντημένος, ὁ τῶν 10  
ιδίων ἀπωσθεὶς οὐδεμίαν ὀρώσιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν τοῦ  
λελουμένου μεταβολήν. οὐκ ἤκουσαν καὶ παρὰ τούτου  
τὴν τοῦ Ζακχαίου φωνὴν ὅτι Εἴ τινα τι ἐσυκοφάντησα,  
ἀποδίδωμι τετραπλασίονα. ἂ πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος  
ἔλεγον, τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ νῦν περὶ αὐτοῦ διεξέρχονται, ἐκ τῶν 15  
αὐτῶν ὀνομάτων κατονομάζουσι πλεονέκτην, τῶν ἄλλο-  
τρίων ἐπιθυμητῆν, ἀπὸ συμφορῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τρυφῶντα.  
ὁ τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὧν, ἔπειτα ἐπιθρυλῶν ἑαυτῷ διὰ

1 γινομενω cf vulg || 3 η ασχημων el vulg || 4 διανοια] ἡδονη f || 5 παραμενει  
f || 6 om και l || 7 υπηρετεται vulg υπηρετη fl || om τα vulg || 9 εχω]  
ετι vulg || 10 εσυκοφ- e || 12 λελουμενου] λεγομενου eh vulg ελουσμενου f ||  
13 om του deghn vulg || τινος en vulg || 14 α] αλλ a g αλλ απερ l<sup>1</sup> ||  
15 περι του αυτου vulg || 17 ανθρωπινων] αλλοτριων f

jecture of Maximus Margunius. But no alteration is necessary. Gr. means that the grace of Baptism is not given when men do not fulfil its conditions. In τῆς δωρ. τ. ἀ. π. Gr. appears to be thinking of 'unction,' which would be included by him in baptism.

2. τὸ κ. τ. θ. αἰσχος] 'the deformity of anger.' Αἰσχος is used of a deformity of mind or body. Cp. Plat. *Symp.* 201A ἄλλο τι ὁ Ἔρως κάλλους ἂν εἴη ἔρως, αἰσχος δ' οὐ; ἰδ. μορφήν] rightly used here of that which is a permanent characteristic of man in virtue of his having been made κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ

(c. 5).

10. ὁ σεσυκ.] Cp. συκοφαντίαν c. 9.

11. ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν] 'in their own case,' 'to take themselves as an instance.'

12. καὶ παρὰ τούτου] i.e. from him as well as from Zacchaeus.

13. φωνήν] Lk. xix 8.

15. διεξέρχονται] 'recount in full,' because such sins remain undiminished.

17. ἀπὸ συμφ.] 'who lives luxuriously on other men's misfortunes.'

18. ἐπιθρυλῶν] Cp. c. 28 διαθρυλοῦσι.

τοῦ βαπτίσματος τὴν πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον μεταβολήν, ἀκου-  
 σάτω τῆς Παύλου φωνῆς ὅτι Εἴ τις δοκεῖ εἶναι τι, μηδὲν  
 ὦν, φρεναπατᾶ ἑαυτόν. ὃ γὰρ μὴ γέγονας, οὐκ εἶ. "Ὅσοι  
 ἔλαβον αὐτόν, φησὶ περὶ τῶν ἀναγενηθηέντων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον,  
 5 ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι. τὸ τέκνον  
 γενόμενόν τινος ὁμογενὲς πάντως ἐστὶ τῷ γεννήσαντι. εἰ  
 οὖν ἔλαβες τὸν θεὸν καὶ τέκνον ἐγένου θεοῦ, δεῖξον διὰ τῆς  
 προαιρέσεως καὶ τὸν ἐν σοὶ ὄντα θεόν, δεῖξον ἐν σεαυτῷ  
 τὸν γεννήσαντα. ἐξ ὧν τὸν θεὸν γνωρίζομεν, δι' ἐκείνων  
 10 προσήκει δειχθῆναι τοῦ γενομένου υἱοῦ θεοῦ τὴν πρὸς τὸν  
 θεὸν οἰκειότητα. ἐκεῖνος ἀνοίγει τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐμπιπλᾶ  
 πᾶν ζῶον εὐδοκίας, ὑπερβαίνει ἀνομίας, μετανοεῖ ἐπὶ  
 κακίας· χρηστὸς κύριος τοῖς σύμπασι, μὴ ὀργὴν ἐπάγων  
 καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν· εὐθὺς κύριος ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν  
 15 ἀδικία ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα σποράδην παρὰ τῆς  
 γραφῆς διδασκόμεθα. εἰ ἐν τούτοις ἦς, ἀληθῶς ἐγένου  
 τέκνον θεοῦ· εἰ δὲ τοῖς τῆς κακίας ἐπιμένεις γνωρίσμασι,  
 μάτην ἐπιθρυλεῖς σεαυτῷ τὴν ἄνωθεν γέννησιν. ἐρεῖ πρὸς  
 σὲ ἡ προφητεία ὅτι Υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου εἶ, οὐχὶ υἱὸς ὑψίστου·  
 20 ἀγαπᾷς ματαιότητα, ζητεῖς ψεύδος. οὐκ ἔγνωσ πῶς  
 θαυμαστοῦται ἄνθρωπος, ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλως, εἰ μὴ ὅσιος

2 του Παυλου I || om τι vulg || 3 μη] ου gr || 5 το] +δε egh vulg +γαρ  
 η || 6 γινομενον f || 13 om κυριος l\* || 14 ευθυς vulg || 15 παρα τ. γ.  
 σποραδην f || 18 εαυτω f || ερει] +γαρ f || 19 om οτι d || 20 ματαιοτητα] +και l ||  
 20-1 πως θαυμαστουται...αλλως] οτι ανθρωπος ουκ αλλως υιος θεου γινεται vulg

2. Παύλου] Gal. vi 3.

3. μὴ γέγονας] i.e. 'which you have not really become.' It is explained by τέκνα θ. γενέσθαι.

ib. "Ὅσοι κ.τ.λ.] Jn i 12.

6. ὁμογενές] Gr. seems to draw no distinction here between similarity of moral character and identity of nature.

8. προαιρέσεως] The 'purpose' or 'aim' of the life.

11. ἀνοίγει] Ps. cxliv (cxlv) 16.

12. ὑπερβαίνει ἀν.] 'passes over iniquities.' Mic. vii 18 (LXX) ἐξαι-

ρον ἀνομίας καὶ ὑπερβαίνων ἀσεβείας.

ib. μετανοεῖ] Joel ii 13 (LXX).

13. χρηστός] Ps. cxliv (cxlv) 9 (LXX).

ib. μὴ ὀργὴν κ.τ.λ.] Ps. vii 12 (LXX).

14. εὐθὺς] Ps. xci (xcii) 16.

19. ἡ προφητεία] The passage which follows is an adaptation of Ps. iv 3, 4 (LXX). The words οὐχὶ υἱὸς ὑψ. are a comment of Gr., with perhaps a reminiscence of Ps. lxxxii (lxxxii) 6, 7.

21. θαυμαστοῦται] 'how man is

γένηται. ἀναγκαῖον ἂν εἴη τούτοις προσθεῖναι καὶ τὸ  
 λειπόμενον, ὅτι οὔτε τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ ἐν ἐπαγγελίαις τοῖς  
 εἰς βεβιωκόσι προκείμενα τοιαῦτά ἐστιν ὡς εἰς ὑπογραφὴν  
 λόγου ἐλθεῖν. πῶς γὰρ ἂ οὔτε ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν, οὔτε οὖς  
 ἤκουσεν, οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη; οὔτε μὴν 5  
 ἢ ἀλγεινὴ τῶν πεπλημμεληκότων ζωὴ πρὸς τι τῶν τῆδε  
 λυπούντων τὴν αἴσθησιν ὁμοτίμως ἔχει. ἀλλὰ κὰν ἐπονο-  
 μασθῆ τι τῶν ἐκεῖ κολαστηρίων τοῖς ὧδε γνωριζομένοις  
 ὀνόμασιν, οὐκ ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὴν παραλλαγὴν ἔχει. πῦρ γὰρ  
 ἀκούων ἄλλο τι παρὰ τοῦτο νοεῖν ἐδιδάχθης ἐκ τοῦ 10  
 προσκείσθαι τι τῷ πυρὶ ἐκείνῳ ὃ ἐν τούτῳ οὐκ ἔστι·  
 τὸ μὲν γὰρ οὐ σβέννυται, τούτου δὲ πολλὰ παρὰ τῆς  
 πείρας ἐξεύρηται τὰ σβεστήρια, πολλὰ δὲ τοῦ σβεννυμένου  
 πρὸς τὸ μὴ παραδεχόμενον σβέσιν ἢ διαφορά. οὐκοῦν  
 ἄλλο τι, καὶ οὐχὶ τοῦτό ἐστι. πάλιν σκώληκά τις ἀκούσας 15  
 μὴ διὰ τῆς ὁμωνυμίας πρὸς τὸ ἐπίγειον τοῦτο θηρίου  
 ὑποφερῆσθω τῇ διανοίᾳ· ἢ γὰρ προσθήκη τοῦ ἀτελεύτητου  
 εἶναι ἄλλην τινα φύσιν παρὰ τὴν γινωσκομένην νοεῖν  
 ὑποτίθεται. ἐπεὶ οὖν ταῦτα πρόκειται τῇ ἐλπίδι τοῦ  
 μετὰ ταῦτα βίου, καταλλήλως ἐκ τῆς ἐκάστου προαιρέσεως 20

1 γενοιτο f || 2 λειπομενον] επομενον f || om οτι l || 4-6 ους...ζωη προς  
 desunt in l\* || 7 ομωνυμως fl\*<sup>vid</sup> || 9 ονομασιν] νοσημασιν l || 11 προκεισθαι l\*<sup>vid</sup>  
 vulg || 16 εγγιον f || του θηριου h || 18 γινομενην g<sup>1</sup>

*magnified.* The LXX of Ps. iv 4  
 has καὶ γνώτε ὅτι θαναμάστωσεν Κύριος  
 τὸν ὄσιον αὐτοῦ.

1. ἀναγκαῖον] Gr. now passes on  
 to speak of the rewards and punish-  
 ments with which God visits men.

3. ὑπογραφὴν] 'outline sketch.'  
 'Such as cannot be indicated in any  
 account.'

4. ἂ οὔτε κ.τ.λ.] 1 Cor. ii 9.  
 Cp. Is. lxiv 4 (3) (LXX).

7. ὁμοτίμως ἔχει] 'has no equal  
 in any of the things which in this  
 life give pain to the sense.' For  
 ὁμοτίμως cp. *antea* c. 28 p. 106.

9. οὐκ ἐν ὀλίγῳ] 'it exhibits no

*slight variation in meaning.*

*ib.* πῦρ γὰρ ἀκούων] Cp. Isaiah  
 lxvi 24 (LXX), Mk ix 48, Mt. iii 10,  
 Lk. iii 9.

10. ἐκ τοῦ προσκ.] 'because some-  
 thing is added to that fire which is  
 not in this.'

20. καταλλ.] 'being the natural  
 and suitable outcome in the life of  
 each man's bent of character, and  
 expressing the righteous judgment of  
 God.' God's rewards accompany  
 and are the natural result of a  
 man's character. There is nothing  
 arbitrary about them.

κατὰ τὴν δικαίαν τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσιν ἀναφύομενα τῷ βίῳ, σωφρονούντων ἂν εἴη μὴ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο βλέπειν, καὶ τῆς ἀφράστου μακαριότητος ἐν τῇ ὀλίγῃ ταύτῃ καὶ προσκαίρῳ ζωῇ τὰς ἀφορμὰς καταβάλλεσθαι καὶ τῆς τῶν κακῶν πείρας δι' ἀγαθῆς προαιρέσεως ἀλλοτριούσθαι, νῦν μὲν κατὰ τὸν βίον, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ κατὰ τὴν αἰωνίαν ἀντίδοσιν.

1 om του θεου 1 || 7 τ. α. αντιδοσιν] Desinunt in haec verba codd pler. In *m* et edd. Paris. haec quoque exstant: ο Χριστος βουλεται θεωρειν δυο φυσεις οισιωδως ηνωμενας ομολογουσα κακ τουτου παριστωσα το μεγαλειον του ελεους και των οικτιρμων του θεου περι ημας καταδεξαμενου δια την προς ημας στοργην συνειναι τε και συναριθμεισθαι τη εαυτου φυσει την ημετεραν· και χαρις τω θεω επι τη ανεκδιηγητω αυτου δωρεα· και ταυτα μεν εις τοσουτου· επειδη δε ο Σενηρος ψιλαις προκαθεζεται φωναϊς εν ρημασι τε μονοις και ηχοις την ευσεβειαν υποτιθεται καιτοι γε του αποστολου λεγοντος· ου γαρ εν λογω η βασιλεια του θεου αλλ εν δυναμει και αληθεια· ουτος δε παρ αυτω Σενηρω κρατιστος θεολογος γνωριζεται ος αν τας κατηγοριας Αριστοτελεις και τα λοιπα των εξω φιλοσοφων κομψα ησκημενος τυγχανοι αναγκαιον ημας τα σημαινομενα εκαστης λεξεως των εις τα προς αυτον Σενηρον λεγομενα χρειωδως λαμβανομενων επι καιρον σαφηνισαι κατα τον νοιν των εκκλησιαστικων διδασκαλων καθ ον ταυτα εξειληφασιν· ινα εχοιεν οι εντυγχανοντες τοις υπογεγραμμενοις λογοις εκ πρωτης εντευξεως νοειν των λεγομενων δυναμιν· και μη δια την αγνοιαν του σημαινομενου των λεξεων προς την καταληψιν των εν αυτοις θεωρηματων παραποδιζωνται

7. τὴν αἰωνίαν ἀντίδοσιν] i.e. the future life, conceived of as the reward of a man's conduct in this life.

Here the treatise ends according to the bulk of the MSS. But in *m* and in the Codex Vulcobianus, used by Fronto Ducaeus, there follows a long additional section beginning ὁ Χριστὸς βουλεται and ending τὰν ἐν αὐτοῖς θεωρημάτων παραποδίζονται. The section appears in the Latin translation of Hervetus and in the Paris editions. It deals with the heresy of Severus, the head of the sect of the Acephali, who was con-

demned at the Council of Constantinople in A.D. 536. The whole section forms the conclusion of a work on the Incarnation, in reply to the Manichæan, Paulianist, Apollinarian, Nestorian, and Eutychian heresies, by Theodore, a priest and monk of Rhaithu or Raythu circa A.D. 650. Theodore's work is printed in Migne *P. G.* xci p. 1479 sq., and in Galland *Vet. Patr. Bibl.* xiii. The passage has crept into the text of Gr. owing to some scribe's blunder in transcription.

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CORRIGENDA.

PAGE

- 28 col. 2 for *intelligent and sensible* read *intelligible and sensible*.  
30 col. 1 for *the intelligent nature* read *the intelligible nature*.  
*ibid.* col. 2 for intelligent and sensible read intelligible and sensible.  
37 line 7 for ἡ αἰσχύνη καὶ read ἡ αἰσχύνη, καὶ.  
63 col. 2 for Ἐπορρῶν read Ἐπορρῶν.  
141 col. 2 for the reading τῶ...καθηγουμένῳ...ἐπέπεσθαι read the reading  
ἐπέπεσθαι.













