

The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 114

THE EARLY CHURCH FATHERS WRITINGS

Volume 114

Leo the Great, John of Damascus, the Festal Epistles of
Athanasius and Shorter Writings

c. AD 250 – 750

S E R M O N I N D E X

The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 114: Leo the Great, John of Damascus, the Festal Epistles of Athanasius and Shorter Writings

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INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

How this book is arranged

This is the hundred and fourteenth volume of a series that gathers the writings of the early Church. It is an addendum: it gathers writings that were not printed in the volumes before it. The first part holds the letters of Dionysius of Alexandria and the council that met at Carthage on the baptism of heretics. The second part holds short anonymous pieces, the Marcionite and anti-Marcionite prologues, the Passion of Saint Saturninus, and the text of Acts as the fifth-century Codex Bezae gives it. The third part is the Festal Epistles of Athanasius, his Easter letters, from the Syriac. The fourth part is the sermons of Leo the Great, bishop of Rome. The fifth gathers shorter writings of the fourth to the seventh century, and the last part is the Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith of John of Damascus.

The introductions, the descriptions of the parts and the headings were prepared for SermonIndex with the help of artificial intelligence. The texts themselves are the translations, and were not rewritten.

Translations and texts

The English is that of older translators, nearly all of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and is printed as the website prints it. Most of these texts were read by machine from scanned books and have not been proofread against the printed pages, so a misreading may remain. Footnotes, and words in Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic and Latin, are left out of this book, as are the translators' long introductions; the reader who wants them should go to the printed edition.

Dates and authorship

The Festal Epistles of Athanasius survive in Syriac, and Burgess's English has the notes of its editor mixed into the text in places, which are left in where they could not be told apart from the letters. The prologues to the Gospels and to Paul's letters are anonymous and their dates are disputed. The dates given

are those of the authors, and the volume runs from the third century to the eighth.

P A R T O N E

Letters and Councils of the Third Century

*Dionysius of Alexandria on the controversies of his day, and the
African council that dealt with heretical baptism.*

Containing Epistles, or Fragments of Epistles

DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA

d. AD 264

Pupil of Origen and bishop of Alexandria.

EPISTLE I.-TO DOMITIUS AND DIDYMUS.

1. But it would be a superfluous task for me to mention by name our (martyr) friends, who are numerous and at the same time unknown to you. Only understand that they include men and women, both young men and old, both maidens and aged matrons, both soldiers and private citizens,-every class and every age, of whom some have suffered by stripes and fire, and some by the sword, and have won the victory and received their crowns. In the case of others. however, even a very long lifetime has not proved sufficient to secure their appearance as men acceptable to the Lord; as indeed in my own case too, that sufficient time has not shown itself up to the present. Wherefore He has preserved me for another convenient season, of which He knows Himself, as He says: "In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in a day of salvation have I helped thee."

2. Since, however, you have been inquiring about what has befallen us, and wish to be informed as to how we have fared, you have got a full report of our fortunes; how when we-that is to say, Gains, and myself, and Faustus, and Peter. and Paul-were led off as prisoners by the centurion and the magistrates, and the soldiers and other attendants accompanying them, there came upon us certain parties from Mareotis, who dragged us with them against our will, and though we were disinclined to follow them, and carried us away by force; and how Gains and Peter and myself have been separated from our other brethren, and shut up alone in a desert and sterile place in Libya, at a distance of three days' journey from Paraetionium. 3. And a little further on, he proceeds thus:-And they concealed themselves in the city, and

secretly visited the brethren. I refer to the presbyters Maximus, Dioscorus, Demetrius, and Lucius. For Faustinus and Aquila, who are persons of greater prominence in the world, are wandering about in Egypt. I specify also the deacons who survived those who died in the sickness, viz., Faustus, Eusebius, and Chaeremon. And of Eusebius I speak as one whom the Lord strengthened from the beginning, and qualified for the task of discharging energetically the services due to the confessors who are in prison, and of executing the perilous office of dressing out and burying the bodies of those perfected and blessed martyrs. For even up to the present day the governor does not cease to put to death, in a cruel manner, as I have already said, some of those who are brought before him; while he wears others out by torture, and wastes others away with imprisonment and bonds, commanding also that no one shall approach them and making strict scrutiny lest any one should be seen to do so. And nevertheless God imparts relief to the oppressed by the tender kindness and earnestness of the brethren.

EPISTLE II.-TO NOVATUS.

Dionysius to Novatus his brother, greeting. If you were carried on against your will, as you say, you will show that such has been the case by your voluntary retirement. For it would have been but dutiful to have suffered any kind of ill, so as to avoid rending the Church of God. And a martyrdom borne for the sake of preventing a division of the Church, would not have been more inglorious than one endured for refusing to worship idols; nay, in my opinion at least, the former would have been a nobler thing than the latter. For in the one case a person gives such a testimony simply for his own individual soul, whereas in the other case he is a witness for the whole Church. And now, if you can persuade or constrain the brethren to come to be of one mind again, your uprightness will be superior to your error; and the latter will not be charged against you, while the former will be commended in you. But if you cannot prevail so far with your recusant brethren, see to it that you save your own soul. My wish is, that in the Lord you may fare well as you study peace.

EPISTLE III.-TO FABIVS BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.

I. The persecution with us did not commence with the imperial edict, but preceded it by a whole year. And a certain prophet and poet, an enemy to this city, whatever else he was, had previously roused and exasperated against us

the masses of the heathen. inflaming them anew with the fires of their native superstition. Excited by him, and finding full liberty for the perpetration of wickedness, they reckoned this the only piety and service to their demons, namely, our slaughter. 2. First, then, they seized an old man of the name of Metras, and commanded him to utter words of impiety; and as he refused, they beat his body with clubs, and lacerated his face and eyes with sharp reeds, and then dragged him off to the suburbs and stoned him there. Next they carried off a woman named *Quinta*, who was a believer, to an idol temple, and compelled her to worship the idol; and when she turned away from it, and showed how she detested it, they bound her feet and dragged her through the whole city along the rough stone-paved streets, knocking her at the same time against the millstones, and scourging her, until they brought her to the same place, and stoned her also there. Then with one impulse they all rushed upon the houses of the God-fearing, and whatever pious persons any of them knew individually as neighbours, after these they hurried and bore them with them, and robbed and plundered them, setting aside the more valuable portions of their property for themselves, and scattering about the commoner articles, and such as were made of wood, and burning them on the roads, so that they made these parts present the spectacle of a city taken by the enemy. The brethren, however, simply gave way and withdrew, and, like those to whom Paul bears witness, they took the spoiling of their goods with joy. And I know not that any of them-except possibly some solitary individual who may have chanced to fall into their hands-thus far has denied the Lord.

3. But they also seized that most admirable virgin Apollonia, then in advanced life, and knocked out all her teeth, and cut her jaws; and then kindling a fire before the city, they threatened to burn her alive unless she would! repeat along with them their expressions of impiety. And although she seemed to deprecate her fate for a little, on being let go, she leaped eagerly into the fire and was consumed. They also laid hold of a certain Serapion in his own house; and after torturing him with severe cruelties, and breaking all his limbs, they dashed him headlong from an upper storey to the ground. And there was no road, no thoroughfare, no lane even, where we could walk, whether by night or by day; for at all times and in every place they all kept crying out, that if any one should refuse to repeat their blasphemous expressions, he must be at once dragged off and burnt. These in fictions were car-

ried rigorously on for a considerable time in this manner. But when the insurrection and the civil war in due time overtook these wretched people, that diverted their savage cruelty from us, and turned it against themselves. And we enjoyed a little breathing time, as long as leisure failed them for exercising their fury against us.

4. But speedily was the change from that more kindly reign announced to us; and great was the terror of threatening that was now made to reach us. Already, indeed, the edict had arrived; and it was of such a tenor as almost perfectly to correspond with what was intimated to us beforetime by our Lord, setting before us the most dreadful horrors, so as, if that were possible, to cause the very elect to stumble. All verily were greatly alarmed, and of the more notable there were some, and these a large number, who speedily accommodated themselves to the decree in fear; others, who were engaged in the public service, were drawn into compliance by the very necessities of their official duties; others were dragged on to it by their friends, and on being called by name approached the impure and unholy sacrifices; others yielded pale and trembling, as if they were not to offer sacrifice, but to be themselves the sacrifices and victims for the idols, so that they were jeered by the large multitude surrounding the scene, and made it plain to all that they were too cowardly either to face death or to offer the sacrifices. But there were others who hurried up to, the altars with greater alacrity, stoutly asserting that they had never been Christians at all before; of whom our Lord's prophetic declaration holds most true, that it will be hard for such to be saved. Of the rest, some followed one or other of these parties already mentioned; some fled, and some were seized. And of these, some went as far in keeping their faith as bonds and imprisonment; and certain persons among them endured imprisonment even for several days, and then after all abjured the faith before coming into the court of justice; while others, after holding out against the torture for a time, sank before the prospect of further sufferings.

5. But there were also others, steadfast and blessed pillars of the Lord, who, receiving strength from Himself, and obtaining power and vigour worthy of and commensurate with the force of the faith that was in themselves, have proved admirable witnesses for His kingdom. And of these the first was Julianus, a man suffering from gout, and able neither to stand nor to walk, who was arranged along with two other men who carried him. Of these two per-

sons, the one immediately denied Christ; but the other, a person named Cronion, and surnamed Eunus, and together with him the aged Julianus himself, confessed the Lord, and were carried on camels through the whole city, which is, as you know, a very large one, and were scourged in that elevated position, and finally were consumed in a tremendous fire, while the whole populace surrounded them. And a certain soldier who stood by them when they I were led away to execution, and who opposed the wanton insolence of the people, was pursued by the outcries they raised against him; and this most courageous soldier of God, Besas by name, was arranged; and after bearing himself most nobly in that mighty conflict on behalf of piety, he was beheaded. And another individual, who was by birth a Libyan, and who at once in name ' and in real blessedness was also a true Macar although much was tried by the judge to persuade him to make a denial, did not yield, and was consequently burned alive. And these were succeeded by Epimachus and Alexander, who, after a long time spent in chains, and after suffering countless agonies and inflictions of the scraper and the scourge, were also burnt to ashes in an immense fire.

6. And along with these there were four women. Among them was Ammonarium, a pious virgin, who was tortured for a very long time by the judge in a most relentless manner, because she declared plainly from the first that she would utter none of the things which he commanded her to repeat; and after she had made good her profession she was led off to execution. The others were the most venerable and aged Mercuria, and Dionysia, who had been the mother of many children, and yet did not love her offspring better than her Lord. These, when the governor was ashamed to subject them any further to profitless torments, and thus to see himself beaten by women, died by the sword, without more experience of tortures. For truly their champion Ammonarium had received tortures for them all. 7. Heron also, and Ater, and Isidorus who were Egyptians, and along with them Dioscorus, a boy of about fifteen years of age, were delivered up. And though at first he, the judge, tried to deceive the youth with fair speeches, thinking he could easily seduce him, and then attempted also to compel him by force of tortures, fancying he might be made to yield without much difficulty in that way, Dioscorus neither submitted to his persuasions nor gave way to his terrors. And the rest, after their bodies had been lacerated in a most savage manner, and their steadfastness had nevertheless been maintained, he consigned also to the

flames. But Dioscorus he dismissed, wondering at the distinguished appearance he had made in public, and at the extreme wisdom of the answers he gave to his interrogations, and declaring that, on account of his age, he granted him further time for repentance. And this most godly Dioscorus is with us at present, tarrying for a greater conflict and a more lengthened contest. A certain person of the name of Nemesion, too, who was also an Egyptian, was falsely accused of being a companion of robbers; and after he had cleared himself of this charge before the centurion, and proved it to be a most unnatural calumny, he was informed against as a Christian, and had to come as a prisoner before the governor. And that most unrighteous magistrate inflicted on him a punishment twice as severe as that to which the robbers were subjected, making him suffer both tortures and scourgings, and then consigning him to the fire between the robbers. Thus the blessed martyr was honoured after the pattern of Christ.

8. There was also a body of soldiers, including Ammon, and Zeno, and Ptolemy, and Ingenuus, and along with them an old man, Theophilus, who had taken up their position in a mass in front of the tribunal; and when a certain person was standing his trial as a Christian, and was already inclining to make a denial, these stood round about and ground their teeth, and made signs with their faces, and stretched out their hands, and made all manner of gestures with their bodies. And while the attention of all was directed to them, before any could lay hold of them, they ran quickly up to the bench of judgment and declared themselves to be Christians, and made such an impression that the governor and his associates were filled with fear; and those who were trader trial seemed to be most courageous in the prospect of what they were to suffer, while the judges themselves trembled. These, then, went with a high spirit from the tribunals, and exulted in their testimony, God Himself causing them to triumph gloriously.

9. Moreover, others in large numbers were torn asunder by the heathen throughout the cities and villages. Of one of these I shall give some account, as an example. Ischyriion served one of the rulers in the capacity of steward for stated wages. His employer ordered this man to offer sacrifice; and on his refusal to do so, he abused him. When he persisted in his non-compliance, his master treated him with contumely; and when he still held out, he took a huge stick and thrust it through his bowels and heart, and slew him. Why should I mention the multitudes of those who had to wander about in desert

places and upon the mountains, and who were cut off by hunger, and thirst, and cold, and sickness, and robbers, and wild beasts? The survivors of such are the witnesses of their election and their victory. One circumstance, however, I shall subjoin as an illustration of these things. There was a certain very aged person of the name of Chaeremon, bishop of the place called the city of the Nile. He fled along with his partner to the Arabian mountain, and never returned. The brethren, too, were unable to discover anything of them, although they made frequent search; and they never could find either the men themselves, or their bodies. Many were also carried off as slaves by the barbarous Saracens to that same Arabian mount. Some of these were ransomed with difficulty, and only by paying a great sum of money; others of them have not been ransomed to this day. And these facts I have related, brother, not without a purpose, but in order that you may know how many and how terrible are the ills that have befallen us; which troubles also will be best understood by those who have had most experience of them.

10. Those sainted martyrs, accordingly, who were once with us, and who now are seated with Christ, and are sharers in His kingdom, and partakers with Him in His judgment, and who act as His judicial assessors, received there certain of the brethren who had fallen away, and who had become chargeable with sacrificing to the idols. And as they saw that the conversion and repentance of such might be acceptable to Him who desires not at all the death of the sinner, but rather his repentance, they proved their sincerity, and received them, and brought them together again, and assembled with them, and had fellowship with them in their prayers and at their festivals. What advice then, brethren, do you give us as regards these? What should we do? Are we to stand forth and act with the decision and judgment which those (martyrs) formed, and to observe the same graciousness with them, and to deal so kindly with those toward whom they showed such compassion? or are we to treat their decision as an unrighteous one, and to constitute ourselves judges of their opinion on such subjects, and to throw clemency into tears, and to overturn the established order?

11. But I shall give a more particular account of one case here which occurred among us: There was with us a certain Serapion, an aged believer. He had spent his long life blamelessly, but had fallen in the time of trial (the persecution). Often did this man pray (for absolution), and no one gave heed to him; for he had sacrificed to the idols. Falling sick, he continued three

successive days dumb and senseless. Recovering a little on the fourth day, he called to him his grandchild, and said, "My son, how long do you detain me? Hasten, I entreat you, and absolve me quickly. Summon one of the presbyters to me. And when he had said this, he became speechless again. The boy ran for the presbyter; but it was night, and the man was sick, and was consequently unable to come. But as an injunction had been issued by me, that persons at the point of death, if they requested it then, and especially if they had earnestly sought it before, should be absolved, in order that they might depart this life in cheerful hope, he gave the boy a small portion of the Eucharist, telling him to steep it in water and drop it into the old man's mouth. The boy returned bearing the portion; and as he came near, and before he had yet entered, Serapion again recovered, and said, "You have come, my child, and the presbyter was unable to come;

but do quickly what you were instructed to do, and so let me depart. The boy steeped the morsel in water, and at once dropped it into the (old man's) mouth; and after he had swallowed a little of it, he forthwith gave up the ghost. Was he not then manifestly preserved? and did he not continue in life just until he could be absolved, and until through the wiping away of his sins he could be acknowledged for the many good acts he had done?

EPISTLE IV.-TO CORNELIUS THE ROMAN BISHOP.

In addition to all these, he writes likewise to Cornelius at Rome after receiving his Epistle against Novatus. And in that letter he also shows that he had been invited by Helenus, bishop in Tarsus of Cilicia, and by the others who were with him-namely, Firmilian, bishop in Cappadocia, and Theoctistus in Palestine-to meet them at the Council of Antioch, where certain persons were attempting to establish the schism of Novatus. In addition to this, he writes that it was reported to him that Fabius was dead, and that Demetrius was appointed his successor in the bishopric of the church at Antioch. He writes also respecting the bishop in Jerusalem, expressing himself in these very words: "And the blessed Alexander, having been cast into prison, went to his rest in blessedness."

EPISTLE V., WHICH IS THE FIRST ON THE SUBJECT OF BAPTISM
ADDRESSED TO STEPHEN, BISHOP OF ROME.

¹ Understand, however, my brother, that all the churches located in the east, and also in remoter districts, that were formerly in a state of division, are now made one again; and all those at the head of the churches everywhere

are of one mind, and rejoice exceedingly at the peace which has been restored beyond all expectation. I may mention Demetrianus in Antioch; Theoctistus in Caesarea; Mazabanes in Aelia, the successor of the deceased Alexander; Marinus in Tyre; Heliodorus in Laodicea, the successor of the deceased Thelymidres; Helenus in Tarsus, and with him all the churches of Cilicia; and Firmilian and all Cappadocia. For I have named only the more illustrious of the bishops, so as neither to make my epistle too long, nor to render my discourse too heavy for you. All the districts of Syria, however, and of Arabia, to the brethren in which you from time to time have been forwarding supplies and at present have sent letters, and Mesopotamia too, and Pontus, and Syria, and, to speak in brief, all parties, are everywhere rejoicing at the unanimity and brotherly love now established, and are glorifying God for the same.

The Same, Otherwise Rendered.

² But know, my brother, that all the churches throughout the East, and those that are placed beyond, which formerly were separated, are now at length returned to unity; and all the presidents of the churches everywhere think one and the same thing, and rejoice with incredible joy on account of the unlooked-for return of peace: to wit, Demetrianus in Antioch; Theoctistus in Caesarea; Mazabenes in Aelia, after the death of Alexander; Marinus in Tyre; Heliodorus in Laodicea, after the death of Thelymidres; Helenus in Tarsus, and all the churches of Cilicia; Firmilianus, with all Cappadocia. And I have named only the more illustrious bishops, lest by chance my letter should be made too prolix, and my address too wearisome. The whole of the Syrias, indeed, and Arabia, to which you now and then send help, and to which you have now written letters; Mesopotamia also, and Pontus, and Bithynia; and, to comprise all in one word, all the lands everywhere, are rejoicing, praising God on account of this concord and brotherly charity.

EPISTLE VI.-TO SIXTUS, BISHOP.

1. Previously, indeed, (Stephen) had written letters about Helanus and Firmilianus, and about all who were established throughout Cilicia and Cappadocia, and all the neighbouring provinces, giving them to understand that for that same reason he would depart from their communion, because they rebaptized heretics. And consider the seriousness of the matter. For, indeed, in the most considerable councils of the bishops, as I hear, it has been

decreed that they who come from heresy should first be trained in Catholic doctrine, and then should be cleansed by baptism from the filth of the old and impure leaven. Asking and calling him to witness on all these matters, I sent letters. And a little after Dionysius proceeds:- 2. And, moreover, to our beloved co-presbyters Dionysius and Philemon, who before agreed with Stephen, and had written to me about the same matters, I wrote previously in few words, but now I have written again more at length.

2 In the same letter, says Eusebius, he informs Xystus of the Sabellian heretics, that they were gaining ground at that time, in these words:- 3. For since of the doctrine, which lately has been set on foot at Ptolemais, a city of Pentapolis, implores and full of blasphemy against Almighty God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; full of unbelief and perfidy towards His only begotten Son and the first-born of every creature, the Word made man, and which takes away the perception of the Holy Spirit,-on either side both letters were brought to me, and brethren had come to discuss it, setting forth more plainly as much as by God's gift I was able,-I wrote certain letters, copies of which I have sent to thee.

EPISTLE VII.-TO PHILEMON, A PRESBYTER.

1 I indeed gave attention to reading the books and carefully studying the traditions of heretics, to the extent indeed of corrupting my soul with their execrable opinions; yet receiving from them this advantage, that I could refute them in my own mind, and detested them more heartily than ever. And when a certain brother of the order of presbyters sought to deter me, and feared lest I should be involved in the same wicked filthiness, because he said that my mind would be contaminated, and indeed with truth, as I myself perceived, I was strengthened by a vision that was sent me from God. And a word spoken to me, expressly commanded me, saying, Read everything which shall come into thy hands, for thou art fit to do so, who correctest and provest each one; and from them to thee first of all has appeared the cause and the occasion of believing. I received this vision as being what was in accordance with the apostolic word, which thus urges all who are endowed with greater virtue, "Be ye skilful money-changers."

2 Then, says Eusebius, he subjoins some things parenthetically about all heresies:- This rule and form I have received from our blessed Father Heraclius: For thou, who came from heresies, even if they had fallen away from the Church, much rather if they had not fallen away, but when they were

seen to frequent the assemblies of the faithful, were charged with going to hear the teachers of perverse doctrine, and ejected from the Church, he did not admit after many prayers, before they had openly and publicly narrated whatever things they had heard from their adversaries. Then he received them at length to the assemblies of the faithful, by no means asking of them to receive baptism anew. Because they had already previously received the Holy Spirit from that very baptism. Once more, this question being thoroughly ventilated, he adds:- I learned this besides, that this custom is not now first of all imported among the Africans alone; but moreover, long before, in the times of former bishops, among most populous churches, and that when synods of the brethren of Iconium and Synades were held, it also pleased as many as possible, I should be unwilling, by overturning their judgments, to throw them into strifes and contentious. For it is written, "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which thy fathers have placed."

EPISTLE VIII.-TO DIONYSIUS.

For we rightly repulse Novatian, who has rent the Church, and has drawn away some of the brethren to impiety and blasphemies; who has brought into the world a most impious doctrine concerning God, and calumniates our most merciful Lord Jesus Christ as if He were unmerciful; and besides all these things, holds the sacred laver as of no effect, and rejects it, and overturns faith and confession, which are put before baptism, and utterly drives away the Holy Spirit from them, even if any hope subsists either that He would abide in them, or that He should return to them.

EPISTLE IX.-TO SIXTUS II.

¹For truly, brother, I have need of advice, and I crave your judgment, lest perchance I should be mistaken upon the matters which in such wise happen to me. One of the brethren who come together to the church, who for some time has been esteemed as a believer, and who before my ordination, and, if I am not deceived, before even the episcopate of Heraclas himself, had been a partaker of the assembly of the faithful, when he had been concerned in the baptism of those who were lately baptized, and had heard the interrogatories and their answers, came to me in tears, and bewailing his lot. And throwing himself at my feet, he began to confess and to protest that this baptism by which he had been initiated among heretics was not of this kind, nor had it anything whatever in common with this of ours, because that it was full of

blasphemy and impiety. And he said that his soul was pierced with a very bitter sense of sorrow, and that he did not dare even to lift up his eyes to God, because he had been initiated by those wicked words and things. Wherefore he besought that, by this purest laver, he might be endowed with adoption and grace. And I, indeed, have not dared to do this; but I have said that the long course of communion had been sufficient for this.

² For I should not dare to renew afresh, after all, one who had heard the giving of thanks, and who had answered with others Amen; who had stood at the holy table, and had stretched forth his hands to receive the blessed food, and had received it, and for a very long time had been a partaker of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Henceforth I bade him be of good courage, and approach to the sacred elements with a firm faith and a good conscience, and become a partaker of them. But he makes no end of his wailing, and shrinks from approaching to the table; and scarcely, when entreated, can he bear to be present at the prayers.

EPISTLE X.-AGAINST BISHOP GERMANUS.

1. Now I speak also before God, and He knoweth that I lie not: it was not by my own choice, neither was it without divine instruction, that I took to flight. But at an earlier period, indeed, when the edict for the persecution under Decius was determined upon, Sabinus at that very hour sent a certain Frumentarius to make search for me. And I remained in the house for four days, expecting the arrival of this Frumentarius. But he went about examining all other places, the roads, the rivers, the fields, where he suspected that I should either conceal myself or travel. And he was smitten with a kind of blindness, and never lighted on the house; for he never supposed that I should tarry at home when under pursuit. Then, barely after the lapse of four days, God giving me instruction to remove, and opening the way for me in a manner beyond all expectation, my domestics and I, and a considerable number of the brethren, effected an exit together. And that this was brought about by the providence of God, was made plain by what followed: in which also we have been perhaps of some service to certain parties.

2. Then, after a certain break, he narrates the events which befell him after his flight, subjoining the following statement:-Now about sunset I was seized, along with those who were with me, by the soldiers, and was carried off to Taposiris. But by the providence of God, it happened that Timotheus was not present with me then, nor indeed had he been apprehended at all.

Reaching the place later, he found the house deserted, and officials keeping guard over it, and ourselves borne into slavery. 3. And after some other matters, he proceeds thus:-And what was the method of this marvellous disposition of Providence in his case? For the real facts shall be related. When Timotheus was fleeing in great perturbation, he was met by a man from the country. This person asked the reason for his haste, and he told him the truth plainly. Then the man (he was on his way at the time to take part in certain marriage festivities; for it is their custom to spend the whole night in such gatherings), on hearing the fact, held on his course to the scene of the rejoicings, and went in and narrated the circumstances to those who were seated at the feast; and with a single impulse, as if it had been at a given watchword, they all started up, and came on all in a rush, and with the utmost speed. Hurrying up to us, they raised a shout; and as the soldiers who were guarding us took at once to flight, they came upon us, stretched as we were upon the bare couches. For my part, as God knows, I took them at first to be robbers who had come to plunder and pillage us; and remaining on the bedstead on which I was lying naked, save only that I had on my linen underclothing, I offered them the rest of my dress as it lay beside me. But they bade me get up and take my departure as quickly as I could.

Then I understood the purpose of their coming, and cried, entreated, and implored them to go away and leave us alone; and I begged that, if they wished to do us any good, they might anticipate those who led me captive, and strike off my head. And while I was uttering such vociferations, as those who were my comrades and partners in all these things know, they began to lift me up by force. And I threw myself down on my back upon the ground; but they seized me by the hands and feet, and dragged me away, and bore me forth. And those who were witnesses of all these things followed me,-namely, Caius, Faustus, Peter, and Paul. These men also took me up, and hurried me off out of the little town, and set me on an ass without saddle, and in that fashion carried me away. 4. I fear that I run the risk of being charged with great folly and senselessness, placed as I am under the necessity of giving a narrative of the wonderful dispensation of God's providence in our case. Since, however, as one says, it is good to keep close the secret of a king, but it is honourable to reveal the works of God, I shall come to close quarters with the violence of Germanus. I came to Aemilianus not alone; for there accompanied me also my co-presbyter Maximus, and the deacons Faus-

tus and Eusebius and Chaeremon; and one of the brethren who had come from Rome went also with us. Aemilianus, then, did not lead off by saying to me, "Hold no assemblies." That was indeed a thing superfluous for him to do, and the last thing which d one would do who meant to go back to what was first and of prime importance: for his concern was not about our gathering others together in assembly, but about our not being Christians ourselves. From this, therefore, he commanded me to desist, thinking, doubtless, that if I myself should recant, the others would also follow me in that. But I answered him neither unreasonably nor in many words, "We must obey God rather than men." Moreover, I testified openly that I worshipped the only true God and none other, and that I could neither alter that position nor ever cease to be a Christian. Thereupon he ordered us to go away to a village near the desert, called Cephro.

5. Hear also the words which were uttered by both of us as they have been put on record. When Dionysius, and Faustus, and Maximus, and Marcellus, and Chaeremon had been placed at the bar, Aemilianus, as prefect, said: "I have reasoned with you verily in free speech, on the clemency of our sovereigns, as they have suffered you to experience it; for they have given you power to save yourselves, if you are disposed to turn to what is accordant with nature, and to worship the gods who also maintain them in their kingdom, and to forget those things which are repugnant' to nature. What say ye then to these things? for I by no means expect that you will be ungrateful to them for their clemency, since indeed what they aim at is to bring you over to better courses. Dionysius made reply thus "All men do not worship all the gods, but different men worship different objects that they suppose to be true gods. Now we worship the one God, who is the Creator of all things, and the very Deity who has committed the sovereignty to the hands of their most sacred majesties Valerian and Gallienus. Him we both reverence and worship; and to Him we pray continually on behalf of the sovereignty of these princes, that it may abide unshaken. Aemilianus, as prefect, said to them: "But who hinders you from worshipping this god too, if indeed he is a god, along with those who are gods by nature?

for you have been commanded to worship the gods, and those gods whom all know as such. Dionysius replied: "We worship no other one. Aemilianus, as prefect, said to them: "I perceive that you are at once ungrateful to and insensible of the clemency of our princes. Wherefore you shall not

remain in this city; but you shall be despatched to the parts of Libya, and settled in! a place called Cephro: for of this place I have I, made choice in accordance with the command of our princes. It shall not in any wise be lawful for you or for any others, either to hold assemblies or to enter those places which are: called cemeteries. And if any one is seen not to have betaken himself to this place whither I have ordered him to repair, or if he be discovered in any assembly, he will prepare peril for himself; for the requisite punishment will not fail. Be off, therefore, to the place whither you have been commanded to go. So he forced me away, sick as I was; nor did he grant me the delay even of a single day. What opportunity, then, had I to think either of holding assemblies, or of not holding them?

6. Then after same other matters he says:-Moreover, we did not withdraw from the visible assembling of ourselves together, with the Lord's presence. But those in the city I tried to gather together with all the greater zeal, as if I were present with them; for I was absent indeed in the body, as I said, but present in the spirit. And in Cephro indeed a considerable church sojourned with us, composed partly of the brethren who followed us from the city, and partly of those who joined us from Egypt. There, too, did God open to us a door for the word. And at first we were persecute we were stoned but after a period some few of the heathen forsook their idols, and turned to God. For by our means the word was then sown among them for the first time, and before that they had never received it. And as if to show that this had been the very purpose of God in conducting us to them, when we had fulfilled this ministry, He led us away again. For Aemilianus was minded to remove us to rougher parts, as it seemed, and to more Libyan-like districts; and he gave orders to draw all in every direction into the Mareotic territory, and assigned villages to each party throughout the country. But he issued instructions that we should be located specially by the public way, so that we might also be the first to be apprehended; for he evidently made his arrangements and plans with a view to an easy seizure of all of us whenever he should make up his mind to lay hold of us.

7. Now when I received the command to depart to Cephro, I had no idea of the situation of the place, and had scarcely even heard its name before; yet for all that, I went away courageously and calmly. But when word was brought me that I had to remove to the parts of Colluthion, those present know how I was affected; for here I shall be my own accuser. At first, indeed,

I was greatly vexed, and took very ill; for though these places happened to be better known and more familiar to us, yet people declared that the region was one destitute o brethren, and even of men of character, and one exposed to the annoyances of travellers and to the raids of robbers. I found comfort, however when the brethren reminded me that it was nearer the city; and while Cephro brought us large intercourse with brethren of all sorts who came from Egypt, so that we were able to hold our sacred assemblies on a more extensive scale yet there, on the other hand, as the city was in the nearer vicinity, we could enjoy more frequently the sight of those who were the really beloved, and in closest relationship with us, and dearest to us: for these would come and take their rest among us, and, as in the more remote suburbs, there would be distinct and special meetings. And thus it turned out.

8. Then, after same other matters, he gives again the following account of what befell him: -Germanus, indeed, boasts himself of many professions of faith. He, forsooth, is able to speak of many adverse things which have happened to him! Can he then reckon up in his own case as many condemnatory sentences as we can number in ours, and confiscations too, and proscriptions, and spoilings of goods, and losses of dignities, and despisings of worldly honour, and contemnings of the laudations of governors and councillors, and patient subjections to the threatenings of the adversaries, and to outcries, and perils, and persecutions, and a wandering life, and the pressure of difficulties, and all kinds of trouble, such as befell me in the time of Decius and Sabinus, and such also as I have been suffering under the present severities be of Aemilianus? But where in the world did Germanus make his appearance? And what mention is made of him? But I retire from this huge act of folly into which I am suffering myself to fall on account of Germanus; and accordingly I forbear giving to the brethren, who already have full knowledge of these things, a particular and detailed narrative of all that happened.

EPISTLE XI.-TO HERMAMMON.

1. But Gallus did not understand the wickedness of Decius, nor did he note beforehand what it was that wrought his ruin. But he stumbled at the very stone which was lying before his eyes; for when his sovereignty was in a prosperous position, and when affairs were turning out according to his wish, he oppressed those holy men who interceded with God on behalf of his peace and his welfare. And consequently, persecuting them, he persecuted also the

prayers offered in his own behalf. 2. And to John a revelation is made in like manner: "And there was given unto him," he says, "a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemy; and power was given unto him, and forty and two months." And one finds both things to wonder at in Valerian's case; and most especially has one to consider how different it was with him before these events, -how mild and well-disposed he was towards the men of God. For among the emperors who preceded him, there was not one who exhibited so kindly and favourable a disposition toward them as he did; yea, even those who were said to have become Christians openly did not receive them with that extreme friendliness and graciousness with which he received them at the beginning of his reign; and his whole house was filled then with the pious, and it was itself a very church of God. But the master and president of the Magi of Egypt prevailed on him to abandon that course, urging him to slay and persecute those pure and holy men as adversaries and obstacles to their accursed and abominable incantations. For there are, indeed, and there were men who, by their simple presence, and by merely showing themselves, and by simply breathing and uttering some words, bare been able to dissipate the artifices of wicked demons. But he put it into his mind to practise the impure rites of initiation, and detestable juggleries, and execrable sacrifices, and to slay miserable children, and to make oblations of the offspring of unhappy fathers, and to divide the bowels of the newly-born, and to mutilate and cut up the creatures made by God, as if by such means they would attain to blessedness.

3. Afterwards he subjoins the following:-Splendid surely were the thank-offerings, then, which Macrianus brought them for that empire which was the object of his hopes; who, while formerly reputed as the sovereign's faithful public treasurer, had yet no mind for anything which was either reasonable in itself or conducive to the public good, but subjected himself to that curse of prophecy which says, "Woe unto those who prophesy from their own heart, and see not the public good!" For he did not discern that providence which regulates all things; nor did he think of the judgment of Him who is before all, and through all, and over all. Wherefore he also became an enemy to His Catholic Church; and besides that, he alienated and estranged himself from the mercy of God, and fled to the utmost possible distance from His salvation. And in this indeed he demonstrated the reality of the peculiar significance of his name.

4. And again, after some other matters, he proceeds thus:-For Valerian was instigated to these acts by this man, and was thereby exposed to contumely and reproach, according to the word spoken by the Lord to Isaiah: "Yea, they have chosen their own ways, and their own abominations in which their souls delighted; I also will choose their mockeries, and will recompense their sin." But this man (Macrianus), being maddened with his passion for the empire, all unworthy of it as he was, and at the same time having no capacity for assuming the insignia of imperial government, by reason of his crippled body, put forward his two sons as the bearers, so to speak, of their father's offences. For unmistakeably apparent in their case was the truth of that declaration made by God, when He said, "Visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me." For he heaped his own wicked passions, for which he had failed in securing satisfaction, upon the heads of his sons, and thus wiped off upon them his own wickedness, and transferred to them, too, the hatred he himself had shown toward God.

5. That man, then, after he had betrayed the one and made war upon the other of the emperors preceding him, speedily perished, with his whole family, root and branch. And Gallienus was proclaimed, and acknowledged by all. And he was at once an old emperor and a new; for he was prior to those, and he also survived them. To this effect indeed is the word spoken by the Lord to Isaiah: "Behold, the things which were from the beginning have come to pass; and there are new things which shall now arise." For as a cloud which intercepts the sun's rays, and overshadows it for a little, obscures it, and appears itself in its place, but again, when the cloud has passed by or melted away, the sun, which had risen before, comes forth again and shows itself: so did this Macrianus put himself forward, and achieve access for himself even to the very empire of Gallienus now established; but now he is that no more, because indeed he never was it, while this other, i.e., Gallienus, is just as he was. And his empire, as if it had cast off old age, and had purged itself of the wickedness formerly attaching to it, is at present in a more vigorous and flourishing condition, and is now seen and heard of at greater distances, and stretches abroad in every direction.

6. Then he further indicates the exact time at which he wrote this account, as follows:-And it occurs to me again to review the days of the imperial years. For I see that those most impious men, whose names may have been

once so famous, have in a short space become nameless. But our more pious and godly prince has passed his septennium, and is now in his ninth year, in which we are to celebrate the festival.

EPISTLE XII.-TO THE ALEXANDRIANS.

1. To other men, indeed, the present state of matters would not appear to offer a fit season for a festival: and this certainly is no festal time to them; nor, in sooth, is any other that to them. And I say this, not only of occasions manifestly sorrowful, but even of all occasions whatsoever which people might consider to be most joyous. And now certainly all things are turned to mourning, and all men are in grief, and lamentations resound through the city, by reason of the multitude of the dead and of those who are dying day by day. For as it is written in the case of the first-born of the Egyptians, so now too a great cry has arisen. "For there is not a house in which there is not one dead." And would that even this were all! 2. Many terrible calamities, it is true, have also befallen us before this. For first they drove us away; and though we were quite alone, and pursued by all, and in the way of being slain, we kept our festival, even at such a time. And every place that had been the scene of some of the successive sufferings which befell any of us, became a seat for our solemn assemblies,-the field, the desert, the ship, the inn, the prison,-all alike. The most gladsome festival of all, however, has been celebrated by those perfect martyrs who have sat down at the feast in heaven. And after these things war and famine surprised us. These were calamities which we seared, indeed, with the heathen. But we had also to bear by ourselves alone those ills with which they outraged us, and we bad at the same time to sustain our part in those things which they either did to each other or suffered at each other's hands; while again we rejoiced deeply in that peace of Christ which He imparted to us alone.

3. And after we and they together had enjoyed a very brief season of rest, this pestilence next assailed us,-a calamity truly more dreadful to them than all other objects of dread, and more intolerable than any other kind of trouble whatsoever; and a misfortune which, as a certain writer of their own declares, alone prevails over all hope. To us, however, it was not so; but in no less measure than other ills it proved an instrument for our training and probation. For it by no means kept aloof from us, although it spread with greatest violence among the heathen. 4. To these statements he in due succession makes this addition:-Certainly very many of our brethren, while, in

their exceeding love and brotherly-kindness, they did not spare themselves, but kept by each other, and visited the sick without thought of their own peril, and ministered to them assiduously, and treated them for their healing in Christ, died from time to time most joyfully along with them, lading themselves with pains derived from others, and drawing upon themselves their neighbours' diseases, and willingly taking over to their own persons the burden of the sufferings of those around them. And many who had thus cured others of their sicknesses, and restored them to strength, died themselves, having transferred to their own bodies the death that lay upon these. And that common saying, which else seemed always to be only a polite form of address, they expressed in actual fact then, as they departed this life, like the "off-scourings of all. Yea, the very best of our brethren have departed this life in this manner, including some presbyters and some deacons, and among the people those who were in highest reputation: so that this very form of death, in virtue of the distinguished piety and the steadfast faith which were exhibited in it, appeared to come in nothing beneath martyrdom itself.

5. And they took the bodies of the saints on their upturned hands, and on their bosoms, and closed their eyes, and shut their mouths. And carrying them in company, and laying them out decently, they clung to them, and embraced them, and prepared them duly with washing and with attire. And then in a little while after they had the same services done for themselves, as those who survived were ever following those who departed before them. But among the heathen all was the very reverse. For they thrust aside any who began to be sick, and kept aloof even from their dearest friends, and cast the sufferers out upon the public roads half dead, and left them unburied, and treated them with utter contempt when they died, steadily avoiding any kind of communication and intercourse with death; which, however, it was not easy for them altogether to escape, in spite of the many precautions they employed.

EPISTLE XIII.-TO HIERAX, A BISHOP IN EGYPT.

1. But what wonder should there be if I find it difficult to communicate by letter with those who are settled in remote districts, when it seems beyond my power even to reason with myself, and to take counsel with my own soul? For surely epistolary communications are very requisite for me with those who are, as it were, my own bowels, my closest associates, and my brethren-

one in soul with myself, and members, too, of the same Church. And yet no way opens up by which I can transmit such addresses. Easier, indeed, would it be for one, I do not say merely to pass beyond the limits of the province, but to cross from east to west, than to travel from this same Alexandria to Alexandria. For the most central pathway in this city is vaster and more impassable even than that extensive and untrodden desert which Israel only traversed in two generations; and our smooth and waveless harbours have become an image of that sea through which the people drove, at the time when it divided itself and stood up like walls on either side, and in whose thoroughfare the Egyptians were drowned. For often they have appeared like the Red Sea, in consequence of the slaughter perpetrated in them. The river, too, which flows by the city, has sometimes appeared drier than the waterless desert, and more parched than that wilderness in which Israel was so overcome with thirst on their journey, that they kept crying out against Moses, and the water was made to stream for them from the precipitous rock by the power of Him who alone doeth wondrous things. And sometimes, again, it has risen in such flood-tide, that it has overflowed all the country round about, and the roads, and the fields, as if it threatened to bring upon us once more that deluge of waters which occurred in the days of Noah.

2. But now it always flows onward, polluted with blood and slaughters and the drowning struggles of men, just as it did of old, when on Pharaoh's account it was changed by Moses into blood, and made putrid. And what other liquid could cleanse water, which itself cleanses all things? How could that ocean, so vast and impassable for men, though poured out on it, ever purge this bitter sea? Or how could even that great river which streams forth from Eden, though it were to discharge the four hearts into which it is divided into the one channel of the Gihon, wash away these pollutions? Or when will this air, befouled as it is by noxious exhalations which rise in every direction, become pure again? For there are such vapours sent forth from the earth, and such blasts from the sea, and breezes from the rivers, and reeking mists from the harbours, that for dew we might suppose ourselves to have the impure fluids of the corpses which are rotting in all the underlying elements.

And yet, after all this, men are amazed, and are at a loss to understand whence come these constant pestilences, whence these terrible diseases, whence these many kinds of fatal inflictions, whence all that large and multifarious destruction of human life, and what reason there is why this mighty

city no longer contains within it as great a number of inhabitants, taking all parties into account, from tender children up to those far advanced in old age, as once it maintained of those alone whom it called hale old men. But those from forty years of age up to seventy were so much more numerous then, that their number cannot be made up now even when those from fourteen to eighty years of age have been added to the roll and register of persons who are recipients of the public allowances of grain. And those who are youngest in appearance have now become, as it were, equals in age with those who of old were the most aged. And yet, although they thus see the human race constantly diminishing and wasting away upon the earth, they have no trepidation in the midst of this increasing and advancing consumption and annihilation of their own number.

EPISTLE XIV.-FROM HIS FOURTH FESTIVAL EPISTLE.

Love is altogether and for ever on the alert, and casts about to do some good even to one who is unwilling to receive it. And many a time the man who shrinks from it under a feeling of shame, and who declines to accept services of kindness on the ground of unwillingness to become troublesome to others, and who chooses rather to bear the burden of his own grievances than cause annoyance and anxiety to any one, is importuned by the man who is full of love to bear with his aids, and to suffer himself to be helped by another, though it might be as one sustaining a wrong, and thus to do a very great service, not to himself, but to another, in permitting that other to be the agent in putting an end to the ill in which he has been involved.

Containing Various Sections of the Works

DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA

d. AD 264

Pupil of Origen and bishop of Alexandria.

I.-FROM THE TWO BOOKS ON THE PROMISES.

1. But as they produce a certain composition by Nepos, on which they insist very strongly, as if it demonstrated incontestably that there will be a (temporal) reign of Christ upon the earth, I have to say, that in many other respects I accept the opinion of Nepos, and love him at once for his faith, and his laboriousness, and his patient study in the Scriptures, as also for his great efforts in psalmody, by which even now many of the brethren are delighted. I hold the man, too, in deep respect still more, inasmuch as he has gone to his rest before us. Nevertheless the truth is to be prized and revered above all things else. And while it is indeed proper to praise and approve ungrudgingly anything that is said aright, it is no less proper to examine and correct anything which may appear to have been written unsoundly. If he had been present then himself, and had been stating his opinions orally, it would have been sufficient to discuss the question together without the use of writing, and to endeavour to convince the opponents, and carry them along by interrogation and reply. But the work is published, and is, as it seems to some, of a very persuasive character;

and there are unquestionably some teachers, who hold that the law and the prophets are of no importance, and who decline to follow the Gospels, and who depreciate the epistles of the apostles, and who have also made large promises regarding the doctrine of this composition, as though it were some great and hidden mystery, and who, at the same time, do not allow that our simpler brethren have any sublime and elevated conceptions either of our Lord's appearing in His glory and His true divinity, or of our own resurrection from the dead, and of our being gathered together to Him, and assimilated

ated to Him, but, on the contrary, endeavour to lead them to hope for things which are trivial and corruptible, and only such as what we find at present in the kingdom of God. And since this is the case, it becomes necessary for us to discuss this subject with our brother Nepos just as if he were present.

2. After certain other mailers, he adds the following statement:-Being then in the Arsinoitic prefecture-where, as you are aware, this doctrine was current long ago, and caused such division, that schisms and apostasies took place I in whole churches-I called together the presbyters and the teachers among the brethren in the villages, and those of the brethren also who wished to attend were present. I exhorted them to make an investigation into that dogma in public. Accordingly, when they had brought this book before us, as though it were a kind of weapon or impregnable battlement, I sat with them for three days in succession from morning till evening, and attempted to set them right on the subjects propounded in the composition. Then, too, I was greatly gratified by observing the constancy of the brethren, and their love of the truth, and their docility and intelligence, as we proceeded, in an orderly method, and in a spirit of moderation, to deal with questions, and difficulties, and concessions. For we took care not to press, in every way and with jealous urgency, opinions which had once been adopted, even although they might appear to be correct. Neither did we evade objections alleged by others; but we endeavoured as far as possible to keep by the subject in hand, and to establish the positions pertinent to it. Nor, again, were we ashamed to change our opinions, if reason convinced us, and to acknowledge the fact;

but rather with a good conscience, and in all sincerity, and with open hearts before God, we accepted all that could be established by the demonstrations and teachings of the Holy Scriptures. And at last the author and introducer of this doctrine, whose name was Coracion, in the hearing of all the brethren present, made acknowledgment of his position, and engaged to us that he would no longer hold by his opinion, nor discuss it, nor mention it, nor teach it, as he had been completely convinced by the arguments of those opposed to it. The rest of the brethren, also, who were present, were delighted with the conference, and with the conciliatory spirit and the harmony exhibited by all. 3. Then, a little further on, he speaks of the Revelation of John as follows:-Now some before our time have set aside this book,

and repudiated it entirely, criticising it chapter by chapter, and endeavouring to show it to be without either sense or reason. They have alleged also that its title is false; for they deny that John is the author. Nay, further, they hold that it can be no sort of revelation, because it is covered with so gross and dense a veil of ignorance. They affirm, therefore, that none of the apostles, nor indeed any of the saints, nor any person belonging to the Church, could be its author; but that Cerinthus, and the heretical sect founded by him, and named after him the Cerinthian sect, being desirous of attaching the authority of a great name to the fiction propounded by him, prefixed that title to the book. For the doctrine inculcated by Cerinthus is this: that there will be an earthly reign of Christ;

and as he was himself a man devoted to the pleasures of the body, and altogether carnal in his dispositions, he fancied that that kingdom would consist in those kinds of gratifications on which his own heart was set,-to wit, in the delights of the belly, and what comes beneath the belly, that is to say, in eating and drinking, and marrying, and in other things under the guise of which he thought he could indulge his appetites with a better grace, such as festivals, and sacrifices, and the slaying of victims. But I, for my part, could not venture to set this book aside, for there are many brethren who value it highly. Yet, having formed an idea of it as a composition exceeding my capacity of understanding, I regard it as containing a kind of hidden and wonderful intelligence on the several subjects which come under it. For though I cannot comprehend it, I still suspect that there is some deeper sense underlying the words. And I do not measure and judge its expressions by the standard of my own reason, but, making more allowance for faith, I have simply regarded them as too lofty for my comprehension; and I do not forthwith reject what I do not understand, but I am only the more filled with wonder at it, in that I have not been able to discern its import.

4. After this, he examines the whole book of the Revelation; and having proved that it cannot possibly be understood according to the bald, literal sense, he proceeds thus:-When the prophet now has completed, so to speak, the whole prophecy, he pronounces those blessed who should observe it, and names himself, too, in the number of the same: "For blessed," says he, "is he that keepeth the words of the prophecy of this book; and I John who saw and heard these things." That this person was called John, therefore, and that this was the writing of a John, I do not deny. And I admit further, that it was also

the work of some holy and inspired man. But I could not so easily admit that this was the apostle, the son of Zebedee, the brother of James, and the same person with him who wrote the Gospel which bears the title according to John, and the catholic epistle. But from the character of both, and the forms of expression, and the whole disposition and execution of the book, I draw the conclusion that the authorship is not his. For the evangelist nowhere else subjoins his name, and he never proclaims himself either in the Gospel or in the epistle.

And a little further on he adds:-John, moreover, nowhere gives us the name, whether as of himself directly (in the first person), or as of another (in the third person). But the writer of the Revelation puts himself forward at once in the very beginning, for he says: "The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which He gave to him to show to His servants quickly; and He sent and signified it by His angel to His servant John, who bare record of the Word of God, and of his testimony, and of all things that he saw. And then he writes also an epistle, in which he says: "John to the seven churches which are in Asia, grace be unto you, and peace. The evangelist, on the other hand, has not prefixed his name even to the catholic epistle; but without any circumlocution, he has commenced at once with the mystery of the divine revelation itself in these terms: "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes. And on the ground of such a revelation as that the Lord pronounced Peter blessed, when He said: "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And again in the second epistle, which is ascribed to John, the apostle, and in the third, though they are indeed brief, John is not set before us by name; but we find simply the anonymous writing, "The elder.

This other author, on the contrary, did not even deem it sufficient to name himself once, and then to proceed with his narrative; but he takes up his name again, and says: "I John, who also am your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos for the Word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ. And likewise toward the end he speaks thus: "Blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book; and I John who saw these things and heard them. That it is a John, then, that writes these things we must believe, for he himself tells us. 5. What John this is, however, is uncertain. For

he has not said, as he often does in the Gospel, that he is the disciple beloved by the Lord, or the one that leaned on His bosom, or the brother of James, or one that was privileged to see and hear the Lord. And surely he would have given us some of these indications if it had been his purpose to make himself clearly known. But of all this he offers us nothing; and he only calls himself our brother and companion, and the witness of Jesus, and one blessed with the seeing and hearing of these revelations. I am also of opinion that there were many persons of the same name with John the apostle, who by their love for him, and their admiration and emulation of him, and their desire to be loved by the Lord as he was loved, were induced to embrace also the same designation, just as we find many of the children of the faithful called by the names of Paul and Peter. There is, besides, another John mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, with the surname Mark, whom Barnabas and Paul attached to themselves as companion, and of whom again it is said: "And they had also John to their minister." But whether this is the one who wrote the Revelation, I could not say. For it is not written that he came with them into Asia. But the writer says: "Now when Paul and his company loosed from Paphos, they came to Perga in Pamphylia: and John, departing from them, returned to Jerusalem." I think, therefore, that it was some other one of those who were in Asia. For it is said that there were two monuments in Ephesus, and that each of these bears the name of John.

6. And from the ideas, and the expressions, and the collocation of the same, it may be very reasonably conjectured that this one is distinct from that. For the Gospel and the Epistle agree with each other, and both commence in the same way. For the one opens thus, "In the beginning was the Word; "while the other opens thus, "That which was from the beginning. The one says: "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us; and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father. The other says the same things, with a slight alteration: "That which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life: and the life was manifested. For these things are introduced by way of prelude, and in opposition, as he has shown in the subsequent parts, to those who deny that the Lord is come in the flesh. For which reason he has also been careful to add these words: "And that which we have seen we testify, and show unto you that eternal life which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us: that which we have seen

and heard declare we unto you. Thus he keeps to himself, and does not diverge inconsistently from his subjects, but goes through them all under the same heads and in the same phraseologies, some of which we shall briefly mention.

Thus the attentive reader will find the phrases, "the life," "the light," occurring often in both; and also such expressions as fleeing from darkness, holding the truth, grace, joy, the flesh and the blood of the Lord, the judgment, the remission of sins, the love of God toward us, the commandment of love on our side toward each other; as also, that we ought to keep all the commandments, the conviction of the world, of the devil, of Antichrist, the promise of the Holy Spirit, the adoption of God, the faith required of us in all things, the Father and the Son, named as such everywhere. And altogether, through their whole course, it will be evident that the Gospel and the Epistle are distinguished by one and the same character of writing. But the Revelation is totally different, and altogether distinct from this; and I might almost say that it does not even come near it, or border upon it. Neither does it contain a syllable in common with these other books. Nay more, the Epistle—for I say nothing of the Gospel—does not make any mention or evince any notion of the Revelation and the Revelation, in like manner, gives no note of the Epistle. Whereas Paul gives some indication of his revelations in his epistles; which revelations, however, he has not recorded in writing by themselves.

7. And furthermore, on the ground of difference in diction, it is possible to prove a distinction between the Gospel and the Epistle on the one hand, and the Revelation on the other. For the former are written not only without actual error as regards the Greek language, but also with the greatest elegance, both in their expressions and in their reasonings, and in the whole structure of their style. They are very far indeed from betraying any barbarism or solecism, or any sort of vulgarism, in their diction. For, as might be presumed, the writer possessed the gift of both kinds of discourse, the Lord having bestowed both these capacities upon him, viz., that of knowledge and that of expression. That the author of the latter, however, saw a revelation, and received knowledge and prophecy, I do not deny. Only I perceive that his dialect and language are not of the exact Greek type, and that he employs barbarous idioms, and in some places also solecisms. These, however, we are under no necessity of seeking out at present. And I would not have any one

suppose that I have said these things in the spirit of ridicule; for I have done so only with the purpose of setting right this matter of the dissimilarity subsisting between these writings.

I. IN OPPOSITION TO THOSE OF THE SCHOOL OF EPICURUS WHO DENY THE EXISTENCE OF A PROVIDENCE, AND REFER THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNIVERSE TO ATOMIC BODIES.

¹Is the universe one coherent whole, as it seems to be in our own judgment, as well as in that of the wisest of the Greek philosophers, such as Plato and Pythagoras, and the Stoics and Heraclitus? or is it a duality, as some may possibly have conjectured? or is it indeed something manifold and infinite, as has been the opinion of certain others who, with a variety of mad speculations and fanciful usages of terms, have sought to divide and resolve the essential matter of the universe, and lay down the position that it is infinite and unoriginated, and without the sway of Providence? For there are those who, giving the name of atoms to certain imperishable and most minute bodies which are supposed to be infinite in number, and positing also the existence of a certain vacant space of an unlimited vastness, allege that these atoms, as they are borne along casually in the void, and clash all fortuitously against each other in an unregulated whirl, and become commingled one with another in a multitude of forms, enter into combination with each other, and thus gradually form this world and all objects in it; yea, more, that they construct infinite worlds. This was the opinion of Epicurus and Democritus; only they differed in one point, in so far as the former supposed these atoms to be all most minute and consequently imperceptible, while Democritus held that there were also some among them of a very large size.

²But they both hold that such atoms do exist, and that they are so called on account of their indissoluble consistency. There are some, again, who give the name of atoms to certain bodies which are indivisible into parts, while they are themselves parts of the universe, out of which in their undivided state all things are made up, and into which they are dissolved again. And the allegation is, that Diodorus was the person who gave them their names as bodies indivisible into parts. But it is also said that Heraclides attached another name to them, and called them "weights;" and from him the physician Asclepiades also derived that name.

II. A REFUTATION OF THIS DOGMA ON THE GROUND OF FAMILIAR
HUMAN ANALOGIES.

¹How, shall we bear with these men who assert that all those wise, and consequently also noble, constructions (in the universe) are only the works of common chance? those objects, I mean, of which each taken by itself as it is made, and the whole system collectively, were seen to be good by Him by whose command they came into existence. For, as it is said, "God saw everything that He had made, and, behold, it was very good. But truly these men do not reflect on the analogies even of small familiar things which might come under their observation at any time, and from which they might learn that no object of any utility, and fitted to be serviceable, is made without design or by mere chance, but is wrought by skill of hand, and is contrived so as to meet its proper use. And when the object falls out of service and becomes useless, then it also begins to break up indeterminately, and to decompose and dissipate its materials in every casual and unregulated way, just as the wisdom by which it was skilfully constructed at first no longer controls and maintains it. For a cloak, for example, cannot be made without the weaver, as if the warp could be set aright and the woof could be entwined with it by their own spontaneous action; while, on the other hand, if it is once worn out, its tattered rags are flung aside.

²Again, when a house or a city is built, it does not take on its stones, as if some of them placed themselves spontaneously upon the foundations, and others lifted themselves up on the several layers, but the builder carefully disposes the skilfully prepared stones in their proper positions; while if the structure happens once to give way, the stones are separated and cast down and scattered about. And so, too, when a ship is built, the keel does not lay itself, neither does the mast erect itself in the centre, nor do all the other timbers take up their positions casually and by their own motion. Nor, again, do the so-called hundred beams in the wain fit themselves spontaneously to the vacant spaces they severally light on. But the carpenter in both cases puts the materials together in the right way and at the right time. And if the ship goes to sea and is wrecked, or if the wain drives along on land and is shattered, their timbers are broken up and cast abroad anywhere,—those of the former by the waves, and those of the latter by the violence of the impetus. In like manner, then, we might with all propriety say also to these men, that those atoms of theirs, which remain idle and unmanipulated and

useless, are introduced vainly. Let them, accordingly, seek for themselves to see into what is beyond the reach of sight, and conceive what is beyond the range of conception;

³ unlike him who in these terms confesses to God that things like these had been shown him only by God Himself: "Mine eyes did see Thy work, being till then imperfect. But when they assert now that all those things of grace and beauty, which they declare to be textures finely wrought out of atoms, are fabricated spontaneously by these bodies without either wisdom or perception in them, who can endure to hear them talk in such terms of those unregulated atoms, than which even the spider, that plies its proper craft of itself, is gifted with more sagacity?

III. A REFUTATION ON THE GROUND OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE
UNIVERSE.

¹ Or who can bear to hear it maintained, that this mighty habitation, which is constituted of heaven and earth, and which is called "Cosmos" on account of the magnitude and the plenitude of the wisdom which has been brought to bear upon it, has been established in all its order and beauty by those atoms which hold their course devoid of order and beauty, and that that same state of disorder has grown into this true Cosmos, Order? Or who can believe that those regular movements and courses are the products of a certain unregulated impetus? Or who can allow that the perfect concord subsisting among the celestial bodies derives its harmony from instruments destitute both of concord and harmony? Or, again, if there is but one and the same substance in all things, and if there is the same incorruptible nature in all, -the only elements of difference being, as they aver, size and figure, -how comes it that there are some bodies divine and perfect, and eternal, as they would phrase it, or lasting, as some one may prefer to express it; and among these some that are visible and others that are invisible, -the visible including such as sun, and moon, and stars, and earth, and water; and the invisible including gods, and demons, and spirits? For the existence of such they cannot possibly deny however desirous to do so. And again, there are other objects that are long-lived, both animals and plants.

² As to animals, there are, for example, among birds, as they say, the eagle, the raven, and the phoenix; and among creatures living on land, there are the stag, and the elephant, and the dragon; and among aquatic creatures there are the whales, and such like monsters of the deep. And as to trees,

there are the palm, and the oak, and the persea; and among trees, too, there are some that are evergreens, of which kind fourteen have been reckoned up by some one; and there are others that only bloom for a certain season, and then shed their leaves. And there are other objects, again-which indeed constitute the vast mass of all which either grow or are begotten-that have an early death and a brief life. And among these is man himself, as a certain holy scripture says of him: "Man that is born of woman is of few days. Well, but I suppose they will reply that the varying conjunctions of the atoms account fully for differences so great in the matter of duration. For it is maintained that there are some things that are compressed together by them, and firmly interlaced, so that they become closely compacted bodies, and consequently exceedingly hard to break up; while there are others in which more or less the conjunction of the atoms is of a looser and weaker nature, so that either quickly or after some time they separate themselves from their orderly constitution.

³ And, again, there are some bodies made up of atoms of a definite kind and a certain common figure, while there are others made up of diverse atoms diversely disposed. But who, then, is the sagacious discriminator, that brings certain atoms into collocation, and separates others; and marshals some in such wise as to form the sun, and others in such a way as to originate the moon, and adapts all in natural fitness, and in accordance with the proper constitution of each star? For surely neither would those solar atoms, with their peculiar size and kind, and with their special mode of collocation, ever have reduced themselves so as to effect the production of a moon; nor, on the other hand, would the conjunctions of these lunar atoms ever have developed into a sun. And as certainly neither would Arcturus, resplendent as he is, ever boast his having the atoms possessed by Lucifer, nor would the Pleiades glory in being constituted of those of Orion. For well has Paul expressed the distinction when he says: "There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars: for one star differeth from another star in glory. And if the coalition effected among them has been an unintelligent one, as is the case with soulless objects, then they must needs have had some sagacious artificer;

⁴ and if their union has been one without the determination of will, and only of necessity, as is the case with irrational objects, then some skilful leader must have brought them together and taken them under his charge. And

if they have linked themselves together spontaneously, for a spontaneous work, then some admirable architect must have apportioned their work for them, and assumed the superintendence among them; or there must have been one to do with them as the general does who loves order and discipline, and who does not leave his army in an irregular condition, or suffer all things to go on confusedly, but marshals the cavalry in their proper succession, and disposes the heavy-armed infantry in their due array, and the javelin-men by themselves, and the archers separately, and the slingers in like manner, and sets each force in its appropriate position, in order that all those equipped in the same way may engage together. But if these teachers think that this illustration is but a joke, because I institute a comparison between very large bodies and very small, we may pass to the very smallest.

5 Then we have what follows:-But if neither the word, nor the choice, nor the order of a ruler is laid upon them, and if by their own act they keep themselves right in the vast commotion of the stream in which they move, and convey themselves safely through the mighty uproar of the collisions, and if like atoms meet and group themselves with like, not as being brought together by God, according to the poet's fancy, but rather as naturally recognising the affinities subsisting between each other, then truly we have here a most marvellous democracy of atoms, wherein friends welcome and embrace friends, and all are eager to sojourn together in one domicile; while some by their own determination have rounded themselves off into that mighty luminary the sun, so as to make day; and others have formed themselves into many pyramids of blazing stars, it may be, so as to crown also the whole heavens; and others have reduced themselves into the circular figure, so as to impart a certain solidity to the ether, and arch it over, and constitute it a vast graduated ascent of luminaries, with this object also, that the various conventions of the commoner atoms may select settlements for themselves, and portion out the sky among them for their habitations and stations.

6 Then, after certain other matters, the discourse proceeds thus:-But inconsiderate men do not see even things that are apparent, and certainly they are far from being cognisant of things that are unapparent. For they do not seem even to have any notion of those regulated risings and settings of the heavenly bodies,-those of the sun, with all their wondrous glory, no less than those of the others; nor do they appear to make due application of the aids furnished through these to men, such as the day that rises clear for man's

work, and the night that overshadows earth for man's rest. "For man," it is said, "goeth forth unto his work, and to his labour, until the evening." Neither do they consider that other revolution, by which the sun makes out for us determinate times, and convenient seasons, and regular successions, directed by those atoms of which it consists. But even though men like these-and miserable men they are, however they may believe themselves to be righteous-may choose not to admit it, there is a mighty Lord that made the sun, and gave it the impetus for its course by His words. O ye blind ones, do these atoms of yours bring you the winter season and the rains, in order that the earth may yield food for you, and for all creatures living on it? Do they introduce summertime, too, in order that ye may gather their fruits from the trees for your enjoyment? And why, then, do ye not worship these atoms, and offer sacrifices to them as the guardians of earth's fruits? Thankless surely are ye, in not setting solemnly apart for them even the most scanty first-fruits of that abundant bounty which ye receive from them.

7 After a short break he proceeds thus:-Moreover, those stars which form a community so multitudinous and various, which these erratic and ever self-dispersing atoms have constituted, have marked off by a kind of covenant the tracts for their several possessions, portioning these out like colonies and governments, but without the presidency of any founder or house-master; and with pledged fealty and in peace they respect the laws of vicinity with their neighbours, and abstain from passing beyond the boundaries which they received at the outset, just as if they enjoyed the legislative administration of true princes in the atoms. Nevertheless these atoms exercise no rule. For how could these, that are themselves nothing, do that? But listen to the divine oracles: "The works of the Lord are in judgment; from the beginning, and from His making of them, He disposed the parts thereof. He garnished His works for ever, and their principles unto their generations."

8 Again, after a little, he proceeds thus:-Or what phalanx ever traversed the plain in such perfect order, no trooper outmarching the others, or falling out of rank, or obstructing the course, or suffering himself to be distanced by his comrades in the array, as is the case with that steady advance in regular file, as it were, and with close-set shields, which is presented by this serried and unbroken and undisturbed and unobstructed progress of the hosts of the stars? Albeit by side inclinations and flank movements certain of their revolutions become less clear. Yet, however that may be, they assuredly

always keep their appointed periods, and again bear onward determinately to the positions from which they have severally risen, as if they made that their deliberate study. Wherefore let these notable anatomizers of atoms, these dividers of the indivisible, these compounders of the uncompoundable, these adepts in the apprehension of the infinite, tell us whence comes this circular march and course of the heavenly bodies, in which it is not any single combination of atoms that merely chances all unexpectedly to swing itself round in this way; but it is one vast circular choir that moves thus, ever equally and concordantly, and whirls in these orbits. And whence comes it that this mighty multitude of fellow-travellers, all unmarshalled by any captain, all ungifted with any determination of will, and all unendowed with any knowledge of each other, have nevertheless held their course in perfect harmony? Surely, well has the prophet ranked this matter among things which are impossible and undemonstrable, -namely, that two strangers should walk together. For he says, "Shall two come to the same lodging unless they know each other?"

IV. A REFUTATION OF THE SAME ON THE GROUNDS OF THE HUMAN
CONSTITUTION.

¹Further, those men understand neither themselves nor what is proper to themselves. For if any of the leaders in this impious doctrine only considered what manner of person he is himself, and whence he comes, he would surely be led to a wise decision, like one who has obtained understanding of himself, and would say, not to these atoms, but to his Father and Maker, "Thy hands have made me and fashioned me. And he would take up, too, this wonderful account of his formation as it has been given by one of old: "Hast Thou not poured me out as milk, and curdled me as choose? Thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh, and hast fenced me with bones and sinews. Thou hast granted me life and favour, and Thy visitation hath preserved my spirit. For of what quantity and of what origin were the atoms which the father of Epicurus gave forth from himself when he begat Epicurus? And how, when they were received within his mother's womb, did they coalesce, and take form and figure? and how were they put in motion and made to increase? And how did that little seed of generation draw together the many atoms that were to constitute Epicurus, and change some of them into skin and flesh for a covering, and make bone of others for erectness and strength, and form sinews of others for compact contexture?"

² And how did it frame and adapt the many other members and parts-heart and bowels, and organs of sense, some within and some without-by which the body is made a thing of life? For of all these things there is not one either idle or useless: not even the meanest of them-the hair, or the nails, or such like-is so; but all have their service to do, and all their contribution to make, some of them to the soundness of bodily constitution, and others of them to beauty of appearance. For Providence cares not only for the useful, but also for the seasonable and beautiful. Thus the hair is a kind of protection and covering for the whole head, and the beard is a seemly ornament for the philosopher. It was Providence, then, that formed the constitution of the whole body of man, in all its necessary parts, and imposed on all its members their due connection with each other, and measured out for them their liberal supplies from the universal resources. And the most prominent of these show clearly, even to the uninstructed, by the proof of personal experience, the value and service attaching to them: the head, for example, in the position of supremacy, and the senses set like a guard about the brain, as the ruler in the citadel; and the advancing eyes, and the reporting ears; and the taste which, as it were, is the tribute-gatherer; and the smell, which tracks and searches out its objects: and the touch, which manipulates all put under it.

³ Hence we shall only run over in a summary way, at present, some few of the works of an all-wise Providence; and after a little we shall, if God grant it, go over them more minutely, when we direct our discourse toward one who has the repute of greater learning. So, then, we have the ministry of the hands, by which all kinds of works are wrought, and all skilful professions practised, and which have all their various faculties furnished them, with a view to the discharge of one common function; and we have the shoulders, with their capacity for bearing burdens; and the fingers, with their power of grasping; and the elbows, with their faculty of bending, by which they can turn inwardly, upon the body, or take an outward inclination, so as to be able either to draw objects toward the body, or to thrust them away from it. We have also the service of the feet, by which the whole terrestrial creation is made to come under our power, the earth itself is traversed thereby, the sea is made navigable, the rivers are crossed, and intercourse is established for all with all things. The belly, too, is the storehouse of meats, with all its parts arranged in their proper collocations, so that it apportions for itself the right

measure of aliment, and ejects what is over and above that. And so is it with all the other things by which manifestly the due administration of the constitution of man is wisely secured.

4 Of all these, the intelligent and the unintelligent alike enjoy the same use; but they have not the same comprehension of them. For there are some who refer this whole economy to a power which they conceive to be a true divinity, and which they apprehend as at once the highest intelligence in all things, and the best benefactor to themselves, believing that this economy is all the work of a wisdom and a might which are superior to every other, and in themselves truly divine. And there are others who aimlessly attribute this whole structure of most marvellous beauty to chance and fortuitous coincidence. And in addition to these, there are also certain physicians, who, having made a more effective examination into all these things, and having investigated with utmost accuracy the disposition of the inward parts in especial, have been struck with astonishment at the results of their inquiry, and have been led to deify nature itself. The notions of these men we shall review afterwards, as far as we may be able, though we may only touch the surface of the subject. Meantime, to deal with this matter generally and summarily, let me ask who constructed this whole tabernacle of ours, so lofty, erect, graceful, sensitive, mobile, active, and apt for all things? Was it, as they say, the irrational multitude of atoms? Nay, these, by their conjunctions, could not mould even an image of clay, neither could they hew and polish a statue of stone;

5 nor could they cast and finish an idol of silver or gold; but arts and handicrafts calculated for such operations have been discovered by men who fabricate these objects. And if, even in these, representations and models cannot be made without the aid of wisdom, how can the genuine and original patterns of these copies have come into existence spontaneously? And whence have come the soul, and the intelligence, and the reason, which are born with the philosopher? Has he gathered these from those atoms which are destitute alike of soul, and intelligence, and reason? and has each of these atoms inspired him with some appropriate conception and notion? And are we to suppose that the wisdom of man was made up by these atoms, as the myth of Hesiod tells us that Pandora was fashioned by the gods? Then shall the Greeks have, to give up speaking of the various species of poetry, and music, and astronomy, and geometry, and all the other arts and sciences, as the

inventions and instructions of the gods, and shall have to allow that these atoms are the only muses with skill and wisdom for all subjects. For ibis theogony, constructed of atoms by Epicurus, is indeed something extraneous to the infinite worlds of order, and finds its refuge in the infinite disorder.

V. THAT TO WORK IS NOT A MATTER OF PAIN AND WEARINESS TO GOD.

¹ Now to work, and administer, and do good, and exercise care, and such like actions, may perhaps be hard tasks for the idle, and silly, and weak, and wicked; in whose number truly Epicurus reckons himself, when he propounds such notions about the gods. But to the earnest, and powerful, and intelligent, and prudent, such as philosophers ought to be-and how much more so, therefore, the gods!-these things are not only not disagreeable and irksome, but ever the most delightful, and by far the most welcome of all. To persons of this character, negligence and procrastination in the doing of what is good are a reproach, as the poet admonishes them in these words of counsel:- "Delay not aught till the morrow" And then he adds this further sentence of threatening:- ² "The lazy procrastinator is ever wrestling with miseries. And the prophet teaches us the same lesson in a more solemn fashion, and declares that deeds done according to the standard of virtue are truly worthy of God, and that the man who gives no heed to these is accursed: "For cursed be he that doeth the works of the Lord carelessly. Moreover, those who are unversed in any art, and unable to prosecute it perfectly, feel it to be wearisome when they make their first attempts in it, just by reason of the novelty of their experience, and their want of practice in the works. But those, on the other hand, who have made some advance, and much more those who are perfectly trained in the art, accomplish easily and successfully the objects of their labours, and have great pleasure in the work, and would choose rather thus, in the discharge of the pursuits to which they are accustomed, to finish and carry perfectly out what their efforts aim at, than to be made masters of all those things which are reckoned advantageous among men. Yea, Democritus himself, as it is reported, averred that he would prefer the discovery of one true cause to being put in possession of the kingdom of Persia.

³ And that was the declaration of a man who had only a vain and groundless conception of the causes of things, inasmuch as he started with an unfounded principle, and an erroneous hypothesis, and did not discern the real root and the common law of necessity in the constitution of natural

things, and held as the greatest wisdom the apprehension of things that come about simply in an unintelligent and random way, and set up chance as the mistress and queen of things universal, and even things divine, and endeavoured to demonstrate that all things happen by the determination of the same, although at the same time he kept it outside the sphere of the life of men, and convicted those of senselessness who worshipped it. At any rate, at the very beginning of his Precepts he speaks thus: "Men have made an image of chance, as a cover for their own lack of knowledge. For intellect and chance are in their very nature antagonistic to each other. And men have maintained that this greatest adversary to intelligence is its sovereign. Yea, rather, they completely subvert and do away, with the one, while they establish the other in its place. For they do not celebrate intelligence as the fortunate, but they laud chance as the most intelligent.

4 Moreover, those who attend to things conducing to the good of life, take special pleasure in what serves the interests of those of the same race with themselves, and seek the recompense of praise and glory in return for labours undertaken in behalf of the general good; while some exert themselves as purveyors of ways and means, others as magistrates, others as physicians, others as statesmen; and even philosophers pride themselves greatly in their efforts after the education of men. Will, then, Epicurus or Democritus be bold enough to assert that in the exertion of philosophizing they only cause distress to themselves? Nay, rather they will reckon this a pleasure of mind second to none. For even though they maintain the opinion that the good is pleasure, they will be ashamed to deny that philosophizing is the greater pleasure to them. But as to the gods, of whom the poets among them sing that they are the "bestowers of good gifts," these philosophers scoffingly celebrate them in strains like these: "The gods are neither the bestowers nor the sharers in any good thing. And in what manner, forsooth, can they demonstrate that there are gods at all, when they neither perceive their presence, nor discern them as the doers of aught, wherein, indeed, they resemble those who, in their admiration and wonder at the sun and the moon and the stars, have held these to have been named gods, from their running such courses:

5 when, further, they do not attribute to them any function or power of operation, so as to bold them gods from their constituting, that is, from their making objects, for thereby in all truth the one maker and operator of

all things must be God: and when, in fine, they do not set forth any administration, or judgment, or beneficence of theirs in relation to men, so that we might be bound either by fear or by reverence to worship them? Has Epicurus then been able, forsooth, to see beyond this world, and to overpass the precincts of heaven? or has he gone forth by some secret gates known to himself alone, and thus obtained sight of the gods in the void? and, deeming them blessed in their full felicity, and then becoming himself a passionate aspirant after such pleasure, and an ardent scholar in that life which they pursue in the void, does he now call upon all to participate in this felicity, and urge them thus to make themselves like the gods, preparing as their true symposium of blessedness neither heaven nor Olympus, as the poets feign, but the sheer void, and setting before them the ambrosia of atoms, and pledging them in nectar made of the same?

6 However, in matters which have no relation to us, he introduces into his books a myriad oaths and solemn asseverations, swearing constantly both negatively and affirmatively by Jove, and making those whom he meets, and with whom he discusses his doctrines, swear also by the gods, not certainly that he fears them himself, or has any dread of perjury, but that he pronounces all this to be vain, and false, and idle, and unintelligible, and uses it simply as a kind of accompaniment to his words, just as he might also clear his throat, or spit, or twist his face, or move his hand. So completely senseless and empty a pretence was this whole matter of the naming of the gods, in his estimation. But this is also a very patent fact, that, being in fear of the Athenians after (the warning of) the death of Socrates, and being desirous of preventing his being taken for what he really was—an atheist—the subtle charlatan invented for them certain empty shadows of unsubstantial gods. But never surely did he look up to heaven with eyes of true intelligence, so as to hear the clear voice from above, which another attentive spectator did hear, and of which he testified when he said, "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth His handiwork.

7 And never surely did he look down upon the world's surface with due reflection! for then would he have learned that "the earth is full of the goodness of the Lord" and that "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;" and that, as we also read, "After this the Lord looked upon the earth, and filled it with His blessings. With all manner of living things hath He covered the face thereof. And if these men are not hopelessly blinded, let them but

survey the vast wealth and variety of living creatures, land animals, and winged creatures, and aquatic; and let them understand then that the declaration made by the Lord on the occasion of His judgment of all things is true: "And all things, in accordance with His command, appeared good."

III.-FROM THE BOOKS AGAINST SABELLIUS. ON THE NOTION THAT
MATTER IS UNGENERATED.

¹ These certainly are not to be deemed pious who hold that matter is ungenerated, while they allow, indeed, that it is brought under the hand of God so far as its arrangement and regulation are concerned; for they do admit that, being naturally passive and pliable, it yields readily to the alterations impressed upon it by God. It is for them, however, to show us plainly how it can possibly be that the like and the unlike should be predicated as subsisting together in God and matter. For it becomes necessary thus to think of one as a superior to either, and that is a thought which cannot legitimately be entertained with regard to God. For if there is this defect of generation which is said to be the thing like in both, and if there is this point of difference which is conceived of besides in the two, whence has this arisen in them? If, indeed, God is the ungenerated, and if this defect of generation is, as we may say, His very essence, then matter cannot be ungenerated; for God and matter are not one and the same. But if each subsists properly and independently-namely, God and matter-and if the defect of generation also belongs to both, then it is evident that there is something different from each, and older and higher than both. But the difference of their contrasted constitutions is completely subversive of the idea that these can subsist on an equality together, and more, that this one of the two-namely, matter-can subsist of itself.

² For then they will have to furnish an explanation of the fact that, though both are supposed to be ungenerated, God is nevertheless impassible, immutable, imperturbable, energetic; while matter is the opposite, impressible, mutable, variable, alterable. And now, how can these properties harmoniously co-exist and unite? Is it that God has adapted Himself to the nature of the matter, and thus has skilfully wrought it? But it would be absurd to suppose that God works in gold, as men are wont to do, or hews or polishes stone, or puts His hand to any of the other arts by which different kinds of matter are made capable of receiving form and figure. But if, on the other hand, He has fashioned matter according to His own will, and after the dic-

tates of His own wisdom, impressing upon it the rich and manifold forms produced by His own operation, then is this account of ours one both good and true, and still further one that establishes the position that the ungenerated God is the hypostasis (the life and foundation) of all things in the universe. For with this fact of the defect of generation it conjoins the proper mode of His being. Much, indeed, might be said in confutation of these teachers, but that is not what is before us at present. And if they are put alongside the most impious polytheists, these will seem the more pious in their speech.

IV.-EPISTLE TO DIONYSIUS BISHOP OF ROME

From the First Book.

1. There certainly was not a time when God was not the Father. 2. Neither, indeed, as though He had not brought forth these things, did God afterwards beget the Son, but because the Son has existence not from Himself, but from the Father. And after a few words he says of the Son Himself:- 3. Being the brightness of the eternal Light, He Himself also is absolutely eternal. For since light is always in existence, it is manifest that its brightness also exists, because light is perceived to exist from the fact that it shines, and it is impossible that light should not shine. And let us once more come to illustrations. If the sun exists, there is also day; if nothing of this be manifest, it is impossible that the sun should be there. If then the sun were eternal, the day would never end; but now, for such is not really the state of the case, the day begins with the beginning of the sun, and ends with its ending. But God is the eternal Light, which has neither had a beginning, nor shall ever fail. Therefore the eternal brightness shines forth before Him, and co-exists with Him, in that, existing without a beginning, and always begotten, He always shines before Him; and He is that Wisdom which says, "I was that wherein He delighted, and I was daily His delight before His face at all times."

And a little after he thus pursues his discourse from the same point:- 4. Since, therefore, the Father is eternal, the Son also is eternal, Light of Light. For where there is the begetter, there is also the offspring. And if there is no offspring, how and of what can He be the begetter? But both are, and always are. Since, then, God is the Light, Christ is the Brightness. And since He is a Spirit-for says He, "God is a Spirit"-fittingly again is Christ called Breath; for "He," saith He, "is the breath of God's power." And again he says:- 5.

Moreover, the Son alone, always co-existing with the Father, and filled with Him who is, Himself also is, since He is of the Father.

From the Same First Book.

6. But when I spoke of things created, and certain works to be considered, I hastily put forward illustrations of such things, as it were little appropriate, when I said neither is the plant the same as the husbandman, nor the boat the same as the boatbuilder. But then I lingered rather upon things suitable and more adapted to the nature of the thing, and I unfolded in many words, by various carefully considered arguments, what things were more true; which things, moreover, I have set forth to you in another letter. And in these things I have also proved the falsehood of the charge which they bring against me-to wit, that I do not maintain that Christ is consubstantial with God. For although I say that I have never either found or read this word in the sacred Scriptures, yet other reasonings, which I immediately subjoined, are in no wise discrepant from this view, because I brought forward as an illustration human offspring, which assuredly is of the same kind as the begetter; and I said that parents are absolutely distinguished from their children by the fact alone that they themselves are not their children, or that it would assuredly be a matter of necessity that there would neither be parents nor children. But, as I said before, I have not the letter in my possession, on account of the present condition of affairs;

otherwise I would have sent you the very words that I then wrote, yea, and a copy of the whole letter, and I will send it if at any time I shall have the opportunity. I remember, further, that I added many similitudes from things kindred to one another. For I said that the plant, whether it grows up from seed or from a root, is different from that whence it sprouted, although it is absolutely of the same nature; and similarly, that a river flowing from a spring takes another form and name: for that neither is the spring called the river, nor the river the spring, but that these are two things, and that the spring indeed is, as it were, the father, while the river is the water from the spring. But they feign that they do not see these things and the like to them which are written, as if they were blind; but they endeavour to assail me from a distance with expressions too carelessly used, as if they were stones, not observing that on things of which they are ignorant, and which require interpretation to be understood, illustrations that are not only remote, but even contrary, will often throw light.

From the Same First Book.

7. It was said above that God is the spring of all good things, but the Son was called the river flowing from Him; because the word is an emanation of the mind, and-to speak after human fashion-is emitted from the heart by the mouth. But the mind which springs forth by the tongue is different from the word which exists in the heart. For this latter, after it has emitted the former, remains and is what it was before; but the mind sent forth flies away, and is carried everywhere around, and thus each is in each although one is from the other, and they are one although they are two. And it is thus that the Father and the Son are said to be one, and to be in one another.

From the Second Book.

8. The individual haines uttered by me can neither be separated from one another, nor parted. I spoke of the Father, and before I made mention of the Son I already signified Him in the Father. I added the Son; and the Father, even although I had not previously named Him, had already been absolutely comprehended in the Son. I added the Holy Spirit; but, at the same time, I conveyed under the name whence and by whom He proceeded. But they are ignorant that neither the Father, in that He is Father, can be separated from the Son, for that name is the evident ground of coherence and conjunction; nor can the Son be separated from the Father, for this word Father indicates association between them. And there is, moreover, evident a Spirit who can neither be disjoined from Him who sends, nor from Him who brings Him. How, then, should I who use such names think that these are absolutely divided and separated the one from the other?

After a few words he adds:- 9. Thus, indeed, we expand the indivisible Unity into a Trinity; and again we contract the Trinity, which cannot be diminished, into a Unity.

From the Same Second Book.

10. But if any quibbler, from the fact that I said that God is the Maker and Creator of all things, thinks that I said that He is also Creator of Christ, let him observe that I first called Him Father, in which word the Son also is at the same time expressed. For after I called the Father the Creator, I added, Neither is He the Father of those things whereof He is Creator, if He who begot is properly understood to be a Father (for we will consider the latitude of this word Father in what follows). Nor is a maker a father, if it is only a

framer who is called a maker. For among the Greeks, they who are wise are said to be makers of their books. The apostle also says, "a doer (scil. maker) of the law." Moreover, of matters of the heart, of which kind are virtue and vice, men are called doers (scil. makers); after which manner God said, "I expected that it should make judgment, but it made iniquity."

11. That neither must this saying be thus blamed; for he says that he used the name of Maker on account of the flesh which the Word had assumed, and which certainly was made. But if any one should suspect that that had been said of the Word, even this also was to be heard without contentiousness. For as I do not think that the Word was a thing made, so I do not say that God was its Maker, but its Father. Yet still, if at any time, discoursing of the Son, I may have casually said that God was His Maker, even this mode of speaking would not be without defence. For the wise men among the Greeks call themselves the makers of their books, although the same are fathers of their books. Moreover, divine Scripture calls us makers of those motions which proceed from the heart, when it calls us doers of the law of judgment and of justice.

From the Same Second Book.

12. In the beginning was the Word. But that was not the Word which produced the Word. For "the Word was with God." The Lord is Wisdom; it was not therefore Wisdom that produced Wisdom; for "I was that" says He, "wherein He delighted Christ is truth; but "blessed," says He, "is the God of truth."

From the Third Book.

13. Life is begotten of life in the same way as the river has flowed forth from the spring, and the brilliant light is ignited from the inextinguishable light.

From the Fourth Book.

14. Even as our mind emits from itself a word, -as says the prophet, "My heart hath uttered forth a good word," -and each of the two is distinct the one from the other, and maintaining a peculiar place, and one that is distinguished from the other; since the former indeed abides and is stirred in the heart, while the latter has its place in the tongue and in the mouth. And yet they are not apart from one another, nor deprived of one another; neither is the mind without the word, nor is the word without the mind; but the mind makes the word and appears in the word, and the word exhibits the mind

wherein it was made. And the mind indeed is, as it were, the word immanent, while the word is the mind breaking forth. The mind passes into the word, and the word transmits the mind to the surrounding hearers; and thus the mind by means of the word takes its place in the souls of the hearers, entering in at the same time as the word. And indeed the mind is, as it were, the father of the word, existing in itself; but the word is as the son of the mind, and cannot be made before it nor without it, but exists with it, whence it has taken its seed and origin. In the same manner, also, the Almighty Father and Universal Mind has before all things the Son, the Word, and the discourse, as the interpreter and messenger of Himself.

About the Middle of the Treatise.

15. If, from the fact that there are three hypostases, they say that they are divided, there are three whether they like it or no, or else let them get rid of the divine Trinity altogether.

And Again:

For on this account after the Unity there is also the most divine Trinity.

The Conclusion of the Entire Treatise.

16. In accordance with all these things, the: form, moreover, and rule being received from the elders who have lived before us, we also, with a voice in accordance with them, will both acquit ourselves of thanks to you, and of the letter which we are now writing. And to God the Father, and His Son our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit, be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

CANON I.

¹ Dionysius to Basilides, my beloved son, and my brother, a fellow-minister with me in holy things, and an obedient servant of God, in the Lord greeting. ² You have sent to me, most faithful and accomplished son, in order to inquire what is the proper hour for bringing the fast to a close on the day of Pentecost. For you say that there are some of the brethren who hold that that should be done at cockcrow, and others who hold that it should be at nightfall. For the brethren in Rome, as they say, wait for the cock; whereas, regarding those here, you told us that they would have it earlier. And it is your anxious desire, accordingly, to have the hour presented accurately, and determined with perfect exactness, which indeed is a matter of difficulty and uncertainty. However, it will be acknowledged cordially by all, that from the

date of the resurrection of our Lord, those who up to that time have been humbling their souls with fastings, ought at once to begin their festal joy and gladness. But in what you have written to me you have made out very clearly, and with an intelligent understanding of the Holy Scriptures, that no very exact account seems to be offered in them of the hour at which He rose. For the evangelists have given different descriptions of the parties who came to the sepulchre one after another, and all have declared that they found the Lord risen already. It was "in the end of the Sabbath," as Matthew has said; it was "early, when it was yet dark," as John writes; it was "very early in the morning," as Luke puts it;

3 and it was "very early in the morning, at the rising of the sun," as Mark tells us. Thus no one has shown us clearly the exact time when He rose. It is admitted, however, that those who came to the sepulchre in the end of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week, found Him no longer lying in it. And let us not suppose that the evangelists disagree or contradict each other. But even although there may seem to be some small difficulty as to the subject of our inquiry, if they all agree that the light of the world, our Lord, rose on that one night, while they differ with respect to the hour, we may well seek with wise and faithful mind to harmonize their statements. The narrative by Matthew then, runs thus: "In the end of the Sabbath as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, to see the sepulchre. And, behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone, and sat upon it. And his countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow: and for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men. And the angel answered and said unto the women, Fear not ye: for I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified. He is not here; for He is risen, as He said.

4 Now this phrase "in the end" will be thought by some to signify, according to the common use of the word, the evening: of the Sabbath; while others, with a better perception of the fact, will say that it does not indicate that, but a late hour in the night, as the phrase "in the end" denotes slowness and length of time. Also because he speaks of night, and not of evening, he has added the words, "as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week. And the parties here did not come yet, as the others say, "bearing spices," but "to see the sepulchre; "and they discovered the occurrence of the earthquake, and

the angel sitting upon the stone, and heard from him the declaration, "He is not here, He is risen. And to the same effect is the testimony of John. "The first day of the week," says he, "came Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre, and seeth the stone taken away from the sepulchre. Only, according to this "when it was yet dark," she had come in advance. And Luke says: "They rested the Sabbath-day, according to the commandment. Now, upon the first day of the week, very early in the morning, they came unto the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had prepared; and they found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre. This phrase "very early in the morning" probably indicates the early dawn of the first day of the week;

5 and thus, when the Sabbath itself was wholly past, and also the whole night succeeding it, and when another day had begun, they came, bringing spices and myrrh, and then it became apparent that He had already risen long before. And Mark follows this, and says: "They had bought sweet spices, in order that they might come and anoint Him. And very early (in the morning), the first day of the week, they come unto the sepulchre at the rising of the sun. For this evangelist also has used the term "very early," which is just the same as the "very early in the morning" employed by the former; and he has added, "at the rising of the sun. Thus they set out, and took their way first when it was "very early in the morning," or (as Mark says) when it was "very early; "but on the road, and by their stay at the sepulchre, they spent the time till it was sunrise. And then the young man clad in white said to them, "He is risen, He is not here. As the case stands thus, we make the following statement and explanation to those who seek an exact account of the specific hour, or half-hour, or quarter of an hour, at which it is proper to begin their rejoicing over our Lord's rising from the dead.

6 Those who are too hasty, and give up even before midnight, we reprehend as remiss and intemperate, and as almost breaking off from their course in their precipitation, for it is a wise man's word, "That is not little in life which is within a little. And those who hold out and continue for a very long time, and persevere even on to the fourth watch, which is also the time at which our Saviour manifested Himself walking upon the sea to those who were then on the deep, we receive as noble and laborious disciples. On those, again, who pause and refresh themselves in the course as they are moved or as they are able, let us not press very hard: for all do not carry out the six days of

fasting either equally or alike; but some pass even all the days as a fast, remaining without food through the whole; while others take but two, and others three, and others four, and others not even one. And to those who have laboured painfully through these protracted fasts. and have thereafter become exhausted and well-nigh undone, pardon ought to be extended if they are somewhat precipitate in taking food.

7 But if there are any who not only decline such protracted fasting, but refuse at the first to fast at all, and rather indulge themselves luxuriously during the first four days, and then when they reach the last two days-viz., the preparation and the Sabbath-fast with due rigour during these, and these alone, and think that they do something grand and brilliant if they hold out till the morning, I cannot think that they have gone through the time on equal terms with those who have been practising the same during several days before. This is the counsel which, in accordance with my apprehension of the question, I have offered you in writing on these matters.

CANON II.

The question touching women in the time of their separation, whether it is proper for them when in such a condition to enter the house of God, I consider a superfluous inquiry. For I do not think that, if they are believing and pious women, they will themselves be rash enough in such a condition either to approach the holy table or to touch the body and blood of the Lord. Certainly the woman who had the issue of blood of twelve years' standing did not touch the Lord Himself, but only the hem of His garment, with a view to her cure. For to pray, however a person may be situated, and to remember the Lord, in whatever condition a person may be, and to offer up petitions for the obtaining of help, are exercises altogether blameless. But the individual who is not perfectly pure both in soul and in body, shall be interdicted from approaching the holy of holies.

CANON III.

Moreover, those who are competent, and who are advanced in years, ought to be judges of themselves in these matters. For that it is proper to abstain from each other by consent, in order that they may be free for a season to give themselves to prayer, and then come together again, they have heard from Paul in his epistle.

CANON IV.

As to those who are overtaken by an involuntary flux in the night-time, let such follow the testimony of their own conscience, and consider themselves as to whether they are doubtfully minded in this matter or not. And he that doubteth in the matter of meats, the apostle tells us, "is damned if he eat." In these things, therefore, let every one who approaches God be of a good conscience, and of a proper confidence, so far as his own judgment is concerned. And, indeed, it is in order to show your regard for us (for you are not ignorant, beloved) that you have proposed these questions to us, making us of one mind, as indeed we are, and of one spirit with yourself. And I, for my part, have thus set forth my opinions in public, not as a teacher, but only as it becomes us with all simplicity to confer with each other. And when you have examined this opinion of mine, my most intelligent son, you will write back to me your notion of these matters, and let me know whatever may seem to you to be just and preferable, and whether you approve of my judgment in these things. That it may fare well with you, my beloved son, as you minister to the Lord in peace, is my prayer.

Epistle 70

COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE (AD 257)

AD 257

A council of North African bishops under Cyprian.

EPISTLE 70

¹ Cyprian, Liberalis, Caldonius, etc., to their brethren Januarius, etc. Greeting. ² When we were together in council, dear-est brethren, we read the letter which you addressed to us respecting those who are thought to be baptized by heretics and schismatics, whether, when they come to the one true Catholic Church, they ought to be baptized. Wherein, although ye yourselves also hold the Catholic rule in its truth and fixedness, yet since, out of our mutual affection, ye have thought good to consult us, we deliver not our sentence as though new but, by a kindred harmony, we unite with you in that long since settled by our predecessors, and observed by us; thinking, namely, and holding for certain, that no one can be baptized without the Church, in that there is one Baptism appointed in the holy Church, and it is written, the Lord himself speaking, "They have forsaken me, the Fountain of living water, and hewed them out broken cisterns that can hold no water." Again, holy Scripture admonishes us, and says, "Keep thee from the strange water, and drink not from a fountain of strange water." The water then must first be cleansed and sanctified by the priest, that it may be able, by Baptism therein, to wash away the sins of the baptized, for the Lord says by the prophet Ezekiel, "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be cleansed from all your filthiness, and from all your idols will I cleanse you; a new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you." But how can he cleanse and sanctify the water, who is himself unclean, and with whom the Spirit is not? whereas the Lord says in Numbers, "And whatsoever the unclean person toucheth shall be unclean." Or how can he that baptizeth

give remission of sins to another, who cannot himself free himself from his own sins, out of the Church?

3 Moreover, the very interrogatory which is put in Baptism, is a witness of the truth. For when we say, "Dost thou believe in eternal life, and remission of sins through the holy Church?" we mean, that remission of sins is not given, except in the Church; but that, with heretics, where the Church is not, sins cannot be remitted. They, therefore, who claim that heretics can baptize, let them either change the interrogatory, or maintain the truth; unless indeed they ascribe a Church also to those who they contend have Baptism. Anointed also must he of necessity be, who is baptized, that having received the chrism—that is, unction, he may be the anointed of God, and have within him the grace of Christ. Moreover, it is the Eucharist through which the baptized are anointed, the oil sanctified on the altar. But he cannot sanctify the creature of oil, who has neither altar nor church. Whence neither can the spiritual unction be with heretics, since it is acknowledged that the oil cannot be sanctified nor the Eucharist celebrated among them. But we ought to know and remember that it is written, "Let not the oil of a sinner anoint my head;" which the Holy Ghost forewarned in the Psalms, lest any, quitting the track, and wandering out of the path of truth, be anointed by heretics and adversaries of Christ. Moreover, when baptized, what kind of prayer can a profane priest and a sinner offer? in that it is written, "God heareth not a sinner; but if any man be a worshipper of God, and doeth his will, him he heareth."

4 But who can give what himself hath not? or how can he perform spiritual acts, who hath himself lost the Holy Spirit? Wherefore he is to be baptized and received, who comes uninitiated to the Church, that within he may be hallowed through the holy; for it is written, "Be ye holy, for I am holy, saith the Lord." So that he who has been seduced into error and washed without should, in the true Baptism of the Church, put off this very thing also; that he, a man coming to God, while seeking for a priest, fell, through the deceit of error, upon one profane. But to acknowledge any case where they have baptized, is to approve the baptism of heretics and schismatics.

5 For neither can part of what they do be void and part avail. If he could baptize, he could also give the Holy Ghost. But if he cannot give the Holy Ghost because, being set without, he is not with the Holy Ghost, neither can he baptize any that cometh: for that there is both one Baptism, and one Holy

Ghost, and one Church, founded by Christ the Lord upon Peter, through an original and principle of unity; so it results, that since all among them is void and false, nothing that they have done ought to be approved by us. For what can be ratified and confirmed by God, which they do whom the Lord calls his enemies and adversaries, propounding in his Gospel, "He that is not with me, is against me; and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth." And the blessed Apostle John also, keeping the commandments and precepts of the Lord, has written in his Epistle, "Ye have heard that Antichrist shall come; even now are there many Antichrists, whereby we know that it is the last time. They went out from us, but were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us." Whence we, too, ought to infer and consider, whether they who are the adversaries of the Lord, and are called Antichrists, can give the grace of Christ. Wherefore we who are with the Lord, and who hold the unity of the Lord, and according to this vouchsafement administer his priesthood in the Church, ought to repudiate and reject and account as profane, whatever his adversaries and Antichrists do; and to those who, coming from error and wickedness, acknowledge the true faith of the one Church, we should impart the reality of unity and faith by all the sacraments of Divine grace.

⁂ We bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell.

The Canons

COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE (AD 257)

AD 257

A council of North African bishops under Cyprian.

THE CANONS

¹(Found in Beveridge, *Synodicon*, Tom. I., p. 365, and in Labbe and Cossart, *Concilia*, Tom. I., col. 786.) When very many bishops were met together at Carthage on the Calends of September from the province of Africa, Numidia and Mauritania, with the presbyters and deacons (the greater part of the people being likewise present) and when the holy letters of Jubaianus to Cyprian had been read, and Cyprian's answers to Jubaianus, concerning heretical baptisms, as well as what the same Jubaianus afterwards wrote to Cyprian, Cyprian said: Ye have heard, my dearly beloved colleagues, what our fellow bishop Jubaianus has written to me, taking counsel of my littleness concerning the illicit and profane baptisms of heretics, and the answer which I made him; being of the same opinion as we have been on former occasions, that heretics coming to the Church should be baptized and sanctified with the Church's baptism. Moreover there has been read to you also the other letter of Jubaianus, in which answering for his sincere and pious devotion to our letter, not only he agrees therewith but offered thanks that he has been so instructed by it. It only remains therefore that we, each one of us, one by one, say what our mind is in this matter, without condemning any one or removing any one from the right of communion who does not agree with us.

²For no one [of us] has set himself up [to be] bishop [of bishops], or attempted with tyrannical dread to force his colleagues to obedience to him, since every bishop has, for the license of liberty and power, his own will, and as he cannot be judged by another, so neither can he judge another. But we await the judgment of our universal Lord, our Lord Jesus Christ, who one

and alone hath the power, both of advancing us in the governance of his Church, and of judging of our actions [in that position]. [The bishops then one by one declared against heretical baptism. Last of all (col. 796)]: Cyprian, the Confessor and Martyr of Carthage, said: The letter which was written to Jubaianus, my colleague, most fully set forth my opinion, that heretics who, according to the evangelical and apostolic witness, are called adversaries of Christ's and anti-Christ's, when they come to the Church, should be baptized with the one (unico) baptism of the Church, that they may become instead of adversaries friends, and Christians instead of Antichrists.

Notes.

³ Zonaras. These are the opinions therefore of the fathers, which assembled in council with the great Cyprian: but they do not apply to all heretics nor to all schismatics. For the Second Ecumenical Council, as we have just said [i.e. in the Preface he has placed to the acts of the synod. Vide L. and C., Conc., Tom. i., col. 801] makes an exception of some heretics, and give its sanction to their reception without baptism, only requiring their anointing with the holy chrism, and then anathematizing at the same time their own and all heresies. Balsamon does not print the acts of the Council at all but only the letter of St. Cyprian (Labbe and Cossart, Concilia, Tom. I., col. 799.) I have not thought it worth while to place here the remarks of the eighty-six bishops, *wj mh anagkaiai, oia mhde energousai*, to quotequote Zonaras's words. Binius. The allusion here is to the decree of Stephen, who was wont, according to the custom of his elders, to be styled "Bishop of bishops," and because he had acrimoniously threatened excommunication to all not agreeing with him.

⁴ On the disputed historical fact as to whether St. Cyprian died in or out of the communion of the See of Rome the reader will do well to consult Puller, *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*. I place here St. Cyprian's Seventieth Epistle in the Oxford Translation (Epistle of St. Cyprian, pp. 232 et seqq.). This letter is addressed to Januarius, Satterninus, etc., and is headed in Beveridge's Synodicon "Canon I."

PART TWO

Prologues, a Martyr's Passion and the Western Text of Acts

*Short anonymous pieces from the early Church, and the text of
Acts as the fifth-century Codex Bezae gives it.*

The "Marcionite" prologues to St. Paul's Letters

ANONYMOUS EARLY WRITINGS

various dates

Short anonymous writings of the early Church, some from the East.

THE "MARCIONITE" PROLOGUES TO ST. PAUL'S LETTERS

¹[Translated by F.C. Burkitt] To the Galatians Galatians are Greeks. These accepted the word of truth first from the apostle, but after his departure were tempted by false apostles to turn to the law and circumcision. These the apostle recalls to the faith of the truth, writing to them from Ephesus. To the Corinthians Corinthians are of Achaia. And these similarly heard the word of truth from the apostle and were perverted variously by false apostles, some by the wordy eloquence of philosophy, others brought in by the sect of the Jewish law. These the apostle recalls to true evangelical wisdom, writing to them from Ephesus by Timothy. To the Romans Romans are in the parts of Italy. These were reached beforehand by false apostles, and under the name of our Lord Jesus Christ had been brought in to the law and the prophets. These the apostle recalls to the true evangelical faith, writing to them from Corinth.

²To the Thessalonians Thessalonians are Macedonians, who having accepted the word of truth persevered in the faith even in persecution from their fellow-citizens. Moreover, also, they received not the things said by false apostles. These the apostle praises, writing to them from Athens. To the Colossians Colossians ---- these also like the Laodiceans are of Asia, and they had been reached beforehand by pseudo-apostles, nor did the apostle himself come to them. But these also by a letter he corrects, for they had heard the word from Archippus, who also accepted a ministry unto them. Therefore the apostle already in custody writes to them from Ephesus. To the Philippians Philippians are Macedonians. These having accepted the word of

truth persevered in the faith, nor did they receive false apostles. These the apostle praises, writing to them from Rome out of prison by Epaphroditus. To Philemon To Philemon he sends a private letter for Onesimus his slave, and writes to him from Rome out of prison.

The "Anti-Marcionite" prologues to the Gospels

ANONYMOUS EARLY WRITINGS

various dates

Short anonymous writings of the early Church, some from the East.

THE "ANTI-MARCIONITE" PROLOGUES TO THE GOSPELS

¹[Translated by Roger Pearse] Mark... Mark recorded, who was called Colobodactylus because he had fingers that were too small for the height of the rest of his body. He himself was the interpreter of Peter. After the death of Peter himself, the same man wrote this gospel in the parts of Italy. Luke Indeed Luke was an Antiochene Syrian, a doctor by profession, a disciple of the apostles: later however he followed Paul until his martyrdom, serving the Lord blamelessly. He never had a wife, he never fathered children, and died at the age of eighty-four, full of the Holy Spirit, in Boetia. Therefore --- although gospels had already been written ---- indeed by Matthew in Judaea but by Mark in Italy ---- moved by the Holy Spirit he wrote down this gospel in the parts of Achaia, signifying in the preface that the others were written before his, but also that it was of the greatest importance for him to expound with the greatest diligence the whole series of events in his narration for the Greek believers, so that they would not be led astray by the lure of Jewish fables, or, seduced by the fables of the heretics and stupid solicitations, fall away from the truth. And so at once at the start he took up the extremely necessary [story] from the birth of John, who is the beginning of the gospel, the forerunner of our Lord Jesus Christ, and was a companion in the perfecting of the people, likewise in the introducing of baptism and a companion in martyrdom. Of this disposition the prophet Malachi, one of the twelve, certainly makes mention. And indeed afterwards the same Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles. Later the apostle John wrote the Apocalypse on the island of Patmos, and then the Gospel in Asia.

²John The Gospel of John was revealed and given to the churches by John while still in the body, just as Papias of Hieropolis, the close disciple of John, related in the exoterics, that is, in the last five books. Indeed he wrote down the gospel, while John was dictating carefully. But the heretic Marcion, after being condemned by him because he was teaching the opposite to him [John], was expelled by John. But he [Marcion] had brought writings or letters to him [John] from the brothers which were in Pontus. The translation was made from the text published by De Bruyne in *Revue Bénédictine* 40 (1928), p.193ff. 1. The nickname means "stumpy finger." 2. Lit. sentiebat: he was thinking.

Passion of St. Saturninus

ANONYMOUS EARLY WRITINGS

various dates

Short anonymous writings of the early Church, some from the East.

PASSION OF ST. SATURNINUS

On the Passion and Translation of Saint Saturninus, Bishop of the City of Toulouse and Martyr

¹[By Andrew Eastbourne] [English translation of the critical text of P. Cabau, "OPVSCVLVM DE PASSIONE AC TRANSLATIONE SANCTI SATVRNINI, EPISCOPI TOLOSANAE CIVITATIS ET MARTYRIS: Édition et traduction provisoires," *Mémoires de la Société archéologique du Midi de la France* 61 (2001) 59-77. Many of the notes are indebted to Cabau's.] We revere with due admiration the most blessed sufferings of those who, as we have heard and believe (through the good service of the fame that reports the information), have been sanctified by a happy martyrdom. We honor with vigils, hymns and even solemn sacraments those days on which they were crowned with [God's] gift after victory, striving as they bore witness to the name of the Lord, and by their blessed death being reborn in the heavenly realms of the same Lord, who helped them with his own power in their struggle—[and we do this] so that we may ask for their protection and support before the Lord by praying, and deserve it by honoring [them]. With what solemnity, then, shall we revere, with what joy shall we observe that day, on which the most blessed Saturninus, bishop of the city of Toulouse and martyr, earned in that same city a double crown (as God is my witness)—the rank of bishop and the honor of martyrdom—so that his suffering sanctified one whose life had already made him worthy of reverence!

²At that time (after the bodily coming of the Savior) the true Sun of Righteousness had risen in the darkness and had begun to illuminate the Western districts—for gradually, little by little, the sound of the Gospels

went out into the whole world, and the preaching of the Apostles in its slow advance shone forth in our regions. A few churches were being built in some cities, through the devotion of a small number of Christians, while numerous temples in all places were sending up the disgusting smoke [of sacrifices], through the lamentable error of the pagans. Then (truly quite a long time ago, that is, during the consulship of Decius and Gratus, as the faithful report tells), the city of Toulouse had received Saturninus as its first and supreme priest of Christ. By his faith and virtue, the oracles of those demons who were worshipped in this same city began to cease; their fabrications were laid bare; their machinations uncovered; all their power among the pagans, all their deceit, began to decrease, as the faith of the Christians increased. Since the aforementioned bishop, in his going to and from the church, which was quite small at that time, often went past the Capitol, which was between his house and the house of God, the deceitful crowd of demons was not able to stand the holy man's presence; and the statues (mute as they were), overshadowed by no apparitions, remained in silence [as their only response] to the impious worship and the customary prayers of those who came to consult them.

³ All the priests of impious superstition, disturbed by the novelty of such a great thing, began to ask themselves whence this muteness (not usual for such a long time) had suddenly come upon their gods, and who had shut their ever-babbling mouths, so that they, not moved by the prayers of those who called upon them, nor charmed by the shed blood of bulls and so many sacrifices, refused to give any response to those who consulted them—[were they] angry or absent? They heard from a certain enemy of our religion that some sect hostile to pagan superstition had arisen, which was called Christian, and that it was striving to destroy their gods; also, the bishop of this faith was Saturninus, who passed by the Capitol frequently—it was at the sight of this man that the mouths of their gods were terrified and fell silent; they could not easily be re-opened unless an accelerated death took that bishop away.

⁴ Oh unhappy error and blind madness! They heard that the man was a terror to their own gods, and that the demons went into exile from their temples and their habitations when he passed by. Not only did they hear—they also understood! And they would prefer to kill this man, who was terrifying to the idols they worshipped even without making any threats, rather

than to honor him. Miserable people—who did not consider that they ought to worship no one more than him whose servant had given orders to their own divinities! For what is more foolish than to fear those who are afraid, and not to fear that one who rules over the rulers? In the midst of this eager questioning and astonishment, as little by little a great multitude of people had gathered and they were all eagerly wanting to find out something certain regarding all this talk, and (a bull having been prepared as a victim) they were desiring either to bring their gods back or propitiate them, by the sacrifice of such a tremendous victim—see! the holy Saturninus himself, coming to a solemn service, was recognized by one of that malicious crowd, who said: "Look! the adversary of our worship himself, the standard-bearer of the new religion, who preaches the destruction of temples, who despises our gods by calling them demons, whose constant presence, finally, prevents us from obtaining oracles! And so, since the end he deserves has presented the very man to us at the opportune time, let us take vengeance for the injury to ourselves and to our gods at the same time! And now, through our compulsion, may he either be pleasing to them, by sacrificing, or make them joyful, by dying!"

5 With the urging of such an impious voice, the whole crowd of lunatics surrounded the holy man and, once a priest and two deacons who had accompanied him had fallen away in flight, he was brought alone to the Capitol. As they were trying to force him to sacrifice to the demons, he bore witness in a clear voice: "I know only one God, the true God. I will offer to him the sacrifice of praise. I know that your gods are demons; and you honor them (in vain) not so much by the sacrifice of cattle as by the deaths of your own souls. Now, how is it that you want me to fear those by whom, as I hear, you say I am feared?" At these words of the holy bishop, the whole boisterous, impious multitude was inflamed, and used that bull, which had been prepared as a sacrificial victim, in the service of their savagery, tying a rope around its flanks and leaving it loose in back: they bound the holy man's feet with the end of the rope that was hanging down behind the bull, and drove the bull with rather sharp blows to rush down from the upper part of the Capitol onto the plain. Without delay, during the first part of the descent of that slope, his head having been dashed [against the rocks], his brain having been scattered, and his body having been mangled in every part, his soul, worthy of God, was received by Christ—so that after the victory he [i.e.,

Christ] might crown with his own laurels [the soul] that pagan fury had wrenched out with torments while he was fighting faithfully for Christ's name.

⁶ The dead body, however, now exposed to no one's affronts, was led by the bull in its frenzy to that place where, the rope having snapped in two, it received burial in a mound at that time. For since at that time the Christians themselves were afraid to bury the body of the holy man, on account of the pagans' agitation, only two women, overcoming the weakness of their sex by the power of their faith, braver than all the men, and encouraged by the example of their bishop, I believe, to endure martyrdom, put the body of the blessed man into a wooden coffin and, after making deep trenches, placed it as far underground as possible. And so, they seemed not so much to be burying the sacred remains (so worthy of reverence in their eyes) as to be hiding them, for fear that people of impious mind, perchance, if they saw any honors being paid to the buried body's grave, might immediately dig up the body and tear it to pieces, and even take away the modest tomb. But the Lord took up his martyr in peace—to him belong honor and glory, power and might for ever and ever. Amen.

⁷ The body of the martyr remained for a certain amount of time under the common turf, not honored by any [human being], but honored by God—until Saint Hilarius, ordained bishop in the city of Toulouse much later, learned about the death and merit of his predecessor, had the earth dug up as far as the wooden coffin itself. Since he was afraid to move the holy remains, he carefully had a vault built above it with many bricks, and to a place of prayer of the same size, he added a quite small basilica made of ordinary timber^[8]—keeping the body hidden, of course, so that faithless people would not dig it up and rip it apart. As time wore on, the remains of many people who were departing from the world were faithfully brought to this little basilica, for comfort, on account of the body of the martyr resting there; and the whole place was filled with a great number of interred bodies. Then the bishop, Saint Silvius, who had attained the episcopacy of the aforementioned city, was preparing a beautiful and fine-looking basilica at great cost, in order to transfer the remains of the venerable martyr there—but he departed from the world before the completion of the work he had begun.

⁸ After his death, Saint Exuperius, who had been elected into the highest priesthood—a man entirely free of [the desire to do] harm to any of his fore-

bears, entirely free of envy towards any of those who were seen to be ruling the churches at that time; not only second to none, but even worthy of comparison with the blessed martyr himself, in the merits of his virtues—most industriously completed the basilica that his predecessor had faithfully begun, and auspiciously dedicated it. While he was hesitating to transfer the remains of the holy martyr there—not for any disbelief of his own, but for the honor of that man himself—he was admonished in a dream not to neglect faithlessly what he had believed faithfully: no injury was done to spirits either by the diminution of their ashes or the transportation of their bodies, since it was a manifest fact that what had fostered the salvation of believers was [also] conducive to the honor of martyrs. Straightway, bolstered by such a vision, he sent a request to the pious emperors[10]—and without any delay, attained what he had asked so devoutly, so that the remains of the holy man, [now] transferred to the basilica that had been prepared with all zeal, would not be violated by reckless audacity, but rather honored by the deference of one who showed quite attentive reverence.

9 Now as to what remains for this little work: Let all who read it, let all who hear it, understand that the source of our salvation stands in faith; and that the Lord did not without reason say in the words of the Gospel: "Do you believe this?"—and when the answer was given, "I believe," he said: "Let it be done for you according to your faith"—not because the Lord, who examines the heart and mind, was ignorant of that their state of belief, but in order to remind us not to believe doubtfully what is said about the Lord's virtues, or [believe doubtfully] in what we ask to be granted to us. For this reason the Savior himself said about such men: "If you carry out my will, I shall no longer call you servants, but friends"; and the same [Savior] bore witness through the voice of the prophet: "To me, however, your friends are greatly honored, O God"; and again: "These are the ones who have come out of the great tribulation, who have washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb, who follow the Lamb"[15]—about their blessedness it was said: "Planted in the house of the Lord, they flourished in the courts of our God"; and again: "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints"; and again: "The saints will exult in glory, they will rejoice in their beds"; and again: "This glory belongs to all his saints." To them, it was granted not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for Christ and be with Christ immediately after the dissolution of their bodies.

¹⁰ Let us not neglect the friends of God and the well-beloved of God as being dead; rather, let us honor them as living—for it is certain, by indubitable faith, that if we should faithfully request their favor, we shall happily feel their support, because even if their enthusiasm ceased, he would supply our desires, [he] who not only examines present thoughts, but also knows future thoughts. When requests are made to him in his own [people], he understands that he [himself] is being honored. Under the reign of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom belong honor and glory forever and ever. Amen. [1]Translated by Andrew Eastbourne, commissioned by Roger Pearse, September 2013. This translation is public domain: copy freely for any purpose, personal, educational or commercial. Lat. *passiones*—frequently implying (as here) specifically martyrdom; the English word "passion" (cf. e.g. Christ's "passion") derives from the Latin term. The original meaning of the Latin term (*sollemnis*)—"celebrated yearly at a set time"—is probably at least partly in view here; i.e., not only are the celebrations of the martyrs full of religious feeling, they are also annually recurring.

¹¹ A.D. 250. I.e., bishop. Lat. *reliquiae*—the origin of the Eng. word "relics." Probably in the late mid-4 cen. Or, "cheap materials" (Lat. *vilibus tignis*). Probably in the late 4 cen. Honorius and Arcadius; this event took place sometime in the first decade of the 5 cen, when Exuperius is attested as bishop of Toulouse. Mt. 9:28-29. Lit., "heart and kidneys." Jn. 15:14-15. Ps. 139:17. Rev. 7:14; 14:4. Ps. 92:14. Ps. 116:15. Ps. 149:5. Ps. 149:9. Lat. *dum rogatur in suis*—i.e., when he is asked through his own [saints]. This phrase (Lat. *regnante...Christo*), apious parody of secular dating formulas, and is found in a number of martyrdom accounts.

The Western Text of the Acts of the Apostles, translated from Codex Bezae

CODEx BEZAE (WESTERN TEXT OF ACTS)

5th-century manuscript

The longer "Western" form of the Acts of the Apostles, as read in Codex Bezae, translated into English.

II. NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION THAT FOLLOWS

¹ The sole object of publishing this translation of the Greek text of so much of the Acts of the Apostles as has survived in the Codex Bezae is to enable the English reader to form a judgment, based on internal and literary evidence alone, as to the relation between the original source of this text, and that of the shorter text from which our A.V. and R.V. are translated. It is my belief that a careful examination of it will do more than suggest to the reader as possible, it will convince him of the fact, that we have before us traces of the revision of a work by the author himself, the words in thick type being struck by him out of his first draft, and the words in square brackets introduced. The other argument, based on external and historical evidence, pointing to the same conclusion, is also briefly alluded to in the Introduction.

² This being the sole object of the translation, it will, I hope, be understood that this is not a critical collation of texts, and deals with no other critical question. Many obvious errors of transcription in the MS. are tacitly corrected. In some rewritten passages the whole is in thick type though parts of them appear in the ordinary text. The reader is assumed to have the R.V. open before him, or in his memory. The translation is in general that of the R.V. or its margin. I have, in a word, endeavoured to put before the English reader the purely literary question----revision by author or interpolation by copyist----in a form at once fair and simple and readable. The translation was made partly from Kipling's facsimile in folio, and completed and revised

from Scrivener's very careful transcription. I fear that some errors will have been made or escaped correction, and I shall be truly grateful to anyone who will send me a note of them.

CHAPTER I.

¹ The former treatise I made, O Theophilus, concerning all that Jesus began both to do and to teach, until the day in which he was received up, after that he had given commandment through the Holy Spirit unto the apostles whom he had chosen, and ordered to proclaim the gospel: to whom he also shewed himself alive after his passion by many proofs, appearing unto them by the space of forty days, and speaking the things concerning the kingdom of God: and, being assembled together with them, he charged them not to depart from Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Father, which ye heard, saith he, from my mouth: for John indeed baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit, and which ye are about to receive after these not many days until the Pentecost. They therefore, when they were come together, asked him, saying, Lord, dost thou at this time restore the kingdom of Israel? And he said unto them, It is not for you to know times or seasons, which the Father hath set within his own authority. But ye shall receive power, when the Holy Spirit is come upon you; and ye shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judaea and Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth. And when he had said these things, [as they were looking], a cloud received him, and he was taken away out of their sight. And while they were looking stedfastly into heaven as he went, behold, two men stood by them in white apparel; which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye looking into heaven? this Jesus, which was received up from you [into heaven], shall so come in like manner as ye beheld him going into heaven.

² Then returned they unto Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet, which is nigh unto Jerusalem, a sabbath day's journey off. And when they were come in, they went up into the upper chamber, where they were abiding; both Peter and John, [and] James and Andrew, Philip and Thomas, Bartholomew and Matthew, James of Alphaeus, [and] Simon the Zealot, and Judas of James. These all with one accord continued stedfastly in prayer, with the women and children, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and [with] his brethren. And in these days Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples, and said (for there was a multitude of persons together about a hundred and

twenty), Men and brethren, it was needful that this scripture should be fulfilled, which the Holy Spirit spake before by the mouth of David concerning Judas, who was guide to them that took Jesus. For he was numbered among us, and received his portion in this ministry. Now this man obtained a field with the reward of his iniquity; and falling headlong he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out. And it became known to all the dwellers at Jerusalem; insomuch that in their language that field was called Akeldamach, that is, The field of blood.

3 For it is written in the book of Psalms, Let his habitation be made desolate, And let no man dwell therein: And his overseership let another take. Of the men therefore which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus Christ went in and went out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto the day that he was received up from us, of these must one become a witness with us of his resurrection. And he put forward two, Joseph called Barnabas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias. And they prayed, and said, Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, shew of these two the one whom thou hast chosen, to take the place in this ministry and apostleship, from which Judas fell away, that he might go to his own place. And they gave lots for them; and the lot fell upon Matthias; and he was numbered with the twelve apostles.

CHAPTER II.

1 And it came to pass in those days of the fulfilment of the day of the Pentecost, when they were all [together] in one place, and, behold, suddenly there came from heaven a sound as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them tongues parting asunder, like as of fire: and they sat upon each one of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance. [Now] there were dwelling in Jerusalem Jews, devout men, from every nation under heaven. And when this sound took place, the multitude came together, and were confounded; and each one heard them speaking in their own tongues. And they were [all] amazed and marvelled, saying to one another, Behold are not all these which speak Galilaeans? And how hear we each one our own language wherein we were born? Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and dwellers in Mesopotamia, Judaea and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, in Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt and the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and sojourners from Rome, both

Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians, we do hear them speaking in our tongues the mighty works of God. And they were all amazed, and were perplexed, one with another, about what had taken place, and saying What meaneth this? but others mocking said, They are filled with new wine.

² But then Peter, standing up with the ten apostles, lifted up his voice first, and said, Ye men of Judaea, and all ye that dwell at Jerusalem, be this known unto us, [and] give ear unto my words. For these are not drunken, as ye suppose; seeing it is but the third hour of the day: but this is that which hath been spoken by the prophet [Joel]: [And] it shall be in the last days, saith the Lord, I will pour forth of my Spirit upon all flesh; And their sons and their daughters shall prophesy, And the young men shall see visions, And the old men shall dream dreams; [yea] and on my servants and on my hand maidens [in those days] I will pour out of my Spirit; [And they shall prophesy]. And I will shew wonders in the heaven above, and signs on the earth beneath,

³ [blood, and fire, and vapour of smoke]. the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the day of the Lord come, that great [and notable day]. And it shall be, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved. Ye men of Israel, hear these words, Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God unto us by mighty works and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, even as ye yourselves know; him, being delivered up by the determinate counsel and fore-knowledge of God, ye took, and by the hand of lawless men did crucify and slay; whom God raised up, having loosed the pains of Hades, because it was not possible that he should be holden of it. For David saith concerning him, I beheld my Lord always before my face; For he is on my right hand, that I should not be moved;

⁴ Therefore my heart was glad, and my tongue rejoiced; Moreover my flesh also shall dwell in hope: Because thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades, Neither wilt thou give thy Holy One to see corruption. Thou madest known unto me the ways of life; Thou shalt make me full of gladness with thy countenance. Men and brethren, I may say unto you freely of the patriarch David, that he both died and was buried, and his tomb is with us unto this day. Being therefore a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his heart according to the flesh he would raise up the Christ, and set him upon his throne: [he foreseeing this spake] of the resur-

rection of the Christ, that neither was he left in Hades, nor did his flesh see corruption. This Jesus therefore did God raise up, whereof we all are witnesses. Being therefore by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, he hath poured forth upon you this, which ye both see and hear. For David ascended not into the heavens; for he said himself

5 The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, Till I make thine enemies The footstool of thy feet. Let all the house of Israel know assuredly that God hath made [him] both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified. Then all who had come together, when they heard this, were pricked in their heart, and some of them said to Peter and the [rest of the] apostles, Men and brethren, what therefore shall we do? Shew us. And Peter saith unto them, Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ unto the Remission of [your] sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit. For to us is the promise, and to our children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call unto him. And with many other words he testified, and exhorted them, saying, Save yourselves from this crooked generation. They then that believed his word were baptized; and there were added [unto them] in that day about three thousand souls. And they continued stedfastly in the apostles' teaching in Jerusalem, and the fellowship, in the breaking of the bread, and the prayers. And fear came upon every soul: and many wonders and signs were done by the Apostles. And all that believed were together, and had all things common; and as many as had possessions or goods sold them, and parted them day by day to all those who had need. And all continued stedfastly [with one accord], in the temple, and in their homes together breaking bread they did take their food with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and having favour with all the world. And the Lord added [to them] those that were being saved day by day together in the Church.

CHAPTER III.

1 Now in those days Peter and John were going up into the temple in the evening at the ninth hour, that of prayer. And, behold, a certain man, that was lame from his mother's womb was being carried, whom they laid daily at the door of the temple which is called Beautiful, to ask alms of them that were entering into the temple. He fixing steadily his eyes, and seeing Peter and John about to go into the temple, asked alms from them. And Peter,

looking on him, with John, said, Look steadily on us. And he looked steadily on them, expecting to receive something from them. But Peter said, Silver and gold have I none; but what I have, that give I thee. In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, walk. And he took him by the right hand, and raised him up. And immediately he stood; and his feet and ankle-bones received strength. And leaping up, he stood, and walked rejoicing, and entered with them into the temple [walking, and leaping, and] praising God: And all the people saw him walking and praising God. And they took knowledge of him, that it was he which sat for alms at the Beautiful Gate of the temple; and they were filled with wonder and amazement at that which had happened unto him.

² And as Peter and John went out, he went out with them, and held them: and [all the people ran together unto them and] were standing astonished in the porch that is called Solomon's, greatly wondering. But Peter answering said unto them: Ye men of Israel, why marvel ye at this? or why fasten ye your eyes on us, as though by our own power or godliness we had done this thing that he should walk? The God of Abraham and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, the God of our fathers hath glorified his servant Jesus Christ, whom ye delivered up to judgment, and denied him before the face of Pilate, when he had judged and wished to release him. But ye oppressed the Holy and Righteous One, and asked for a murderer to be granted unto you. And ye killed the Prince of life; whom God raised from the dead; whereof we are witnesses. And by faith in his name ye behold this man and know that his name made him strong, and the faith which is by him hath given him this perfect soundness in the presence of you all. And now, men and brethren, we know that ye did a wicked thing in ignorance, as did also your rulers. But the things which God foreshewed by the mouth of all the prophets, that his Christ should suffer, he hath thus fulfilled.

³ Repent ye therefore, and turn again, that your sins may be blotted out, that so there may come seasons of refreshing from the face of the Lord; and that he may send the Christ who hath been appointed for you, even Jesus, whom the heaven must receive until the times of restoration of all things, whereof God spake by the mouth of his holy prophets [which have been since the world began. Moses indeed said unto our fathers, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of our brethren; to him like unto myself shall ye hearken in all things whatsoever he shall speak unto you. And it

shall be, that every soul, which shall not hearken to that prophet, shall be utterly destroyed from among the people. Yea, and all the prophets, from Samuel and them that followed after, as many as have spoken, they also told of these days. Ye are the sons of the prophets, and of the covenant which God made with your fathers, saying unto Abraham, And in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed. Unto you first, God having raised up his Servant, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from your iniquities.

CHAPTER IV.

¹ And as they spake these words unto the people, the priests and [the captain of the temple] and the Sadducees came upon them, being sore troubled because they taught the people, and proclaimed Jesus in the resurrection of the dead. And they laid hands on them, and put them in ward unto the morrow: for it was now eventide. But many of them that heard the word believed; and the number also of the men came to be about five thousand. And it came to pass on the day of the morrow, that the rulers and elders and Scribes were gathered together in Jerusalem; and Annas the high-priest, and Caiaphas, and Jonathas and Alexander, and as many as were of the kindred of the high-priest. And when they had set them in the midst, they inquired, By what power, or in what name, have ye done this? Then Peter, filled with the Holy Spirit, said unto them, Ye rulers of the people, and elders of Israel, if we this day are examined by you concerning a good deed done to an impotent man, by what means this man is made whole; be it known unto you all, and to all the people of Israel, that in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead, in him doth this man stand here before you whole. He is the stone which was set at nought of you the builders, which was made the head of the corner. And in none other is there [salvation], for there is none other name under heaven given to men, wherein we must be saved.

² Now when they beheld the boldness of Peter and John, and had perceived that they were unlearned [and ignorant] men, they marvelled; but they took knowledge of them, that they had been with Jesus. [And] seeing the man that was healed standing with them, they could do or say nothing against it. [But] when they had commanded that they should be led out of the Council, they conferred among themselves, saying, What shall we do to these men? for that indeed a notable sign hath been wrought through them

is more than manifest to all that dwell in Jerusalem, and we cannot deny it. [But] that it spread no further among the people, let us threaten them, that they speak henceforth to no man in this name. And when they had agreed to this decision they called them, and charged them not to speak [at all] nor teach in the name of Jesus. But Peter and John answered and said unto them, Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you rather than unto God, judge ye: for we cannot [but] speak the things which we saw and heard. And they, when they had further threatened them, let them go, finding nothing how they might punish them, because of the people; for all men glorified God for that which was done. For the man was more than forty years old, on whom this sign of healing was wrought.

³ And being let go, they came to their own company, and reported all that the chief priests and the elders had said unto them. And they, when they heard it, and recognised the working of God, lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and said, O Lord, thou the God that didst make the heaven and the earth and the sea, and all that in them is: who by the Holy Spirit, by the mouth of [our father] David thy servant didst say, Why did the Gentiles rage, And the peoples imagine vain things? The kings of the earth set themselves in array, And the rulers were gathered together, Against the Lord, and against his Anointed: For of a truth in this city, against thy holy Servant Jesus, whom thou didst anoint, both Herod and Pontius Pilate were gathered together with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel, to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel foreordained to come to pass. And now, Lord, look upon their threatenings: and grant unto thy servants to speak thy word with all boldness, while thou stretchest forth thy hand to heal, and that signs and wonders may be done through the name of thy holy Servant Jesus. And when they had prayed, the place was shaken wherein they were gathered together: and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and they spake the word of God with boldness, to every man who wished to believe.

⁴ And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul, and there was no distinction at all among them: and not one of them said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common. And with great power gave the apostles their witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ; and great grace was upon them all. For neither was there among them any that lacked; for as many as were possessed of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were

sold, and laid them at the apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto each one according as any one had need. And Joseph, who by the apostles was surnamed Barnabas, (which is, being interpreted, Son of Exhortation), a Cyprian Levite by race, having a field sold it, and brought the money, and laid it at the apostles' feet.

CHAPTER V.

¹ But a certain man named Ananias, with Sapphira his wife, sold a possession and kept back part of the price, his wife also being privy to it, and brought a certain part, and laid it at the apostles' feet. But Peter said to Ananias, Why hath Satan filled thy heart to lie to the Holy Spirit, to keep back part of the price of the land? Whiles it remained, did it not remain thine own? and after it was sold was it not in thy power? How is it that thou hast conceived in thy heart to do this wicked thing? thou hast not lied unto men but unto God. And when he heard these words Ananias immediately fell down and gave up the ghost, and great fear came upon all that heard it. And the young men arose and wrapped him round, and they carried him out and buried him.

² And it was about the space of three hours after when his wife, not knowing what was done, came in. And Peter said to her I will further ask you if verily ye sold the land for so much. She then said, Yea, for so much. But Peter (said) unto her, How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Behold, the feet of them which have buried thy husband are at the door, and they shall carry thee out. And she fell down immediately at his feet, and gave up the ghost. And the young men came in, and found her dead; and having wrapped her round they carried her out, and buried her by her husband. And great fear fell upon the whole church, and upon all that heard these things. And by the hands of the apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people; and they were all with one accord in the temple in Solomon's porch. But of the rest durst no one join himself to them; howbeit the people magnified them. And were the more added to them, believing on the Lord, multitudes both of men and women: insomuch that they [even] carried out their sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that, as Peter came by, at the least his shadow might overshadow some one of them. For they were set free from every sickness which each one of them had. And there came [also] together into Jerusalem a multitude from the cities round about, bringing sick folk, and them that were vexed with unclean spirits: and all were cured.

3 But the high priest rose up, and all they that were with him which is the sect of the Sadducees, and they were filled with jealousy; and laid hands on the apostles, and put them in public ward: and each one of them went to his own home. Then by night an angel of the Lord opened the doors of the prison, and brought them out, and said, Go and stand and speak in the temple to the people all the words of this Life. And when they heard this, they entered into the temple about day break, and taught. But the high priest came, and they that were with him, having been roused early, and called the council together, and all the senate of the children of Israel, and sent to the prison to have them brought. But the officers having come and opened the prison found them not within; and they returned, and told, saying, The prison-house we found shut in all safety, and the keepers standing at the doors; but when we had opened we found no man within. Now when the captain of the temple and the chief priests heard these words, they were much perplexed concerning them whereunto this would grow. And there came one and told them, Behold the men whom ye put in the prison are in the temple, standing and teaching the people. Then went the captain with the officers, and brought them [not] with violence: for they feared the people, lest they should be stoned.

4 And when they had brought them they set them before the Council. And the [high] priest asked them, saying, Did we not straitly charge you not to teach in this name? And, behold, ye have filled Jerusalem with your teaching, and wish to bring that man's blood upon us. But Peter [and the apostles answered and] said to them, We must obey God rather than men. The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew, hanging him on a tree. Him did God exalt for his glory [with his right hand], to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance to Israel, and remission of sins in him. And we are witnesses of all these things; and so is the Holy Spirit, whom God hath given to them that obey him. 5 But they, when they heard this, were cut to the heart, and were minded to slay them. But there stood up one of the council, a Pharisee, named Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, had in honour of all the people, and commanded to put the apostles forth a little while. And he said to the rulers and those of the council, Ye men of Israel, take heed to yourselves as touching these men, what ye are about to do. For before these days rose up Theudas, giving himself out to be somebody great: to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves; who was slain by himself, and all as

many as obeyed him, and came to nought. After this man rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the enrolment, and drew away much people after him: he also perished, and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered abroad. And now, brethren; I say unto you, Refrain from these men, and let them alone, not defiling your hands; for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will be overthrown; but if it is of God, ye will not be able to hinder them: neither you nor kings nor tyrants: keep away therefore from these men, lest haply ye be found fighting against God. And to him they agreed: and when they had called the apostles unto them, they beat them, and charged them not to speak in the name of Jesus, and let them go. The apostles therefore departed from the presence of the Council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer dishonour for the Name. And every day, in the temple and at home they ceased not to teach and preach the Lord Jesus as the Christ.

CHAPTER VI.

¹ Now in these days, when the number of the disciples was multiplying, there arose a murmuring of the Hellenists against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration, in the ministration of the Hebrews. [And] the twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them, and said, It is not pleasing to us that we should leave the word of God, and minister to tables. What is it then, brethren? Look ye out [therefore] from among you seven men of good report, full of the Spirit and of wisdom, whom we will appoint over this business: but we will continue stedfastly in prayer, and in the ministry of the word. And this saying pleased the whole multitude of the disciples; and they chose Stephen, a man full of faith and of the Holy Spirit, and Philip, and Prochorus, and Nicor, and Timon, and Parmenas, and Nicolas a proselyte of Antioch. These were set before the apostles; and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them. And the word of the Lord increased; and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem exceedingly; and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith. And Stephen, full of grace and power, wrought great wonders and signs among the people, through the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. But there arose certain of them that were of the Synagogue called the Synagogue of the Libertines, and of the Cyrenians, and of the Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia [and Asia] disputing with Stephen.

² And they were not able to withstand the wisdom that was in him, and the Holy Spirit with which he spake, because they were confuted by him with

all boldness. Being unable therefore to face the truth then they suborned men which said, We have heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses, and against God, And they stirred up the people, and the elders, and the scribes, and came upon him, and seized him, and brought him into the Council; and set up false witnesses against him, which said, This man ceaseth not to speak words against the holy place, and the law: for we have heard him say that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered unto us. And all that sat in the council, fastening their eyes on him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel standing in the midst of them.

CHAPTER VII.

1 And the high priest said to Stephen, Is this thing so? And he said Men, brethren and fathers, hearken. The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Haran, and said unto him, Get thee out of thy land, and from thy kindred, and come into the land which I shall shew thee. Then came Abraham out of the land of the Chaldeans, and dwelt in Haran; and there he was after the death of his father. And (God) removed him into this land, wherein ye now dwell, and our fathers who were before us. And he gave him none inheritance in it, no, not so much as to set his foot on: but he promised that he would give it him in possession, and his seed after him, when as yet he had no child. And God spake on this wise to him, that his seed should sojourn in a strange land, and that they should bring them into bondage, and entreat them evil, four hundred years. And the nation to which they shall be in bondage will I judge, said God, and after that shall they come forth, and serve me in this place. And he gave him the covenant of circumcision. And so he begat Isaac, and circumcised him the eighth day; and Isaac begat Jacob, and Jacob the twelve patriarchs. And the patriarchs, moved with jealousy against Joseph, sold him into Egypt;

2 and God was with him, and delivered him out of all his afflictions, and gave him favour and wisdom before Pharaoh, King of Egypt; and he made him governor over Egypt and all his house. Now there came a famine over all Egypt and Canaan, and great affliction; and our fathers found no sustenance. When therefore Jacob heard that there was corn in Egypt, he sent forth our fathers the first time. And at the second time Joseph was made known to his brethren, and Joseph's race became manifest unto Pharaoh. And Joseph sent,

and called to him Jacob his father and all his kindred, three score and fifteen souls. And Jacob went down into Egypt; and he died, himself, and our fathers. And they were carried over unto Shechem, and laid in the tomb that Abraham bought for a price in silver of the sons of Emmor of Shechem. But as the time of the promise drew nigh, which God promised unto Abraham, the people grew and multiplied in Egypt, till there arose another king [over Egypt] which knew not Joseph. The same dealt subtilly with our race, and evil entreated the fathers, that they should cast out their babes to the end they might not live.

3 At which season Moses was born, and was exceeding fair; and he was nourished three months in his father's house. And when he was cast out by the riverside, Pharaoh's daughter took him up and nourished him for her own son. And Moses was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and he was mighty in his words and works. But when he was full forty years old it came into his heart to visit his brethren the children of Israel. And seeing one of his race suffering wrong, he defended him, and avenged him that was oppressed, smiting the Egyptian, and he hid him in the sand; and he supposed that his brethren understood how that God by his hand was giving them deliverance; but they understood not. And then on the day following he appeared unto them as they strove, and saw them doing injustice, and would have set them at one again, saying, What are ye doing, men and brethren? why do ye wrong one to another? But he that did his neighbour wrong thrust him away saying, Who made thee a ruler and a judge over us? Wouldest thou kill me as thou killedst the Egyptian yesterday? Thus also Moses fled at this saying, and became a sojourner in the land of Midian, where he begat two sons.

4 And after these things, when forty years were fulfilled, an angel of the Lord appeared to him in the wilderness of Mount Sinai, in a flame of fire in a bush. And when Moses saw it, he wondered at the sight: and as he drew near to behold, the Lord spake to him saying, I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses trembled, and durst not behold. And a voice came to him, Loose the shoes from thy feet: for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground. I have surely seen the affliction of my people which is in Egypt, and have heard their groaning, and I am come down to deliver them: and now come, I will send thee into Egypt. 5 This Moses whom they refused, saying, Who made

thee a ruler and a judge over us, him hath God sent to be both a ruler and a redeemer with the hand of the angel which appeared to him in the bush. This man led them forth, having wrought wonders and signs in Egypt, and in the Red Sea, and in the wilderness forty years. This is [that] Moses, which said unto the children of Israel, A prophet shall God raise up unto you from among your brethren, as he raised up me: hear him. This is he that was in the church in the wilderness with the angel which spake to him in the mount Sinai, and of our fathers; who received living oracles to give unto us: because our fathers would not be obedient, but thrust him from them, and turned back in their hearts unto Egypt, saying unto Aaron, Make us gods which shall go before us: for as for this Moses, which led us forth out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him. And they made a calf in those days, and brought a sacrifice unto the idol, and rejoiced in the works of their hands. But God turned, and gave them up to serve the host of heaven; as it is written in the book of the prophets, Did ye offer unto me slain beasts and sacrifices, forty years in the wilderness, O house of Israel?

6 And ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of the god Remphan, the figures which ye made to worship them; and I will carry you away into the parts of Babylon. The tabernacle of the testimony was with our fathers in the wilderness, even as he appointed who spake unto Moses that he should make it according to the figure that he had seen. Which also our fathers, in their turn, brought in with Joshua when they entered on the possession of the nations, which God thrust out before the face of our fathers, unto the days of David; who found favour in the sight of God, and asked to find a habitation for the house of Jacob. But Solomon built him a house. Howbeit the Most High dwelleth not in houses made with hands, as saith the prophet, The heaven is my throne, and the earth the footstool of my feet. What manner of house will ye build me? saith the Lord: or of what sort is the place of my rest? Did not my hand make all these things? Ye stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Spirit: as your fathers did, so do ye. Which of the prophets did not they persecute? and they killed them which shewed before of the coming of the Righteous One; of whom ye have now become betrayers and murderers; ye who received the law as it was ordained by angels, and kept it not.

7 Now when they heard these things, they were cut to the heart, and they gnashed on him with their teeth. But he, being full of the Holy Spirit,

looked up stedfastly into heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus the Lord, standing on the right hand of God: and said, Behold I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God. But they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and rushed upon him with one accord; and they cast him out of the city, and stoned him; and the witnesses laid down their garments at the feet of a certain young man named Saul. And they stoned Stephen calling upon [the Lord] and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit. And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, saying, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge; and when he had said this, he fell asleep.

CHAPTER VIII.

¹And Saul was consenting unto his death. And there arose on that day a great persecution and affliction against the church which was in Jerusalem; and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judaea and Samaria, except the apostles, who remained in Jerusalem. And devout men buried Stephen, and made great lamentation over him. But Saul laid waste the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committed them to prison. ²They therefore that were scattered abroad went about preaching the word. And Philip went down to the city of Samaria, and proclaimed unto them the Christ. And, when they heard, all the multitudes gave heed unto the things which were spoken by Philip with one accord when they heard and saw the signs which he did. For from many of those which had unclean spirits they came out crying with a loud voice, and many that were palsied [and that were] lame were healed. And there was much joy in that city. But there was a certain man, Simon by name, which beforetime in the city used sorcery, and amazed the people of Samaria, giving out that he himself was some great one; to whom they all gave heed from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the power of God which is called Great. And they gave heed to him, because that of long time he had amazed them with his sorceries. But when they believed Philip preaching good tidings concerning the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women. And Simon also himself believed, and was baptized, and he continued with Philip; and beholding signs and great miracles wrought, he was amazed. Now when the apostles which were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter

and John; who when they were come down, prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Spirit:

3 for as yet he was fallen upon none of them: only they had been baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. Then laid they their hands upon them, and they received the Holy Spirit. Now when Simon saw that through the laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Spirit was given, he brought them money, exhorting them and saying, Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I also lay my hands, he may receive the Holy Spirit. But Peter said unto him, Thy silver perish with thee, because thou hast thought to obtain the gift of God with money. Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter, for thy heart is not right before God. Repent therefore from this thy wickedness, and pray the Lord if perhaps the thought of thy heart shall be forgiven thee: for I see that thou art in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity. And Simon answered and said to them I beseech you pray ye for me to God that none of these evils of which ye have spoken come upon me. And he ceased not to shed many tears.

4 They therefore, when they had testified and spoken the word of the Lord, returned to Jerusalem, and preached the gospel to many villages of the Samaritans. But an angel of the Lord spake unto Philip saying, Arise, and go toward the south unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza: the same is desert. And he arose and went: and, behold, a man of Ethiopia, an eunuch of great authority under Candace, a certain queen of the Ethiopians, who had the charge of all her treasure, who had come to Jerusalem for to worship: and he was returning and sitting in his chariot [and was] reading the prophet Isaiah. And the Spirit said unto Philip... Here eight leaves of the Codex are wanting, including from viii. 29 to x. 14 in Greek, and viii. 20 to x. 4 in Latin. The Latin text, d, follows a from x. 4 to x. 14.

CHAPTER X.

1...anything that is common or unclean and called unto him again the second time, What God hath cleansed, make not thou common. And this was done thrice: and [straight way] the vessel was received up again into heaven. Now when he came to himself Peter doubted what this vision which he had seen should mean: and, behold the men that were sent from Cornelius, having made enquiry for Simon's house, stood before the gate, and called and asked whether Simon, which was surnamed Peter, was lodging there. And while Peter thought on the vision, the Spirit said unto him, Behold

[three] men seek thee. But arise, and get thee down, and go with them nothing doubting; for I have sent them. Then Peter went down to the men and said, Behold I am he whom ye seek. What do you wish? or what is the cause wherefore ye are come? And they said to him, A certain Cornelius, a centurion, a righteous man, and one that feareth God, and well reported of by all the nation of the Jews, was warned by a holy angel to send for thee into his house, and to hear words from thee. Then Peter led them in and lodged them.

2 And on the morrow he arose and went forth with them, and certain of the brethren from Joppa accompanied him. And on the morrow he entered into Caesarea. And Cornelius was expecting them, and having called together his kinsmen and his near friends he was waiting for them. And as Peter was drawing near to Caesarea one of the servants ran forward and announced that he was come. And Cornelius sprang up and met him, and fell down at his feet, and worshipped him. But Peter raised him up saying What art thou doing? I myself also am a man as thou also art. And [as he talked with him] he went in, and found many come together. And he said unto them, Ye yourselves know very well how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to join himself or come unto one that is of another nation: and unto me hath God shewed that I should not call any man common or unclean. Wherefore also I came without gainsaying when I was sent for by you. I ask therefore with what intent ye sent for me. And Cornelius said, From the third day until this hour I was fasting, and keeping the ninth hour of prayer in my house, and behold, a man stood before me in bright apparel, and saith, Cornelius, thy prayer is heard, and thine alms are had in remembrance in the sight of God. Send therefore to Joppa, and call unto thee Simon, who is surnamed Peter; he lodgeth in the house of Simon a tanner by the seaside. He when he cometh shall speak unto thee. Forthwith therefore I sent to thee exhorting thee to come unto us; and thou hast well done that thou hast come with speed. Now therefore we all in thy sight are wishing to hear from thee that which has been commanded thee by God.

3 And Peter opened his mouth and said, Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to him. For the word which he sent unto the children of Israel, preaching good tidings of peace by Jesus Christ, (he is Lord of all), ye know that [saying] which took place throughout all Judaea;

for beginning from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached, even Jesus of Nazareth, whom God anointed with the Holy Spirit and with power. He went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him. And we are his witnesses of [all] the things which he did both in the country of the Jews, and in Jerusalem; whom also they slew, hanging him on a tree. Him God raised up after the third day, and gave him to be made manifest, not to all the people, but unto witnesses that were chosen before of God, even to us, who did eat and drink with him, and companied with him, after he rose from the dead for forty days. And he charged us to preach unto the people, and to testify that this is he which is ordained of God to be the Judge of quick and dead. To him bear all the prophets witness, that through his name every one that believeth on him shall receive remission of sins.

4 While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Spirit fell on all them that heard the word. And they of the circumcision which believed were amazed, as many as came with Peter, because that on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the Holy Spirit. For they heard them speak with uncertain tongues and magnify God. And Peter said, Can any man forbid the water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Spirit as well as we? Then he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. Then they besought him to remain with them certain days.

CHAPTER XI.

1 Now it was heard by the apostles and the brethren that were in Judaea that the Gentiles also had received the word of God. Peter therefore for a considerable time wished to journey to Jerusalem; and he called to him the brethren, and stablished them; making a long speech, and teaching them throughout the villages: he also went to meet them, and he reported to them the grace of God. But the brethren that were of the circumcision contended with him, saying, Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them. But Peter began, and expounded the matter unto them in order, saying, I was in the city of Joppa praying; and in a trance I saw a vision, a certain vessel descending, as it were a great sheet let down from heaven by four corners, and it came even unto me. Upon the which when I had fastened mine eyes, I considered, and saw [the] fourfooted beasts of the earth, and the wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the heaven. And I heard [also] a voice saying unto me, Rise, Peter, kill and eat. But I said, Not so, Lord; for

nothing common or unclean hath ever entered into my mouth. But there was a voice to me [the second time] out of heaven, What God hath cleansed, make not thou common. And this was done thrice; and all were drawn up again into heaven.

2 And behold, forthwith three men stood before the house in which we were, having been sent from Caesarea unto me. And the Spirit bade me go with them [making no distinction]. And these six brethren also accompanied me; and we entered into the man's house; and he told us how he had seen an angel standing in his house, and saying to him, Send to Joppa and fetch Simon, whose surname is Peter, who shall speak unto thee words whereby thou shalt be saved, thou and all thy house. And as I began to speak to them, the Holy Spirit fell on them, even as on us at the beginning. And I remembered the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit. If then [God] gave unto them the like gift as he did also unto us, when we believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I that I could withstand God? that I should not give them the Holy Spirit when they believed on him. And when they heard these things, they held their peace; and glorified God, saying, Then to the Gentiles also hath God given repentance unto life.

3 They therefore that were scattered abroad upon the tribulation that arose from Stephen travelled as far as Phoenicia and Cyprus and Antioch, speaking the word to none save only to Jews. But there were some of them, men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who, when they were come to Antioch spake unto the Greeks [also], preaching the Lord Jesus Christ. And the hand of the Lord was with them: and a great number that believed turned unto the Lord. And the report concerning them came to the ears of the Church which was in Jerusalem: and they sent forth Barnabas that he should go as far as Antioch; who also, when he had come, and had seen the grace of God, was glad; and exhorted them all, that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord; for he was a good man, and full of the Holy Spirit and of faith: and much people was added unto the Lord.

4 And having heard that Saul was at Tarsus, he went out to seek him; and when he met him he exhorted him to come to Antioch. And they, when they had come, for a whole year were gathered together (in the church, and taught) much people, and the disciples were called Christians then first in Antioch. Now in these days there came down prophets from Jerusalem unto

Antioch. And there was much rejoicing; and when we were gathered together one of them named Agabus stood up and spake, signifying by the Spirit that there should be a great famine over all the world; which came to pass in the days of Claudius. And the disciples, every man according to his ability, determined to send for ministry unto the brethren who dwelt in Judaea; which also they did, sending it to the elders by the hand of Barnabas and Saul.

CHAPTER XII.

¹ Now about that time Herod the king put forth his hands to afflict certain of the Church in Judaea. And he killed James the brother of John with the sword. And when he saw that his laying hands upon the faithful pleased the Jews, he proceeded to seize Peter also. And those were the days of unleavened bread. And when he had taken him, he put him in prison, and delivered him to four quaternions of soldiers to guard him; intending after the Passover to bring him forth to the people. Peter therefore was kept in the prison: but much prayer in earnestness about him was made by the church to God about him. And when Herod was about to bring him forth, the same night Peter was sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two chains, and guards before the door were keeping the prison. And behold an angel of the Lord stood by Peter, and a light shined in the cell; and he nudged Peter on the side, and awoke him, saying, Rise up quickly. And his chains fell off from his hands. And the angel said unto him, Gird thyself, and bind on thy sandals. And he did so. And he saith unto him, Cast thy garment about thee and follow me. And he went out and followed; and he wist not that it was true which was done by the angel; for he thought he saw a vision.

² And when they were past the first and the second ward, they came unto the iron gate that leadeth into the city, which opened to them of its own accord, and they went out, and went down the seven steps, and passed on through one street; and straightway the angel departed from him. And when Peter was come to himself, he said, Now I know of a truth, that the Lord hath sent forth his angel and delivered me out of the hand of Herod, and from all the expectation of the people of the Jews. And when he had considered the thing, he came to the house of Mary the mother of John, whose surname was Mark: where many were gathered together and were praying. And when he knocked at the door of the gate, a maid came to answer, named Rhoda. And when she knew Peter's voice, she opened not the gate for

joy, and ran in and told that Peter stood before the gate. And they said unto her, Thou art mad. But she confidently affirmed that it was even so. And they said Perchance it is his angel. But Peter continued knocking. And when they had opened and saw him, they were astonished. But he, beckoning unto them with the hand to hold their peace, came in and declared unto them how that the Lord had brought him forth out of the prison. And he said, Tell these things unto James, and to the brethren. And he departed and went to another place.

3 Now as soon as it was day, there was a [no small] stir among the soldiers, what was become of Peter. And when Herod had sought for him, and found him not, he examined the guards, and commanded that they should be put to death. And he went down from Judaea to Caesarea, and tarried there.

4 For he was highly displeased with them of Tyre and Sidon: but they with one accord from both the cities came to the king, and having persuaded Blastus the king's chamberlain, they asked for peace, because their country was fed from the king's country. And upon a set day Herod arrayed himself in royal apparel, and sat on the throne, and made an oration unto them, after being reconciled with the Tyrians. And the people shouted, saying, The voice of a god, and not of a man. And immediately an angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory. And he came down from the throne, and while he was still living he was eaten of worms, and thus gave up the ghost. But the word of God grew and multiplied. And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem when they had fulfilled their ministration, taking with them John, whose surname was Mark.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 Now there were at Antioch, in the church that was there, prophets and teachers, among whom were Barnabas, and Symeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, the foster-brother of Herod the tetrarch, and Saul. And as they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Spirit said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. Then when they had all fasted and prayed, and had laid their hands on them, [they sent them away.] 2 So they, being sent forth by the Holy Spirit, went down to Seleucia; and from thence they sailed to Cyprus. And when they were at Salamis, they proclaimed the word of the Lord in the Synagogues of the Jews; and they had also John as their attendant. And when they had gone through the whole island unto Paphos, they found a certain

sorcerer, a false prophet, a Jew, whose name was Barjesus, which was with the proconsul, Sergius Paulus, a man of understanding. The same called unto him Barnabas and Saul, and sought to hear the word of God. But Etimas the sorcerer (for so is his name by interpretation) withstood them, seeking to turn aside the proconsul from the faith, since he was hearing them with the greatest pleasure. But Saul who is also called Paul, filled with the Holy Spirit, fastened his eyes on him, and said, O full of all guile and all villany, thou son of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the ways of the Lord which are right. And now, behold, the hand of the Lord is upon thee, and thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun for a season. And immediately there fell on him a mist and a darkness: and he went about seeking some to lead him by the hand. And [then] the proconsul, when he saw what was done marvelled, and believed in God, being astonished at the teaching of the Lord.

3 Now Paul and his company set sail from Paphos, and came to Perga of Pamphylia; but John departed from them and returned to Jerusalem. But they, passing through from Perga, came to Antioch of Pisidia; and they went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and sat down. And after the reading of the law and the prophets the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, Men and brethren, if ye have any word of wisdom of exhortation for the people, say on. And Paul stood up and beckoning with the hand said, Men of Israel, and ye that fear God, hearken. The God of this people Israel chose our fathers and exalted the people when they sojourned in the land of Egypt, and with a high arm led he them forth out of it, and for [about] forty years suffered he their manners in the wilderness. And when he had destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan, he gave them the land of the Philistines for an inheritance; and for about four hundred and fifty years he gave them judges until Samuel the prophet. And afterwards they asked for a king: and God gave unto them Saul, the son of Kish, a man of the tribe of Benjamin, for the space of forty years. And when he had removed him, he raised up David to be their king: to whom also he bare witness, and said, I have found David the son of Jesse, a man after my heart, who shall do all my will.

4 Of this man's seed therefore hath God according to promise raised up unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus; when John had first preached before his coming the baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel. And as John was fulfilling his course, he said, Whom suppose ye that I am? I am not he. But, be-

hold, there cometh one after me, the shoes of whose feet I am not worthy to unloose. Men and brethren, children of the stock of Abraham, and those among us who fear God, to us is the word of this salvation sent forth. For they that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, [because they knew him not,] nor understanding the writings of the prophets which are read every Sabbath, fulfilled them by condemning him. And though they found no cause of death in him, after judging him they delivered him to Pilate that he should be slain. And when they had fulfilled all things that were written of him they asked Pilate to crucify him. And when they had obtained this also, they took him down from the tree, and laid him in a tomb; whom God raised from the dead. He was seen for many days of them that came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who till now are his witnesses unto the people. And we bring you good tidings of the promise made unto the fathers, that God hath fulfilled the same unto our children, in that he raised up the Lord Jesus Christ.

5 For thus it is written in the first Psalm, 6 Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee Ask of me and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for thy possession. And when he raised him up from the dead, now no more to return to corruption, he hath spoken on this wise, I will give you the holy and sure blessings of David. And elsewhere he saith, Thou wilt not give thy Holy One to see corruption. For David, after he had in his own generation served the counsel of God, fell on sleep, and was laid unto his fathers, and saw corruption; but he whom God raised up saw no corruption. Be it known unto you therefore, men and brethren, that through this man is proclaimed unto you remission of sins; and repentance from all things from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses. In him therefore every one that believeth is justified before God. Beware therefore lest that come upon you which is spoken in the prophets; Behold ye despisers and wonder and vanish away; for I work a work in your days. [a work] which ye shall in no wise believe if a man declare it unto you. And they kept silence.

7 And as they went out, they besought that these words might be spoken to them the next Sabbath. Now when the synagogue broke up, many of the Jews and of the devout proselytes followed Paul and Barnabas; who speaking to them urged them to continue in the grace of God. And it came to pass that the word of God went throughout the whole city. And the next Sabbath

almost the whole city was gathered together to hear Paul telling about the Lord in many words. And when the Jews saw the multitudes, they were filled with jealousy, and contradicted the words which were spoken by Paul, contradicting and railing. And Paul and Barnabas spake out boldly unto them, and said, It was right that the word of God should first be spoken to you: but seeing ye thrust it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles. For so hath the Lord commanded [us] saying, I have set thee for a light of the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation unto the uttermost part of the earth.

8 And as the Gentiles heard this, they were glad, and they received the word of God: and as many as were ordained to eternal life believed. And the word of the Lord was spread abroad throughout all the region. But the Jews urged on the devout women of honourable estate, and the chief men of the city, and stirred up a great affliction and persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and cast them out of their borders. But they shook off the dust of their feet against them, and went down to Iconium. And the disciples were filled with joy and with the Holy Spirit.

CHAPTER XIV.

1 And it came to pass in Iconium that in the same way he entered into the synagogue of the Jews, and so spake to them that a great multitude both of Jews and of Greeks believed. But the rulers of the synagogue of the Jews [that were disobedient] and the chief men of the synagogue raised up among them a persecution against the just, and made the souls of the Gentiles evil affected against the brethren. But the Lord speedily gave them peace. Long time therefore they tarried there, speaking boldly in the Lord, which bare witness unto the word of his grace, granting signs and wonders to be done by their hands. But the multitude of the city was divided, and part held with the Jews, and part with the apostles, cleaving to them on account of the word of God. And when there was made an onset both of the Gentiles and of the Jews with their rulers to entreat them shamefully and to stone them they became aware of it, and fled into the cities of Lycaonia, to Lystra and Derbe, and the whole region round about. And there they preached the gospel. And the whole multitude was moved at the teaching.

2 Now Paul and Barnabas spent some time at Lystra. And there sat a certain man impotent in his feet, [a cripple] from his mother's womb, who never had walked. The same heard Paul speaking, being in fear. And Paul,

fastening his eyes upon him, and seeing that he had faith to be saved, said with a loud voice, I say to thee in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, Stand upright on thy feet, and walk. And straightway suddenly he leaped up and walked. And when the multitudes saw what Paul had done, they lifted up their voice, saying in the speech of Lycaonia, The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men. And they called Barnabas, Zeus: and Paul, Hermes, because he was the chief speaker. And the priests of Zeus, whose temple was before the city, brought for them oxen and garlands unto the gates, and would have done sacrifice with the multitudes. But when [the apostles], Barnabas and Paul, heard of it, they rent their garments, and sprang forth among the multitude, crying out and exclaiming, Sirs, why do ye these things? We also are men of like passions with you, and bring you good tidings of God, that ye should turn from these vain things unto the living God, who made the heaven and the earth and the sea, and all that in them is; who in the generations gone by suffered [all] the nations to walk in their own ways.

3 And yet he left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave you from heaven rains and fruitful seasons, filling your hearts with food and gladness. And with those sayings scarce restrained they the multitudes from doing sacrifice unto them. [But] while they were spending some time there and teaching there came certain Jews from Iconium and Antioch: and having persuaded the multitudes, they stoned Paul, and dragged him out of the city, supposing that he was dead. But as the disciples stood round about him, he rose up, and entered into the city of Lystra, and on the morrow he went forth with Barnabas to Derbe. And when they had preached the gospel to those in the city, and had made many disciples, they returned to Lystra and to Iconium and to Antioch, confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith, and that through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God. And when they had appointed for them elders in every church, and had prayed with fastings, they commended them to the Lord on whom they had believed. And they passed through Pisidia, and came to Pamphylia. And when they had spoken the word in Perga, they went down to Attalia, preaching to them the good tidings. And thence they sailed to Antioch, from whence they had been committed to the grace of God for the work which they had fulfilled.

4 And when they were come, and had gathered the church together, they rehearsed all things that God had done for them with their souls, and that

he had opened a door of faith unto the Gentiles. And they tarried no little time with the disciples.

CHAPTER XV.

¹ And certain men came down from Judaea and were teaching the brethren, saying, Except ye be circumcised and walk after the custom of Moses, ye cannot be saved. And Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and questioning with them, for Paul spake strongly maintaining that they should remain so as when they believed; but those who had come from Jerusalem, charged them, Paul and Barnabas and certain others [of them], to go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders that they might be judged before them about this question. They therefore, being brought on their way by the Church, passed through both Phoenicia and Samaria, declaring the conversion of the Gentiles; and they caused great joy to all the brethren. And when they were come to Jerusalem, they were received in great fashion by the Church and the apostles and the elders, and they rehearsed all things that God had done with them. But those who had charged them to go up to the elders, being certain of the sect of the Pharisees who believed, rose up saying, It is needful to circumcise them, and to charge them to keep the law of Moses.

² And the apostles and elders were gathered together to consider of this matter. And when there had been much questioning, Peter rose up in the Spirit and said unto them, Men and brethren, ye know how that a good while ago God made choice among us that by my mouth the Gentiles should hear the word of the Gospel and believe. And God, which knoweth the heart, bare them witness, giving upon them the Holy Spirit, even as he did unto us; and he made no distinction between us and them, cleansing their hearts by faith. Now therefore why tempt ye God, that ye shall put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? But we believe that we shall be saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, in like manner as they. And the elders agreed to what had been spoken by Peter: and all the multitude kept silence; and they hearkened unto Barnabas and Paul rehearsing what signs and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them. And after they had held their peace, James rose up and said, Men and brethren, hearken unto me: Symeon hath rehearsed how first God did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name. And to this agree the words of the prophets, as it is written,

3 After these things I will return, And I will build again the tabernacle of David which is fallen; And I will build again the ruins thereof, And I will set it up; That the residue of men may seek after the Lord, And all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called Saith the Lord who doeth these things. Known unto the Lord from the beginning is his work. Wherefore my judgment is that we trouble not them which from among the Gentiles turn to God: but that we enjoin on them to abstain from the pollutions of idols, and from fornication, [and from what is strangled] and from blood: and that whatsoever they would not should be done to them ye do not to others. For Moses from generations of old hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath. 4 Then it seemed good to the apostles and elders, with the whole church, to choose men out of their company and send them to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas, Judas called Barabbas, and Silas, chief men among the brethren. And they wrote a letter by their hands containing as follows. The apostles and the elder brethren unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia, greeting: Forasmuch as we have heard that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls; to whom we gave no commandment; it seemed good unto us, having come to one accord, to choose out men, and send them to you with your beloved Barnabas and Paul, men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in every trial. We have sent therefore Judas and Silas, who themselves also shall tell you the same things by word of mouth. For it seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things; that ye abstain from idol sacrifices, and from blood, [and from things strangled], and from fornication and whatsoever ye would not should be done to yourselves, ye do not to another. From which if ye keep yourselves ye do well, being sustained by the Holy Spirit. Fare ye well.

5 So they, when they were dismissed, in a few days came down to Antioch; and having gathered the multitude together, they delivered the epistle. And when they had read it they rejoiced for the consolation. And Judas and Silas, being themselves also prophets, full of the Holy Spirit exhorted the brethren by [much] speech, and confirmed them. And after they had spent some time there, they were dismissed in peace from the brethren unto those that had sent them forth. But it seemed good to Silas to abide there, and Judas journeyed alone. But Paul and Barnabas tarried in Antioch, teaching and preach-

ing the word of the Lord, with many others also. And after some days Paul said to Barnabas, Let us return now and visit the brethren in every city wherein we proclaimed the word of the Lord, and see how they fare. And Barnabas was minded to take with them John [also] who was called Mark. But Paul was not willing: saying that one who withdrew from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work for which they were sent, should not be with them. And there arose a sharp contention, so that they parted asunder one from the other. Then Barnabas took Mark and sailed to Cyprus; but Paul chose Silas, and went forth, being commended by the brethren to the grace of the Lord. And he went through Syria and Cilicia confirming the churches, giving to them the commands of the elders.

CHAPTER XVI.

¹ And having passed through these nations he came down to Derbe and Lystra, and, behold, a certain disciple was there, named Timothy, the son of a Jewess which believed; but his father was a Greek. The same was well reported of by the brethren that were at Lystra and Iconium. Him would Paul have to go forth with him; and he took and circumcised him because of the Jews that were in those parts: for they all knew that his father was a Greek. And as they went through the cities they preached and delivered unto them, with all boldness, the Lord Jesus Christ, and at the same time also delivered [them] the decrees [which had been ordained] of the apostles and elders that were at Jerusalem. So the churches were strengthened [in the faith], and increased in number daily. And they went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, having been forbidden of the Holy Spirit to speak the word of God to any one in Asia. And when they were come over against Mysia, they wished to go into Bithynia, and the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not. And passing through Mysia, they came down to Troas. And in a vision by night there appeared to Paul, as it were a certain man of Macedonia, standing before his face, beseeching him, and saying, Come over into Macedonia, and help us. When therefore he had risen up, he related to us the vision, and we perceived that the Lord had called us to preach the Gospel to those who were in Macedonia.

² And on the morrow [therefore] we set sail from Troas, and came with a straight course to Samothrace, and the day following to Neapolis; and from thence to Philippi, which is the capital of Macedonia, a city, a colony. And we were in this city tarrying certain days. And on the Sabbath day we went forth without the gate by the riverside, where it seemed likely that there

would be a place of prayer: and we sat down, and spake unto the women which were come together. And a certain woman named Lydia, a seller of purple of the city of Thyatira, one that worshipped God, heard us; whose heart the Lord opened to give heed unto the things which were spoken by Paul. And when she was baptized, and all her household, she besought us, saying, If ye have judged me to be faithful to God, come into my house, and abide there. And she constrained us.

3 And it came to pass, as we were going to the place of prayer, that a certain maid, having a spirit of divination, met us, which brought her masters much gain through this, by soothsaying. The same following after Paul and us cried out saying, These men are servants of the Most High God, who proclaim unto you the good news of the way of salvation. And this she did for many days. But Paul, in the Spirit, turned, and being sore troubled he said, I charge thee in the name of Jesus Christ, that thou come out of her. And straightway it came out. 4 But when the masters of the maiden saw that they were deprived of the gain which they had through her, they laid hold on Paul and Silas, and dragged them into the market place before the rulers; and when they had brought them unto the magistrates, they said, These men, being Jews, do exceedingly trouble our city, and set forth customs which it is not lawful for us to receive or to observe, being Romans. And a great multitude rose up together against them, crying out. Then the magistrates rent their garments off them, and commanded to beat them with rods. And when they had laid many stripes upon them, they cast them into prison, charging the jailer to keep them safely. And he, having received such a charge, cast them into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks. But about midnight Paul and Silas were praying and singing hymns unto God, and the prisoners were listening to them; and suddenly there was a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison house were shaken; and immediately all the doors were opened, and every one's bands were loosed. And the jailer being roused out of sleep, and seeing the prison doors open, drew his sword, and was about to kill himself, supposing that the prisoners had escaped. But Paul cried with a loud voice, saying, Do thyself no harm; for we are all here.

5 And he called for lights, and sprang in, and trembling for fear, fell down before the feet of Paul and Silas, and led them out after securing the rest, and said, Sirs, what must I do to be saved? And they said, Believe on the

Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, thou and thy house. And they spake to him the word of the Lord, with all that were in his house. And he took them the same hour of the night, and washed their stripes, and was baptized, he and all his, immediately. And he brought them into his house, and set meat before them, and rejoiced [greatly] with [all] his house, having believed in God. 6But when it was day the magistrates assembled together into the market place, and recollecting the earthquake that had happened they were afraid; and they sent the Serjeants, saying, Let those men go whom yesterday thou didst receive. And the jailer came in, and reported the words to Paul, that, The magistrates have sent to let you go: now therefore come forth, and go on your journey [in peace.] But Paul said unto them, Without fault alleged they have beaten us publicly, uncondemned, men that are Romans, and have cast us into prison: and do they now cast us out privily? Nay, verily; but let them come themselves and bring us out. And the Serjeants reported to the magistrates themselves these words which were spoken for the magistrates; and when they heard that they were Romans they feared; and they came with many friends into the prison, and besought them to go forth, saying, We did not know about you that ye are just men. And when they had brought them forth, they besought them, saying, Go forth out of this city, lest they again assemble against us, crying against you. And they went out of the prison, and went to Lydia; and when they had seen the brethren, they reported all the things which the Lord had done for them, and comforted them and departed.

CHAPTER XVII.

1Now when they had passed through Amphipolis they went down to Apollonis, and thence to Thessalonica, where was a synagogue of the Jews: and Paul, as his custom was, went in unto them, [and] for three sabbath days discoursed with them from the Scriptures, opening and alleging that it behoved [the] Christ to suffer, and to rise again from the dead, and that this is Christ, Jesus whom, said he, I proclaim unto you. And some of them were persuaded, and consorted with Paul and Silas, in the teaching: and many of the devout, and of Greeks a great multitude, and women, of the first rank, not a few. But the Jews who disbelieved assembled certain vile men of the rabble, [gathering a crowd], and set the city on an uproar, and assaulting the house of Jason, they sought to bring them forth to the people. And when they found them not, they dragged Jason and certain brethren before the rulers of the city,

crying out and saying, These are they that have turned the world upside down, and have come hither [also]; whom Jason hath received; and these all act contrary to the decrees of Caesar, saying that there is another king, Jesus. And they troubled the rulers of the city and the multitude. When they had heard these things, and when they had taken security from Jason and the rest, they let them go.

2 And the brethren immediately sent away Paul and Silas by night unto Beroea, who when they were come thither went into the synagogue of the Jews. Now these were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, examining the Scriptures daily, whether these things were so. Some therefore of them believed, but some did not believe; and of the Greeks and of those of honourable estate, both men and women, many believed. But when the Jews from Thessalonica had knowledge that the word of God was proclaimed [of Paul] at Beroea [also], and that they believed, they came also thither, and there did not cease to stir up and trouble the multitudes. Therefore [immediately] the brethren sent forth Paul to go [as far as] to the sea: but Silas and Timothy abode there still. But they that conducted Paul brought him as far as Athens. But he passed by Thessaly for he was forbidden to proclaim the word to them, and receiving a commandment from Paul to Silas and Timothy that they should come to him with all speed, they departed.

3 Now while Paul waited for them at Athens, his spirit was provoked within him, as he beheld the city full of idols. So he discoursed in the synagogue with the Jews and the devout persons, and with those in the market place every day with them that met with him. And certain also of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers encountered him. And some said, What would this babbler say? other some, He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods, [because he preached Jesus and the Resurrection]. And after some days they took hold of him, and brought him unto the Areopagus, inquiring and saying May we know what this new teaching is which is spoken by thee? For thou bringest certain strange things to our ears. We would know therefore what these things mean. Now all the Athenians and the strangers sojourning among them, spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing. And Paul stood in the midst of the Areopagus, and said,

4 Ye men of Athens, in all things I perceive that ye are more than others god-fearing. For as I passed along, and observed the objects of your worship,

I found also an altar with the inscription, To an unknown god. What therefore ye worship in ignorance, this set I forth unto you. The God that made the world and all things therein, he, being Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither is he served by men's hands, as though he needed [anything], seeing he himself gave to all life and breath and all things. He made of one blood every nation of man for to dwell on all the face of the earth; having determined their appointed seasons, according to the bound of their habitation; that they should seek most of all that which is divine, if haply they might feel after it, or find it; though it is not far from each one of us; for in him we live and move, and have our being day by day. As certain even of your own [poets] have said, For we are also his offspring. Being then the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Divine is like unto gold or silver or stone, graven by art and device of man. The times of this ignorance therefore God overlooked; but now he declareth to men that they should all everywhere repent, inasmuch as he hath appointed a day to judge the world in righteousness by the man Jesus whom he hath ordained; giving assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead.

5 Now when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked; and others said, We will hear thee concerning this yet again. Thus Paul went out from among them. But certain men clave unto him and believed; among whom also was a certain Dionysius an Areopagite, [and a woman named Damaris] of honourable estate, and others with them.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1 And [after these things] he departed from Athens and came to Corinth. And having found a certain Jew named Aquila, a man of Pontus by race, lately come from Italy, and his wife Priscilla, because Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome: these had come to dwell in Greece; Paul came unto him, and, because he was of the same trade, abode with them and wrought; [for by their trade they were tentmakers]. And entering into the synagogue he discoursed every sabbath, and introduced the name of the Lord Jesus, and persuaded not only Jews but also Greeks. But then Silas and Timothy came from Macedonia, Paul was constrained by the word, testifying to the Jews that the Lord Jesus was the Christ. And after there had been much discourse, and the scriptures had been interpreted, when they opposed themselves and blasphemed, Paul shook out his raiment, and said unto

them, Your blood be upon your own head; I am clean from you, [from henceforth] now I go to the Gentiles. And he left Aquila, and entered into the house of a certain man named [Titus] Justus, one that worshipped God, whose house joined hard to the synagogue. And Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, believed on the Lord with all his house; and many of the Corinthians hearing believed, and were baptized believing in God through the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. And the Lord said unto Paul by night in a vision, Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace: for I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee to harm thee, for I have much people in this city. And he dwelt in Corinth a year and six months, teaching them the word of God.

2 And when Gallio was proconsul of Achaia. the Jews with one accord rose up, having talked together amongst themselves against Paul; and they laid their hands upon him, and brought him before the judgment seat, crying out, and saying, This man persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law. But when Paul was about to open his mouth, Gallio said to the Jews, If it were a matter of wrong or of wicked villany, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you: but if ye are having an enquiry about words and names and your own law, look to it yourselves. I am not minded to be a judge of these matters. And he drove them from the judgment seat. And all the Greeks took hold of Sosthenes, the ruler of the synagogue, and beat him before the judgment seat. Then Gallio pretended not to see him. [And Gallio cared for none of these things.]

3 And Paul, having tarried after this yet many days took his leave of the brethren, and sailed for Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila, having shorn his head in Cenchreae: for he had a vow. And he came to Ephesus, and on the next sabbath he left them there: but he himself entered into the synagogue, and discoursed with the Jews. And when they asked him to abide a longer time, he consented not; but taking his leave of them, and saying, I must by all means keep the coming feast day at Jerusalem, and return unto you if God will, he set sail from Ephesus. And when he had landed at Caesarea, he went up and saluted the Church, and went down to Antioch. And having spent some time there he departed, and went through the region of Galatia and Phrygia in order, stablishing all the disciples. Now a certain Jew named Apollonius, an Alexandrian by race, a learned man, came to Ephesus; and he was mighty in the scriptures. He had been instructed in his own country in the word of the Lord; and being fervent in spirit, he spake and

taught carefully the things concerning Jesus, knowing only the baptism of John. He began to speak boldly in the synagogue. But when Aquila and Priscilla heard him, they took him unto them, and expounded the Way [of God] unto him more carefully.

⁴Now certain Corinthians were sojourning in Ephesus, and having heard him, they exhorted him to cross with them into their own country; and when he consented the Ephesians wrote to the disciples in Corinth that they should receive the man. And when he sojourned in Achaia he helped them much in the churches, for he powerfully confuted the Jews, reasoning publicly, and shewing by the scriptures that Jesus was Christ.

CHAPTER XIX.

¹And when Paul, according to his private wish, desired to go to Jerusalem, the Spirit told him to return into Asia. And [while Apollos was at Corinth] he passed through the upper districts and comes to Ephesus, and found certain disciples; and he said unto them, Did ye receive the Holy Spirit when ye believed? And they said unto him, Nay, we have not even heard (that) any receive the Holy Spirit. And he said, Into what then were ye baptized? And they said, Into John's baptism. And Paul said, John baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ. And when they heard this they were baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, unto the remission of sins. And when Paul had laid his hand on them straightway the Holy Spirit fell upon them: and they spake with tongues, and prophesied. And they were in all about twelve men.

²And Paul entered into the synagogue, and with great power spake boldly for the space of three months, discoursing and persuading [as to the things] concerning the kingdom of God. Some therefore of them were hardened and unbelieving, and spake evil of the Way before the multitude of the Gentiles. Then Paul departed from them, and separated the disciples, discoursing daily in the school of one Tyrannus from the fifth till the tenth hour. And this continued for [the space of] two years; so that all they that dwelt in Asia heard the words of the Lord, [both] Jews and Greeks. And God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul; insomuch even that unto the sick were carried away from his body handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out. But certain [also] of the strolling Jews, exorcists, took upon them to name over them which had

the evil spirits the name of the Lord Jesus, saying, I adjure you by Jesus whom Paul preacheth. Among whom also [were] the [seven] sons of one Sceva, [a Jew] a [chief] priest, [who] wished to do the same thing, being accustomed to exorcise such people. And they came in unto one who was possessed with a devil, and began to call upon the Name saying, We command you, in Jesus whom Paul preacheth, to come out. Then the evil spirit answered and said unto them, Jesus I recognise, and Paul I know: but who are ye?

³ And the man in whom the evil spirit was leaped on them, and mastered both of them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of that house naked and wounded. And this became known to all, [both] Jews and Greeks, that dwelt at Ephesus; and fear fell upon them all, and the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified. Many also of them that were believing, came confessing and declaring their deeds. And not a few of them that practised curious arts brought also their books together, and burned them in the sight of all: and they counted the prices of them, and found it fifty thousand pieces of silver. So mightily did it prevail; and the faith of God increased and multiplied.

⁴ [Now after these things were ended] then Paul purposed in the Spirit to pass through Macedonia and Achaia, and go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there I must also see Rome. And having sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, Timothy and Erastus, he himself stayed for a little while in Asia.

⁵ And about that time there arose no small stir about the Way. For there was a certain man [named] Demetrius, a silversmith, which made silver shrines of Diana, who brought no little business unto the craftsmen. He gathered together the craftsmen of such things, and said unto them, Fellow craftsmen, ye know that out of this business we have our wealth. And ye hear and see that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul, a somebody, hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that they be no gods which are made with hands: and not only is there danger that this our trade come into disrepute; but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana be made of no account, but is about to be deposed [from her magnificence, whom] all Asia and the world worshippeth. And when they heard this, they were filled with wrath, and they ran into the street, and cried out saying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians. And the whole city was filled with confusion, and they rushed with one accord into the theatre, having seized Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions in travel. And

when Paul was minded to enter in unto the people, the disciples suffered him not. And certain also of the chief officers of Asia, being his friends, sent unto him, and besought him not to adventure himself into the theatre. Some therefore cried one thing and some another; for the assembly was in confusion;

6 and the more part knew not wherefore they were come together. And they brought Alexander out of the crowd, the Jews putting him forward. And Alexander beckoned with the hand, and would have made a defence unto the people. But when they perceived that he was a Jew, all with one voice about the space of two hours cried out, Great is Diana of the Ephesians. But the townclerk beckoned to the crowd and saith, Ye men of Ephesus, what man is there who knoweth not how that our city is temple-keeper of the great Diana, and of the image which fell down from Jupiter? Seeing then that these things cannot be gainsaid, ye ought to be quiet, and to do nothing rash. For ye have brought hither these men, which are neither robbers of temples nor blasphemers of our goddess. 7 If therefore this Demetrius, and the craftsmen that are with him, have any matter against them, the courts are open, and there are proconsuls; let them accuse one another. But if ye seek anything about other matters, it shall be settled according to the law of the assembly. For indeed we are in danger this day to be accused of riot, there being no cause for which we shall be able to give an account of this concourse. And when he had thus spoken he dismissed the assembly.

CHAPTER XX.

1 And after the uproar was ceased, Paul having sent for the disciples, and given them much exhortation, took leave of them and departed [for to go] into Macedonia. And when he had gone through those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece. And when he had spent three months there, and a plot was laid against him by the Jews he wished to sail for Syria. But the Spirit said to him to return through Macedonia, therefore when he was about to go out as far as Asia, Sopater of Beroea, the son of Pyrrhus; and of the Thessalonians Aristarchus and Secundus, and Gaius of Derbe, and Timothy; and of Ephesians Eutychus and Trophimus. These had gone before and were waiting for him at Troas. But we sailed away from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread, and came unto them to Troas in five days; where we tarried seven days. And upon the first day of the week, when we were gathered together to break bread, Paul discoursed with them

intending to depart on the morrow, and prolonged his speech until midnight. And there were many lights in the upper chamber, where we were gathered together. And there sat in the window a certain young man named Eutychus, borne down with deep sleep; and as Paul discoursed yet longer, being borne down by his sleep, he fell down from the third storey and was taken up dead. And Paul went down, and fell on him, and embracing him said, Make ye no ado, for his life is in him. And when he was gone up, and had broken the bread, and had eaten, and had talked with them a long while, even till break of day, so he departed. And as they were bidding him farewell they brought the young man alive, and were not a little comforted.

² But we went down to the ship, and set sail for Assos, there intending to take in Paul. For so had he appointed, as intending himself to go on foot. And, when he met us at Assos, we took him in, and came to Mitylene. And sailing from thence we came the following day over against Chios; and the next day we touched at Samos, and tarried at Trogyllium: and the day after we came to Miletus. For Paul had determined to sail past Ephesus: lest some detention for him might occur in Asia, for he was hastening [if it were possible for him] to be in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost. ³ And from Miletus he sent to Ephesus, and sent for the elders of the Church. And when they were come to him, and were together, he said unto them, Ye yourselves know, brethren, from the first day that I set foot in Asia, for three years and even more, after what manner I was with you all the time, serving the Lord, with all lowliness of mind, and with tears, and with trials which befell me by the plots of the Jews: how that I shrank not from declaring unto you all that was profitable, and from teaching from house to house and publicly, testifying both to Jews and to Greeks repentance toward God, and faith through our Lord Jesus Christ. And now, behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things which shall befall me there, save that the Holy Spirit testifieth unto me in every city saying that bonds and afflictions abide me in Jerusalem. But I take account of none of these things, nor hold my life as dear unto myself, that I may accomplish my course and the ministry of the word which I received from the Lord Jesus to testify to Jews and Greeks the gospel of the grace of God. And now, behold, I know, that ye all among whom I went about preaching the kingdom of Jesus shall see my face no more. Therefore [I testify unto you that] until this day I am pure from the blood of all men.

⁴For I shrink not from declaring unto you the whole counsel of God. Take heed unto yourselves and to all the flock, in the which the Holy Spirit hath made you bishops, to feed the Church of the Lord which he purchased for himself with his own blood. I know that after my departing grievous wolves shall enter in among you, not sparing the flock; and from among your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away the disciples after them. Wherefore watch ye, remembering that by the space of three years I ceased not to admonish every one night and day with tears. And now I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you inheritance among [all] them that are sanctified. I coveted of you all no man's silver, or gold, or apparel. Ye yourselves know that my hands ministered unto my necessities, and to [all] them that were with me. In all things I gave you an example, that so labouring ye ought to help the weak, [and] to remember the words of the Lord Jesus how that he himself said, It is more blessed to give than to receive.

⁵And when he had thus spoken, he kneeled down, and prayed with them all. And they all wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck, and kissed him; sorrowing most of all for the word which he spake, Ye shall see my face no more. And they brought him on his way unto the ship.

CHAPTER XXI.

¹And when [it came to pass that] we had set sail and were parted from them, we came with a straight course unto Cos, and the next day unto Rhodes, and from thence unto Patara and Myra; and having found a ship crossing unto Phoenice. One leaf is missing here, containing xx. 31 to xxi. 2 in Latin, and xxi. 2-10 in Greek....prophet named Agabus. And coming up to us, and taking Paul's girdle, he bound his own feet and hands, and said, Thus saith the Holy Spirit, so shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man that owneth this girdle, and shall deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles. And when we heard these things, both we and they of that place besought Paul not himself to go up to Jerusalem. But Paul said to us, What do ye, weeping and disturbing my heart; for I desire not to be bound only but am ready also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. And when he would not be persuaded, we ceased, saying to one another, The will of God be done.

²And after certain days we bade them farewell, and we go up to Jerusalem from Caesarea; and with us those who led us to him with whom we should lodge. And when they came to a certain village, we stayed with Nason a cer-

tain Cyprian, an old disciple; and going forth thence we came to Jerusalem. And the brethren received us gladly. ³ And the day following Paul went in with us unto James, and the elders were assembled with him. And when he had saluted them he rehearsed one by one the things which God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry. And when they heard it they glorified the Lord, saying, Thou seest, brother, how many myriads there are in Judaea of them which have believed, and they are all zealous for the law; and they have been informed concerning thee, that thou teachest [all] the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, telling them not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after their customs. What is it therefore? The multitude must needs come together, for they will hear that thou art come. Do therefore this that we say to thee. We have four men which have a vow on them; these take, and purify thyself with them, and be at charges for them, that they may shave their heads; and all may know that there is no truth in the things whereof they have been informed concerning thee; but that thou thyself also walkest orderly, keeping the law. But as touching the Gentiles which have believed, they have nothing to say against thee, for we sent giving judgment, that they should observe nothing of that sort, except to guard themselves from idol sacrifices, and from blood, [and from what is strangled], and from fornication. Then Paul took the men, and the next day purifying himself with them he went into the temple, declaring the fulfilment of the days of purification until the offering was made for every one of them.

⁴ And when the seven days were [almost] completed, the Jews who had come from Asia, when they saw him in the temple, stirred up all the multitudes, and laid hands upon him, crying out, Men of Israel, help: This is the man that teacheth all men everywhere against the people, and the law, and this place; and moreover he brought Greeks into the temple, and hath denied this holy place. For they had before seen with him in the city Trophimus the Ephesian, whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the temple. And all the city was moved, and the people ran together: and they laid hold on Paul, and dragged him out of the temple: and straightway, the doors were shut. And as they were seeking to kill him, tidings came up to the chief captain of the band, that all Jerusalem was in confusion. And forthwith he took soldiers and centurions and ran down upon them: and they, when they saw the chief captain and the soldiers, left beating of Paul.

Then the chief captain came near, and laid hold on him, and commanded him to be bound with two chains, and enquired who he was and what he had done. And some shouted one thing, and some another, among the crowd; and when he could not know the certainty for the uproar, he commanded him to be brought into the castle. And when he came upon the stairs, so it was, that he was borne of the soldiers for the violence of the people: for the multitude [of the people] followed after, crying out, Away with him.

⁵ And as he was about to be brought into the castle, he answered and said to the chief captain, May I speak unto thee? And he said, Dost thou know Greek? Art thou not [then] the Egyptian, which before these days stirred up to sedition, and led out into the wilderness, the four thousand men of the Assassins? But Paul said, I am a Jew, born in Tarsus of Cilicia, [a citizen of no mean city], and I beseech thee give me leave to speak unto the people. And when the chief Captain had given him leave, Paul, standing on the stairs, beckoned with the hand unto the people: and when there was made a great silence, he spake unto them in the Hebrew language, saying:

CHAPTER XXII.

¹ Men, Brethren and fathers, hear ye my defence which I make now unto you. And when they heard that he spake [unto them] in the Hebrew language, they were the more quiet; and he saith, I am a Jew, born in Tarsus of Cilicia, but brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, instructed according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers, zealous for God, even as ye all are this day. And I persecuted this Way unto death, binding and delivering into prison both men and women. As also the high priest will bear witness to me, and all the estate of the elders, from whom I received letters from the brethren. I was journeying to Damascus, to bring them also that were there unto Jerusalem in bonds, that they might be punished. And [it came to pass that as I made my journey], as I drew nigh unto Damascus, about noon, suddenly there shone from heaven a great light round about me, and I fell unto the ground, and heard a voice saying unto me, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And I answered, Who art thou, Lord? And he said unto me, I am Jesus of Nazareth whom thou persecutest. And they that were with me saw indeed the light, and were frightened; but they heard not the voice of him that spake with me. And I said, What shall I do, Lord.

² And he said unto me, Arise, and go into Damascus, and there it shall be told thee of all things which thou oughtest to do. But when I rose up I did

not see for the glory of that light, and being led by the hand of them that were with me I came into Damascus. And one Ananias, a devout man according to the law, and by the witness of all the Jews, came unto me and [standing by me] said unto me, Saul, Brother Saul, receive thy sight; and in that very hour I received sight. And he said unto me, The God of our fathers hath appointed thee to know his will, and to see the Righteous one, and to hear a voice from his mouth; for thou shalt be a witness for him unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard. And now, why tarriest them? Arise, be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on his name. And it came to pass that when I had returned to Jerusalem and while I prayed in the temple, I fell into a trance, and saw him saying unto me, Make haste and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem because they will not receive my testimony [from thee. And I said, Lord, they themselves know that I imprisoned and beat in every synagogue them that believed on thee: and when the blood of Stephen the witness was shed, I [also] was standing by, and consenting and keeping the garments of them that slew him.

³ And he said unto me, Depart, for I send thee forth far hence unto the Gentiles. ⁴ And they gave him audience unto this word: and they lifted up their voice and said, Away with such a fellow from the earth, for it is not fit that he should live. And as they cried out, and threw off their garments, and cast dust into the air, the chief captain commanded him to be brought into the castle, bidding that he should be examined by scourging, that he might know for what cause they so shouted against him. And when they had tied him up with the thongs, he said unto the centurion that stood by, Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned. And when the centurion heard this, that he called himself a Roman he went to the chief captain and told him, See what thou art about to do. This man is a Roman. Then the chief captain came and asked him, Tell me, art thou a Roman? and he said, I am. And the chief captain answered, I know with how great a sum I obtained this citizenship. And Paul said, But I am [a Roman] born. Then they departed from him...

P A R T T H R E E

Athanasius: The Festal Epistles

*The Easter letters of Athanasius, in Burgess's translation from
the Syriac.*

The Festal Epistles

ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA

c. AD 296–373

The yearly letters in which Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, announced the date of Easter to his churches, with teaching on fasting, the Scriptures and the Arian troubles; they survive in an ancient Syriac version. Letter 39 (AD 367) gives the earliest list of the books of the New Testament exactly as we have it.

LETTER 1.

Of Fasting, and Trumpets, and Feasts.

² COME, my beloved: the season calls us to keep the feast. Again, the Sun of Righteousness, causing His divine beams to rise upon us, proclaims beforehand the time of the feast, in which, obeying Him, we ought to celebrate it; so that when the time has passed away, gladness likewise may not leave us. For discernment of the time is a duty strictly enjoined upon us, and a matter of moral obligation; even as the blessed Paul, when instructing his disciple, teaches him to observe the time, saying, Stand (ready) in season, and out of season—that knowing both the one and the other, he might do things seasonable, and avoid the blame for such as are unseasonable. For thus also the God of all distributes every thing in time and season, after the manner of wise Solomon, to the end that, in due time, the salvation of men should be every where spread abroad. Thus, likewise, for instance, not out of season, but in season, the Wisdom of God, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, passed upon holy souls, fashioning the friends of God and the prophets; so that, although very many were praying for Him, and saying, O that the salvation of God were come out of Sion! the Spouse also, as it is written in the Canticles, praying and saying, O that Thou wert my sister's son, that sucked the breasts of my mother? that Thou wert like to the children of men, and wouldest take upon Thee human passions for our sake!

³ nevertheless, the God of all, the Framer of times and seasons, and who knows our affairs better than we do, while, as a good physician, He exhorts to obedience in due season—the only one in which we may be healed—so also does He send Him not unseasonably, but seasonably, saying, In an acceptable time have I heard Thee, and in the day of salvation I have helped Thee. And, on this account, the blessed Paul, urging us to note this season, wrote, saying, Behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation.

⁴ At set seasons also He called the children of Israel to the Levitical feasts by Moses, saying, Three times in a year ye shall keep a feast to Me, (one of which, my beloved, is that now at hand) to the celebration of which priestly trumpets call and summon; as the holy Psalmist commanded, saying, Blow with the trumpet in the new moon, on the [solemn] day of your feast. Since this sentence enjoins upon us to blow both on the new moons, and on the solemn days, He hath made a solemn day of that in which the light of the moon is perfected in the full; which was then a type, as this of the trumpets. Sometimes then, as was before said, they were The Syrine here differs from the commonly received text of the Peshito, which is probably incorrect. It is a literal translation of the LXX, the words of which are also quoted by S. Athan. in his Synopsis. Script. Saer. t. ii. p. 123. The ancient Jewish writers also usually interpreted this passage of the Messiah. The Targum on the verse begins thus: "And at

⁵ that time the King Messiah shall be revealed to the congregation of Israel." called to feasts; sometimes also to fasting and to war. And this was not done without solemnity, neither were these things like common occurrences; but this sound of the trumpets was solemn, so that every man might come to that which was proclaimed. And this should be learned not merely from me, but from the divine Scriptures, when God was revealed to Moses, and said, as it is written in the book of Numbers: And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Make to thee two trumpets; of silver shalt thou make them, and they shall be for thee to call the congregation—very properly for those who here love Him. So that we may know that these things had reference to the time of Moses— yea, were to be observed so long as the shadow lasted, the whole being appointed as conducive thereto, till the time of reformation. For, (said He) if ye shall go out to battle in your land against your enemies that rise up against you, (for such things as these refer to the land; bey-

ond it, in no wise) then ye shall proclaim with the trumpets, and shall be remembered before the Lord, and be delivered from your enemies.

6 Not only in wars did they blow the trumpet, but under the law, there was also a festal trumpet. Hear him again, saying in continuance, And in the day of your gladness, and in your feasts, and your new moons, ye shall blow with the trumpets. And let no man think it a light and contemptible matter, if he hear the law command respecting trumpets: it is a wonderful and fearful thing. For because Exod. 19, 16. the trumpet, more than any other voice or instrument, is exciting and very terrible, on this account, instruction was conveyed to Israel by such means, for he was then but a child. But in order that the proclamation should not be thought merely human, being beyond this, it was heard as those voices which were uttered when they received a shock from them in the mount; and they were reminded of the law that was then given them, and kept it. For the law was worthy of admiration, and the shadow was excellent; otherwise, it would not have wrought fear, and induced reverence in those who heard: and [if such were the case], much more must it have been so with those who at that time saw such things as these.

7 Be it that these things were then typical, and done as in a shadow. Let us, having recourse to our understanding, and henceforth leaving the figure at a distance, come to the truth, and look upon the priestly trumpets of our Saviour, which cry out, and call us, at one time to war, as the blessed Paul saith: We wrestle not with flesh and blood, but with principalities, with powers, with the rulers of this dark world, with wicked spirits in heaven. At another time the call is made to virginity, and lowliness, and conjugal unanimity, saying, To virgins, the things of virgins; and to those bound by a course of abstinence, the things of abstinence; and to those who are married, the things of an honourable marriage; thus assigning to each domestic virtues and an honourable recompense. Sometimes also, the call is made to fasting, and sometimes to a feast. Listen to the same [Apostle] again blowing the trumpet, and proclaiming,

8. Christ our Passover is sacrificed; therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness. If further, thou wouldest listen to a trumpet much greater than all these, hear our Saviour saying; In that last and great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. For it became the Saviour not simply to call us to a feast, but to the great feast; only so that we should

be prepared to hear, and should conform to the proclamation of every trumpet. For since, as I before said, there are divers proclamations, listen, as in a figure, to the prophet blowing the trumpet; and further, having turned to the truth, be ready for the announcement of the trumpet, for he saith, Blow ye the trumpet in Sion: sanctify a fast. This is a warning trumpet, and commands with great earnestness, that when we fast, we should hallow the fast. For not all those who call upon God, hallow God, since there are some who defile Him; yet not Him—that is impossible—but their own conscience concerning Him; for He is holy, and has pleasure in the saints. And therefore the blessed Paul assigns the reason for men's dishonouring God: Transgressors of the law dishonour God. So then, to point out those who pollute the fast, he saith here, sanctify a fast. For many, crowding to the fast, pollute themselves in the thoughts of their hearts, sometimes by doing evil against their brethren, sometimes by daring to defraud. And, to mention nothing else, there are many who exalt themselves above their neighbours, bringing about a great offence by these means.

9 For also the boast of fasting did no good to the Pharisee, although he fasted twice in the week, only because he exalted himself against the publican. In the same manner also the Word found fault with the children of Israel on account of such a fast as this; exhorting them by Isaiah the Prophet, and saying, This is not the fast and the day that I have chosen, that a man should humble his soul; not even if thou shouldest bow down thy neck like a hook, and shouldest strew sackcloth and ashes under thee; neither thus shall ye call the fast acceptable. That we may be able to shew what kind of persons we should be when we fast, and of what character the fast should be, listen again to God commanding Moses, and saying, as it is written in Leviticus, And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, In the tenth day of this seventh month, there shall be a day of atonement; a convocation, and a holy day shall it be to you; and ye shall humble your souls, and offer whole burnt-offerings unto the Lord. And afterwards, that the law might be determinate Levit. 23, on this point, He further saith, Every soul that shall not humble itself, shall be cut off from the people. Behold, my brethren, what a fast can do, and in what manner the law commands us to fast. It is required that not only should we fast with the body, but also with the soul.

10 Now the soul is humbled when it is not found [occupied] with wicked opinions, being nourished with becoming virtues. For virtues and vices are

the food of the soul, and it can eat either of these two meats, and incline to either of the two, according to its own will. If, on the one hand, it is bent toward virtue, it will be nourished by virtues; by righteousness, by temperance, by meekness, by fortitude. Even as Paul saith, Being nourished by the word of truth. Such was the case with our Lord, who said, My meat is to do the will of My Father which is in heaven. But if it is not thus with the soul, and it inclines to that which is beneath, it is then nourished by nothing but sin. For thus also the Holy Ghost, describing sinners and their food, alluded to the devil when He said, I have given him to be meat to the (LXX. people of Æthiopia. For this is the food of sinners. And vers.)

¹¹ S. Athan, here speaks of Leviathan as a type of Satan; of the Æthiopians as typical of sinners; of sinners feeding on the devil, as the righteous feed upon Christ. For the first, conf. S. Cyril. Alexandr. Comment. in Esaiam cap. xxvii. *lato nomine, dixerat, eundem nunc Leviathan appellet.* (Again, tom. vii. p. 277.) *'Draco iste quem formasti ad illudendum ei! Iste est Draco qui de Paradiso ejectus est; qui decepit Evam, et datus est in hoc mundo ad illudendum nobis.* Also, on Isaiah xxvii. 1. reference is made to Apoc. xii. 7. and Luke x. 19. St. Augustine on the passage says; *Tu confregisti caput draconis. Cujus draconis? Intelligimus dracones omnia dæmonia sub diabolo militantia; quem ergo singularem draconem cujus caput cenfractum est, nisi ipsum diabolum intelligere debemus?* as our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, being heavenly bread, is the food of the saints, according to this; Except ye eat My flesh, and drink My blood; so is the devil, the food of the impure, and of those who do nothing which is of the light, but work the deeds of darkness. Therefore, in order to withdraw and turn them from vices, He enjoins upon them, as sustenance, the food of virtue. Now this is, humbleness of mind; lowliness to endure humiliations; the acknowledgment of God.

¹² For not only does such a fast as this obtain propitiation for souls, but it also, being sanctified, prepares the saints, and raises them above the earth. And indeed that which I am about to say is wonderful, yea it is of those things which are very miraculous; yet not far from the truth, as ye may be able to learn from the sacred writings. That great man Moses, when fasting, conversed with God, and received the law. The great and holy Elias, when fasting, was also thought worthy of divine visions, and at last was taken up like Him who ascended into heaven. And Daniel also, when fasting, and although a very young man, was entrusted with the mystery, and he alone un-

derstood the secret things of the king, and was thought worthy of divine visions. But because the length of the fast of these men was wonderful, and the days prolonged, let no man lightly fall into unbelief on that account; but rather let him believe and know, that the looking to God, and the word which [pro-

13 S. Aug. too, ut supra; *Quomodo intelligo populos Æthiopes? Quomodo nisi per hos, omnes gentes? et bene per nigros; Æthiopes enim nigri sunt. Ipsi vocantur ad fidem, qui nigri fuerunt etc.* Suiter, *Thes. v.* quotes from *Orat.* de evitu animae quæ Cyrillo Alex. adscribitur, p. 405.—Hesychius, *Cent. I ad Theodulum*, num. 23. duimones vocat, spirituales Æthiopes. Larsow quotes S. Athan. *tom. ix. p. 120.* where is explained by. The Heb. word which the LXX. translate by is = "The whole of the comment of S. Aug. on the passage affords a remarkable amplification of the words of our Author, though reference is not directly made to the words of St. John (vi. 53.) He alludes to the golden calf, which Moses made the children of Israel to drink of, and adds; *Quid est hoc, nisi quia adoratores diaboli corpus ipsius facti erant? Quomodo agnoscentes Christum fiunt corpus Christi, ut eis dicatur; Vos autem es is corpus Christi et membra.*

14 "The word in the Syriac is 'priestly.' But in this and in other places, it appears to be for the Greek. *Conf. 2 Tim. in. 15.* ceeds] from Him, suffice to nourish those who hear, and stand to them in place of all food. For the angels are no otherwise sustained than by beholding at all times the face of the Father, and of the Saviour Who is in heaven. And thus Moses, as long as he talked with God, fasted indeed bodily, but was nourished by divine words. When therefore he descended among men, and God was gone up from him, he suffered hunger like unto men. For it is not said that he fasted longer than forty days—those in which he was conversing with God. And, generally, each one of the saints has been thought worthy of the food of virtues such as this. 15 11. 13. 14. Wherefore, my beloved, having our souls nourished with divine food, with the word, and according to the will of God, and fasting bodily in things external, let us keep this great and saving feast as becomes us. For the foolish Jews, receiving indeed this divine food typically, ate a lamb in the passover. But not understanding the type, even to this day they eat the lamb, being in error; the more so in that they are without a city and the truth. As long as Judæa and the city existed, there were a type, and a lamb, and a shadow, since the law thus commanded: These things shall not

be done in another city; but in the land of Judæa—but without [the land of Judæa] in no place whatever. And besides this, the law commanded them to offer whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices, when there was no other altar than that in Jerusalem. For on this account, in that city alone, was there an altar and temple built, and they were commanded to perform these rites in that city only, to the end that when that city should come to an end, then also those things that were figurative might receive their end. Now observe: that city, since the coming of our Saviour, has had an end, and all the land of Judæa been laid waste; so that from the testimony of these things, (and we need no external proof, being assured by our own eyes of the fact) there must, of necessity, be an end of the shadow.

16 And it is meet that these things should not be learned from me: but the priestly voice cried before, Behold upon the mountains the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, and publisheth peace; and what is the message he published, but The Jewish ordinances only till the time of Christ. 11 17 that which he goes on to say to them, Keep thy feasts, O Judah; pay to the Lord thy vows. For they shall no more go to that which is old; it is finished; it is taken away: he is gone up who breathed upon the face, and delivered thee from affliction. Now who is he that went up? a man may say to the Jews, in order that even the boast of the shadow may be done away; neither is it an idle thing to listen to the expression, It is finished; He is gone up who breathed. For nothing also was finished before he went up who breathed. But as soon as he went up, it was finished. Who was he then, O Jews, as I before said? If Moses, the assertion would be false; for the people were not yet come to the land in which alone they were commanded to perform these rites. But if Samuel, or any other of the prophets, even in that case there would be a perversion of the truth; for up to that time these things were done in Judæa, and the city was standing. For it was necessary that while that stood, these things should be performed. So that it was no one of these men, my beloved, who went up. But if thou wouldest hear the true matter, and be kept from Jewish fables, look to our Saviour who went up, and breathed upon the face, and said to His disciples, Receive ye the Holy Ghost. For as soon as these things were done, every thing then came to an end; for the altar was broken, and the veil of the temple was rent; and although the city was not yet laid waste, yet the abomination was ready to sit in the midst of the temple, and the city, and those ancient ordinances, to receive their final consummation.

18 Since then we have passed the time of the shadow, and no longer perform rites under it, but have turned, as it were, unto the Lord: for the Lord is a Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty: as we hear from the priestly trumpet; no longer slaying a material lamb, but that true Lamb that was slain, even our Lord Jesus Christ, Who was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and was dumb, as a lamb before her shearers; being purified by His precious blood, which speaketh better things than that of Abel; having our feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel; holding in our hands the rod and staff of the Lord, by which that saint was comforted, who said, Thy rod and Thy staff 4. Phil. 4, 5. 40. Ephes. 4, 22-24. they comfort me; and to speak collectively, being in all respects prepared and careful for nothing, because, as the blessed Paul saith, The Lord is at hand; and as our Saviour saith, In an hour when we think not, the Lord cometh;— Let us keep the Feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. Putting off the old man and his deeds, let us put on the new man, which is created in God, in humbleness of mind, and a pure conscience; in meditation of the law by night and by day. And casting away all hypocrisy and fraud, putting far from us all haughtiness and guile, let us take upon us love towards God and towards our neighbour; that being new [creatures], and receiving the new wine, even the Holy Spirit, we may properly keep the feast, even the month of these new [fruits]"

19 P We begin the holy fast on the fifth day of Pharmuthi, (March 31) and joining to it according to the number of those six holy and great days, which are the symbol of the creation of this world, let us rest and cease (from fasting) on the tenth day of the same Pharmuthi, (April 5) on the holy sabbath of the week. And when the first day of the holy week dawns and rises upon us, on the eleventh day of the same month, (April 6) numbering from it all the seven weeks, one by one, let us keep feast on the holy day of Pentecost—that which was at one time to the Jews, typically, the feast of weeks, in which they granted forgiveness and settlement of debts; and indeed that day was one of deliverance in every respect. Let us keep the feast on the first day of the great week, as a symbol of the world to come, in which we here receive a pledge that we shall have ever-

20 ° Alluding to Deut. xvi. 1. (scil.) LXX. *Observa mensem novarum frugum.* Vulg. i. e. the month of Abib. Heb. In Chaldee, we have *fructum*

protulit, imprimis de fructu primo et præcoce, (Hos. ix. 10. Targ.) Syr. flores produxit. Gesen. Lex. Heb. P We should not have much difficulty in fixing upon many of the phrases and expressions used by St. Athan. towards the close of his Epistles, by referring to the concluding sentences in the Paschal Letters of S. Cyril, who seems herein to have closely imitated his illustrious predecessor in the Patriarchate. The Syriac translator must frequently have had before him the following expressions: — — — — —. lasting life hereafter. Then having passed from hence, we shall keep a perfect feast with Christ, while we cry out and say, like the saints, I will pass to the place of the wondrous tabernacle; to the house of God; with the voice of gladness and thanksgiving; the shouting of those who rejoice; so that sorrow and affliction and sighing shall flee away, and gladness and joy be upon our heads!

²¹ May we be adjudged worthy to accomplish these things when we remember the poor, and do not forget kindness to strangers! But above all, when we love God with all our soul, and might, and strength, and our neighbour as ourselves: receiving those things which the eye hath not seen, nor the ear heard, and which have not entered into the heart of man; which God hath prepared for those that love Him, through His only Son, our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ; through Whom, to the Father alone, by the Holy Ghost, be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen. Salute one another with a kiss. All the brethren who are with me salute you. Here endeth the first Festal Letter of holy Athanasius.

LETTER 2.

¹ Easter-day XXIV. Pharmuthi; XIII. Kal. Mai.; Æra Easter-day Dioclet. 46; Coss. Gallicianus, Valerius Symmachus; on April 19. Præfect. Magninianus; Indict. III. AGAIN, my brethren, is Easter come, and gladness; for again the Lord hath brought us to this season; so that when, according to custom, we have been nourished with His words, we may duly keep the feast. Let us celebrate it then, even heavenly joy, together with those saints who also formerly proclaimed such a feast as this, and were ensamples to us of conversation in Christ. For not only were they entrusted with the charge of preaching the Gospel, but, upon examination, we shall see, as it is written, that its power was also displayed in them. Be ye therefore followers of me, he (St. Paul) wrote to the Corinthians. Now the apostolic expression is instructive to all of us; for those precepts which he forwarded to individuals, he, at the same time, enjoined upon every man in every place, inasmuch as he was a

teacher of all nations in faith and truth. And, generally, the precepts of all the saints have an equally extended application by way of exhortation; as Solomon, too, makes use of proverbs, saying, Hear, my children, the instruction of a father, and attend to know understanding; for I give you a good gift; forsake ye not my word; for I was an obedient son to my father, and beloved in the sight of my mother. For a worthy father employs the right method of instruction, when he exhibits zeal in teaching others those things that had been properly imparted to himself; so that when he meets with opposition, he may not be ashamed on hearing it said, Thou therefore that teachest others, teachest thou not thyself? but rather, like the good servant, may both save himself and gain

² Conf. Letter iii. others; and thus, when the grace committed to him has been doubled, he may hear, Thou good and faithful servant, Mat. 25, 21. thou hast been faithful in a little, I will set thee over much: enter into the joy of thy Lord. Be it then, on our parts, a becoming duty, if at all times, so especially in the days of the feast, to be, not hearers only, but also doers of the commandments of our Saviour; that also, having imitated the conversation of the saints, we may enter together into the joy of our Lord which is in heaven, which is not transitory, but truly abideth; of which evil doers having deprived themselves, there remaineth to them as the fruit of their ways, sorrow and anguish, and groaning, the result of torments. Let a man look on such as these, how thus they bear not the image of the conversation of the saints, nor of that right understanding, by which man at the beginning was rational, and in the form of God. But being barely on a level with the beast without understanding, and like it in unlicensed pleasures, they are described by comparison with lustful horses; also, for their craftiness, and errors, and sin laden with death, they are called a generation of vipers, as Luke saith. Now having thus fallen, and grovelling in the dust like the serpent, they thought of nothing but things which are seen, esteeming them to be good; and rejoicing in these things, but not serving God, they ministered to their own desires. Yet even in this state, the man-loving Word, who came for this purpose, that He might seek that which was lost and find it, sought to restrain them from folly like this, crying and saying, Be ye not as the horse and the mule which have

³ We have here the first fragment extant of the original Greek text. It is to be found in Cosmas Indicopleustes, p. 316, with the title, translated) may

serve to give us a correct opinion of the fidelity and accuracy with which the Syriac translator performed his part. The same may be said of the few other remaining lines extant in the Greek. The Ms. reads John incorrectly—for Matthew (iii 7.) or Luke (iii. 7.) Is. 23, 2. (LXX. vers.) 4 28. no understanding, whose checks ye hold in with bit and bridle. Because they were careless and like the wicked, the prophet also prays in spirit and says, Ye are to me like merchant-men of Phœnicia. And the avenging Spirit protests against them in these words, Lord, in Thy city Thou wilt despise their image. Thus then, being changed into the likeness of fools, they so far fell away in their understanding, that, by their excessive reasoningh, they even likened the Divine Wisdom to themselves, thinking it to be like their own worksi. Therefore, professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the corruptible image of man, and birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. Wherefore God gave them ever to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient. For they did not listen to the prophetic voice that reprovèd them. (saying.) To what have ye likened the Lord, and with what have ye compared Him? neither to David, who prayed concerning such as these, and sang. All those that make them are like unto them, and all those who put their trust in them. For, being blind to the truth, they looked upon a stone as God; and further, like senseless creatures, they went on in darkness; and, as the prophet cried, They hear indeed, but they do not understand; they see indeed, but they do not perceive; for their heart is waken fat, and with their ears they hear hearily.

5 Now those who do not observe the feasts, continue such persons even to the present day: pretending indeed and devising names of feasts, but rather introducing days of mourning than of gladness: For there is no peace to the wicked, saith the Lord. And as Wisdom saith, Gladness and joy are taken from their mouth. Such then are the feasts of the wicked. But the wise servants of the Lord, who have truly put on the man which is created in God, have received gospel words, and account, as of general application, the commandment given to Timothy, which saith, Be thou an example to the believers in word, in conversation, in lore, in faith, in purity. They keep the Feast with such propriety, that even the unbelievers, seeing their order, may say, God is with them of a truth. For as he who receives an apostle receives Him who sent him, so he who is a follower of the saints, makes the Lord in

every respect his end and aim; even as Paul, being a follower of Him, says, Is I also of Christ. For there is first the precedent of our Saviour, and herein is the height of His divinity, in that when He conversed with His disciples, He said, Learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest to your souls. For also when He put

611. water into a basin, and girded himself with a towel, and washed His disciples' feet, He said to them, Know what I have done. Ye call Me Master and Lord, and ye say well, for so I am. If therefore I, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet: for I have given you an example, that as I have done to you, ye also should do. Oh! my brethren, how shall we admire the loving-kindness of our Saviour? With what power, and what kind of trumpet should a man cry out, when exalting such helps as these which He gives? That not only should we bear His image, but should also receive from Him an example as a pattern of heavenly conversation; that we should go on as He hath begun; that suffering, we should not threaten; being reviled, we should not revile again: but should bless them that curse; and in every thing commit ourselves to God who judgeth righteously. For those who are thus disposed, and fashion themselves according to the Gospel, will be partakers of Christ, and imitators of apostolic conversation; on account of which they shall be deemed worthy of that praise from him, with which he praised the Co-

7 rinthians, when he said, I praise you that in every thing ye are mindful of me. Afterwards, because there were men using indeed his words, but wishing to obey them according to their lusts, and daring to pervert them, as the followers of Hymeneus and Alexander, and before them the Sadducees, who, as he said, haring made shipwreck of faith, were entangled in the mystery of the resurrection; on this account he immediately proceeded to say, And as I have delivered to you traditions, hold them fast. That is, in truth, that we should think no otherwise than the teacher hath delivered. For not only in outward form did those wicked men disguise themselves, who, as the Lord says, put on sheep's clothing, and appeared like unto whited sepulchres; but they took those divine words in their mouth, while having within an evil conscience. And the first, forsooth, who appeared thus, was the serpent, the inventor of wickedness from the beginning,—the devil,—who, under a disguised form, conversed with Eve, and forthwith deceived her. But after him and with him are all inventors of unlawful heresies, who indeed refer to the

Scriptures, but do not hold such opinions as the saints have handed down, receiving them as the traditions of men: erring, because they do not rightly know them, nor their power. Therefore Paul deservedly praises the Corinthians, because their opinions were in accordance with his traditions. And the Lord most righteously reproveth the Jews, saying, Wherefore do ye also transgress the commandments of God on account of your traditions. For they changed the commandments they received from God to suit their own follies, and adhered rather to the traditions of men. Respecting these, a little after, the blessed Paul again gave directions to the Galatians who were in danger thereof, writing to them, If any man preach to you aught else than that ye have received, let him

8 from them. Orat. ii. §. 18, conf. Epiph. Hier. 69, 15. Or rather they took some words of Scripture, and made their own deductions from them, viz. 'Son,' 'made,' 'exalted,' &c. 'Making their private irreligiousness as if a rule, they misinterpret all the divine oracles by it.' Vid. note to p. 178, of 'Select Treatises of S. Athanasius,' published in this series. Vide also Athan. Epistola ad Episc. Egypti et Libyae, p. 214. Athan. frequently speaks of heresies as having their origin in truth, of which, however, only a partial and imperfect view is taken: one doctrine is often unduly dwelt upon to the suppression of others, or enforced with such subtlety of reasoning as to unfit the mind for the reception of others equally important. 1 (Syr.). The Syriac is apparently a literal translation of these words. 9 be accursed. For there is no fellowship whatever between the words of the saints, and the fancies of human invention; for the saints are the ministers of the truth, preaching the kingdom of heaven; but those who are borne in an opposite direction, have nothing better than to eat, and think their end is that they shall cease to exist, while they say, Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. Therefore also the blessed Luke reproves the inventions of men, and hands down the relations of the saints, saying in the beginning of the Gospel, Since many have taken in hand to write narrations of those events of which we are assured, as those who from the beginning were witnesses and ministers of the Word have delivered to us; it hath seemed good to me also, who have adhered to them all from the first, to write correctly in order to thee, O excellent Theophilus, that thou mayest know the truth concerning the things in which thou hast been instructed. For what the saints respectively received, they give without alteration, for correctness of doctrine concerning mysteries. Of them the

(divine) word would have us disciples, and right is it that they should be our teachers, and necessary is it that we should submit to them alone; for of them only is the word faithful and worthy of all acceptance, inasmuch as they did not become disciples because they heard from others; but being eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word, they handed down what they had heard from Him.

¹⁰ Some, indeed, related the great miracles performed by our Saviour, and preached His eternal Godhead. Others, again, wrote of His being born in the flesh of the Virgin, and proclaimed the festival of the holy passover, saying, Christ our Passover is sacrificed; so that each one of us, and all of us together in common, and all the churches in the world may remember, as it is written, That Christ rose from the dead, of the seed of David, according to the Gospel. And let not that escape our observation which Paul delivered, declaring it to the Corinthians; that, I mean, concerning His resurrection, whereby he destroyed him that had the power of death; that is, the devil, and raised us up together with Him: having loosed the bands of death, and vouchsafed a blessing instead of a curse: joy instead of grief; a feast in the place of mourning, in this holy joy of Easter; which being continually in our hearts, we always rejoice, as Paul commanded; Praying without ceasing; in very thing giving thanks. We therefore do not neglect to 17. publish its seasons, as we have received from the Fathers.

¹¹ Again we write. Again, holding the apostolic traditions, we put one another in remembrance in our meetings for prayer; and keeping the feast in common, with one month we truly give thanks to the Lord. For thus receiving the grace, and being followers of the saints, we shall make our praise in the Lord all the day, as the Psalmist says. In this way, when we properly keep the feast, we shall be counted worthy of that joy which is in heaven. We begin the fast of forty days on the 13th of the month Phamenoth, (Mar. 9.) After we have given ourselves to fasting in continued succession, let us begin the week of the holy Easter on the 18th of the month Pharmuthi, (April 13.) Then ceasing on the 23d of the same month Pharmuthi, (April 18.) and keeping the feast afterwards on the first of the week, on the 24th, (April 19.) let us add to these the seven weeks of the great Pentecost, altogether rejoicing and exulting in Christ Jesus our Lord, through Whom to the Father be glory and dominion by the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.

12 The brethren which are with me salute you. Salute one another with a holy kiss. Here endeth the second Festal Letter of the holy my Lord Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria.

LETTER 3.

Easter-day XVI Pharmuthi; III Id. April; Era Dioclet. Easter-day on April 11. 47; Coss. Annius Bassus, Ablabius; Praefect. Florentius; Indict. IV. AGAIN, my beloved brethren, the day of the feast draws near to us, which, above all others, should be devoted to prayer; which the law commands to be observed, and which it would be inconsistent with our episcopal duties to pass over in silence. For although we have been held under restraint by those who afflict us, that, on account of them, we should not announce to you this season; yet thanks be to God, who comforteth the afflicted, that we have not been put to silence, as though overcome by the wickedness of our accusers; but obeying the voice of truth, together with you shout in the day of the feast. For the God of all hath commanded, saying, Speak, and the children of Israel shall keep the Passover. And the Spirit exhorts in the Psalm; Blow the trumpet in the new moons, in the solemn day of Nah. 1, 15. your feast. And the prophet cries; Keep thy feasts, O Judah. I do not send this to you as though you were not aware of it; but I publish it to those who know it, that ye may perceive that although men have separated us, yet God

I think the translation here given of the Syriac is the correct one. I have taken in its more restricted ecclesiastical sense 'episcopal.' Vid. Mich. note in Lex. Syr. in v. This seems to suit better with the expression 'pass over in silence,' as well as the following sentence, both The ' ' of the LXX. is found here, though it does not appear in the Peshito version. having joined us again, we approach the same feast, and always worship the same Lord. And we do not keep the festival as observers of days, knowing that the Apostle reproves those who do so, in those words which he spake: Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years. But rather do we look upon the day as a solemn one because of the feast; so that all of us, who serve God in every place, may be well-pleasing to God by prayers. For the blessed Paul, when announcing the nearness of gladness like this, did not announce days, but the Lord, on whose account also we keep the feast, saying, Christ, our Passover, is sacrificed; so that all of us, contemplating the eternity of the Word, may have nearness of access to Him. For what else is the feast, but the service of the soul? And what is that service, but prolonged prayer to God, and unceasing

thanksgiving? The unthankful having put these far from them, consequently also rightly deprive themselves of the joy springing therefrom: for joy and gladness are taken from their mouth. Therefore, the divine word doth not allow them to have peace; For there is no peace to the wicked, saith the Lord, working the work of anguish and sorrow. So, not even to him who owed ten thousand talents did the Gospel grant forgiveness Mat. 18, 24. in the sight of the Lord. For even he, having received forgiveness of great things, was forgetful of kindness in little ones, so that he paid the penalty also of those former things. And very properly so; for it was incumbent on

4 The time of the Jewish types and shadows having passed away, the observance of the particular days relabrated among them is likewise abungated. They think principally of the seasons; we are to direct our attention chiefly to the substance of the festival— Christ. When directions for keeping the Jewish feasts were given in the O. T. especial stress was laid on the particular day. In the N. T. on the contrary, our Saviour is the one great subject introduced to our notice— Christ, our Passover, is sacrificed. 2 'unceasing thanksgiving'—a similar expression to 'prolonged prayer' in the preceding line—not 'trewifteen,' 'voluntary,' as Larsow renders it. Vid. Cast. Lex. Syr. in v. V. 1/10. 1/10. 'abstinuit.' In this sense, the word is requate with V. (?) Conf. Clemens Alex. Strom. 7. I. Also I Thess. v. 16, 17, both in the Greek and in the Syriac vers. and Letter xi. 6 This is apparently a quotation from Scripture, though I cannot find the event words. Perhaps it is from Jer. vi, the phraseology of v. 28, being transferred to the sentiment of v. 31. The expression has already occurred, p. 17. 7 As, in the parable, the servant was held accountable for the debt, (which had otherwise been forgiven him, having himself experienced kindness, to be merciful to his fellow servant. Also, he that received the one talent, and bound it up in a napkin, and hid it in the earth, was consequently cast out as an unthankful person, hearing the

Mat. 25, 26. words, Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou knewest that I reap where I sowed not, and gathered where I have not strawed; thou oughtest therefore to have put my money into the bank, and on my return, I should have received mine own. Take therefore the talent from him, and giveh it to him that hath ten talents. For, as a matter of course, when he was required to deliver up to his lord that which belonged to him, he should have acknowledged the kindness of him who gave it, and the value of that which was given. For he who gave was not a hard man; had he been so, he

would not have given even in the first instance: neither was that which was given unprofitable and vain; for then he had not found fault. But both he who gave was good, and that which was given was capable of bearing fruit.

26. As therefore he who withholdeth corn in seed-time is cursed, according to the divine proverb; so he who is careless about grace, and hides it without culture, is properly cast out as a wicked and unthankful person. On this account, he praises those who increased [their talents], say- Mat.25,23. ing, Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful in a little, I will place thee over much; enter into the joy of thy Lord. This was fit and reasonable; for, as the Scripture declares, they had gained as much as they had received. Now it is right, my beloved, that our will should keep pace with the grace of God, and not fall short; lest when our will remains idle, the grace given us¹ should begin to depart, and the enemy finding us empty and naked, should enter [into us], as was the case with him spoken of

Mat.12,24. in the Gospel, from whom the devil went out; for having gone through dry places, he took seven other spirits more wicked than himself; and returning and finding the house empty, he dwelt there, and the last state of that man was him) on account of his cruelty to his fellow-servant; so sinners, who ungratefully withhold praise and thanksgiving from God, are deprived of the blessings they before enjoyed. 1 For 2000 leg. 2000 2 For 2001 leg. 2001 worse than the first. For the withdrawal from virtue gives place for the entrance of the unclean spirit. There is, moreover, the apostolic injunction, that the grace given us should not be unprofitable; for those things which he (Paul) wrote to his disciple as of private application, he enforces on us through him, saying, Neglect not the gift that is in thee. For he who tillet his land shall be satisfied with bread; but the paths of the slothful are strewn with thorns; so that the Spirit forewarns a man not to fall into them, saying, Break up your fallow ground, sow not among thorns. For when a man despises the grace given him, and forthwith falls into the cares of the world, he delivers himself over to his lusts; and thus in the time of persecution he is offended, and becomes altogether unfruitful.

Now the prophet points out the end of negligence like this, saying, Cursed is he who doeth the work of the Lord carelessly. For he who is enlisted in the service of the Lord should be zealous and careful, yea, moreover, burning like a flame; so that when, by an ardent spirit, he has destroyed all earthly sin, he may be able to draw near to God, Who, according to the ex-

pression of the saints, is called a consuming fire. Therefore, the God of all, Who maketh His angels [spirits], is a spirit, and His ministers a flame of fire. Wherefore, in the departure from Egypt, He forbade the multitude to touch the mountain, where God was appointing them the law, because they were not of this character. But He called blessed Moses to it, as being fervent in spirit, and possessing unquenchable grace, saying, Let Moses alone draw near. On this account he also entered into the cloud, and when the mountain was smoking, he was not injured; but rather, through the words of the Lord, which are choice silver tried in the earth, he descended more pure.

Therefore the blessed Paul, when desirous that the grace of the Spirit given to us should not grow cold, exhorts. Vul. also S. Athan. Epist. i. ad Serap. t. i. p. 520. 3a. Syr. 'material,' 'earthly,' an adjective formed from the Gr. 1 19. saying, "Quench not the Spirit. For thus shall we also remain partakers of Christ", that is, if we hold fast unto the end the Spirit given at the beginning. For he said, Quench not; not because the Spirit is placed in the power of men, and is able to suffer any thing from them; but because bad and unthankful men are such as manifestly wish to quench it; since they, like the impure, persecute the Spirit with unholy deeds. For the holy Spirit of admonition flees from guile, and dwells not in a body under the influence of sin; but even removes for from imaginations void of understanding. But they being void of understanding, and guileful, and lovers of sin, walk still as in darkness, not having that Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. Now a fire such as this laid hold of Jeremiah the prophet, when the word was in him as a fire, and he said, "I pass away from every place, and am not able to endure it. And our Lord Jesus Christ, in that He was good and man-loving, came that He might cast this upon earth, and said, And what? would that it were already kindled?" For He desired, as He testified in

23. 32. Ezekiel, the repentance of a man rather than his death; so that evil should be consumed in all men, to the end that the soul, being purified, might be able to bring forth fruit; For 1150 11 leg. 1150 11. The 11 after 1150 should probably be omitted, the error having arisen from the word occurring just before. Conf. S. Athan. Epist. ad Dracont. tom. i. p. 209. for the word which is sown by Him will be productive, some thirty, some sixty, some an hundred. Thus, for instance, those who were with Cleopas, although infirm at first from lack of knowledge, yet afterwards were inflamed with the words of our Saviour, and brought forth the fruits of the knowledge of Him.

The blessed Paul also, when seized by this fire, revealed it not to flesh and blood; but having experienced the grace, he became a preacher of the Word. But not such were those nine lepers who were cleansed from their leprosy, and yet were unthankful to the Lord Who healed them; nor Judas, who obtained the lot of an apostle, and was named a disciple of the Lord, but at last, while eating bread with our Saviour, lifted up his heel against Him, and became a traitor. But such men have the due reward of their folly, since their hope will be vain through their ingratitude: for there is no hope whatever to the ungrateful; the last fire, prepared for the devil and his angels, awaiting those who disregard divine light. Such then is the end of the unthankful.

But the faithful and true servants of the Lord, knowing that the Lord loves the thankful, never cease to praise Him, ever giving thanks unto the Lord. And whether the time is one of ease or of affliction, they offer up praise to God with thanksgiving, regarding not these things of time, but worshipping the Lord, the God of times. Thus of old time, Job, who possessed fortitude above all men, thought of these things when in prosperity; and when in adversity, he patiently endured, and when he suffered, gave thanks. As also the humble David, in the very time of affliction sang praises and said, I will bless the Lord at all times. And the blessed Paul, in all his Epistles, so to say, ceased not to thank God. In times of ease, he failed not; but in affliction he gloried, knowing that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, and that hope maketh not ashamed. Let us, being followers of such men,

18. 111. pass no season without thanksgiving; but especially now, when the time is one of tribulation, which the heretics excite against us, will we praise the Lord; uttering the words of the saints; All these things have come upon us, yet have we not forgotten Thee. For as the Jews at that time, although suffering an assault from the tabernacles of the Edomites, and oppressed by the enemies of Jerusalem, did not give themselves up, but all the more sang praises to God; so we, my beloved brethren, though hindered that we should not speak the word of the Lord, will the more proclaim it; and being afflicted, we will sing Psalms⁴ that we are accounted worthy to be despised, and to labour anxiously for the truth. Yea, moreover, being grievously vexed, we will give thanks. For also the blessed Apostle, who gave thanks at all times, urges us in the same manner to draw near to God, saying Let your requests, with thanksgiving, be made known unto God. And being desirous that we

should never desist from such a purpose as this, he says, At all times give thanks;

17. pray without ceasing. For he knew that believers are strong while employed in thanksgiving; and that rejoicing they pass over the walls of the enemy, like those saints who said, Through Thee will we pierce through our enemies, and by my God I will leap over a wall. At all times let us stand firm, but especially now, although many afflictions overtake us, and many heretics are furious against us. Let us then, my beloved brethren, celebrate with thanksgiving the holy feast which now draws near to us, girding up the loins of our minds, like our Saviour Jesus Christ, of Whom it is written, Righteousness shall be the belt of His loins, and faithfulness the girdles of His reins. Each one of us having in his hand the staff which came out of the root of Jesse, and our feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel, let us keep the feast as Paul saith, Not with the old leaven, but with the unlearned bread of sincerity and truth; assured that we thus reverently think of Christ, and depart not from faith

The Syr. must be an error of the copyist for. Compare Ps. lxxxiii. 6. *α*Conf. James v. 13. in Him, nor defile ourselves together with heretics, and strangers to the truth, whose conversation and whose will bring them down. But rejoicing in afflictions, we break through the furnace of iron and darkness, and pass, unharmed, over that terrible Red Sea. Thus also, when we look upon the confusion of heretics, we shall, with Moses, sing that great song of praise, and say, We will sing unto the Lord, for He is to be gloriously praised. Thus, singing praises, and looking upon sinners against us, who have been submerged, we pass over to the wilderness. And being first purified by the fast of forty days, by prayers, and fastings, and discipline, and good works, we shall be able also to eat the holy Passover in Jerusalem. The beginning of the fast of forty days is on the fifth of Phanenoth (Mar. 1.); and when, as I have said, we have first been purified and prepared by those days, we also begin the holy week of the great Easter on the tenth of Pharmuthi (Apr. 5.), in which, my beloved brethren, we should observe more prolonged prayers, and fastings, and watchings, that we may be enabled to anoint our lintels with precious blood, and to escape the destroyer. We cease (fasting) then, on the fifteenth of the month Pharmuthi (Apr. 10.), when we hear from the angels in the evening of the seventh day of the week, Why seek ye the living among the dead? for He hath risen. Immediately afterwards the first day of the great

week receives us, I mean on the sixteenth of the same month Pharmuthi (April 11.), on which our Lord having risen, vouchsafed to us peace towards our neighbours. When then we have thus kept the feast according to His will, let us add from that first day in the holy week, also the seven weeks of Pentecost, in which we, receiving the grace of the Spirit, shall be giving thanks to the Lord at all times; through Whom to the Father be

7. 23. dead upon the sea-shore. Larson renders it 'and die Sunde in uns untergehen sehn'—a translation the Syribe will hardly admit. * Syr. glory and dominion, by the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen. Salute one another with a holy kiss. The brethren who are with me salute you. I pray, brethren beloved and longed for, that ye may have health, and that ye may be mindful of us in the Lord. Here endeth the third Festal Letter of holy Athanasius.

LETTER 4.

¹Easter-day VII Pharmuthia; IV Non. Apr.; Æra Dioclet. 48: Coss. Fabius Papatianus, Mavilius Hilarianus; Præ-Easter-day fest. Hyginus; Indict. V. on April 2. He sent this Letter from the Comitatus by a soldier. I SEND unto you, my beloved, late and beyond the accustomed time; yet I trust you will forgive the delay, on account of my far travelling, and because I have been tried with protracted illness. Being then hindered by these two causes, and unusually severe storms having occurred, I have deferred writing to you. But notwithstanding my far travelling, and my grievous sickness, I have not forgotten to give you the festal notification, and, in discharge of my duty, I now announce to you the feast. For although the letter has been delayed beyond the accustomed period of the proclamation, yet it should not be considered ill-timed, inasmuch as, since the enemies have been put to shame and reproved by the Church, because they persecuted us without a cause, we may now sing a festal song of praise, uttering

²the triumphant hymn against Pharaoh; We will sing unto the Lord, for He is to be gloriously praised; the horse and his rider He hath cast into the sea. For we proceed duly, my beloved, from feast to feast; again festal meetings, again holy watchings stir up our minds, and keep our consciences on the guard to spiritual contemplation of good things. ³Judith 13, 8. We do not celebrate these days in the character of mourners; but, as refreshing ourselves with spiritual food, we impose silence on our fleshly lusts. For by these means we shall have strength to overcome our adversaries, like blessed Judith, when, first having occupied herself with fastings and prayers, she

overcame the enemies, and killed Olophernes. And blessed Esther, when destruction was about to come on all her race, and the nation of Israel was ready to perish, defeated the fury of the tyrant by no other means than by fasting and prayer to God, and changed the ruin of her people into safety. Now as those days are considered feasts for Israel, so also in old time they were called feasts when an enemy was slain, or a conspiracy against the people broken up, and Israel delivered. On this account it was that blessed Moses of old time ordained the great feast of the Passover, and our celebration of it, because, namely, Pharaoh was killed, and the people were delivered from bondage. But then, when those who tyrannized over the people were slain, feasts and holidays were observed partially—in Judaea—with reference to time. Now, however, that the devil is slain, that tyrant against the whole world, we do not approach the feast, my beloved, as a temporal one, but as being eternal and heavenly. For we proclaim it not as it were in shadows, but we come to it in the truth.

4 They indeed, when filled with the flesh of an irrational lamb, accomplished the feast, and having anointed their door-posts with the blood, deprecated the destroyer. But now we, eating of the Word of the Father, and having the lintels of our hearts sealed with the blood of the New Testament, acknowledge the grace given us from the Saviour, who said, Behold, I have given unto you to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy. For no more does death reign; but instead of death henceforth there is life, since our Lord said, I am the life; so that every thing is filled with gladness and rejoicing; as it is written, The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice. For when death reigned, sitting down by the rivers of Babylon, we wept, and mourned, because we had experienced the bitterness of captivity; but now that death and the kingdom of the devil is abolished, every thing is entirely filled with joy and gladness. And God is no longer known in Judaea only, but in all the earth, their voice hath gone forth, and the knowledge of Him hath filled all the earth. What remains, my beloved, is obvious; that, as the result, we approach such a feast, not with filthy raiment, but with our consciences covered with pure garments. For we need in this to put on our Lord Jesus, that we may be able to celebrate the feast with Him. Now we are clothed with Him when we love virtue;

5 when we are enemies to wickedness; when we exercise ourselves with temperance; when we mortify lasciviousness; when we love righteousness, in

preference to iniquity; when we esteem sufficiency; when we have fortitude of mind; when we forget not the poor, but open our door to all men; when we assist humble-mindedness, but hate pride. By these things Israel of old, after having first fought the battle, as in a figure, came to the feast. Such things were then set forth, as in the shadow. But we, my beloved, the shadow having received its fulfilment, and the types being accomplished, should no longer consider the feast a figurative one; neither should we go up to Jerusalem which is beneath, to sacrifice the Passover, according to the unseasonable observance of the Jews, lest, while the season passes away, we should be regarded as acting unseasonably; but, in accordance with the injunction of the Apostles, let us go beyond the types, and sing the new song of praise. For this they also observed; and as being assembled together with the Truth,

617. they drew near, and said unto our Saviour, Where wilt Thou that we should make ready for Thee the Passover? For no longer were these things done at Jerusalem which is beneath; neither was it considered that the feast should be celebrated there alone; but wherever God willed it to be. Now He willed it to be in every place, so that in every place incense and a sacrifice might be offered to Him. For although, as in the historical account, they were commanded not to introduce the feast of the Passover any where, but only in Jerusalem; yet when the things pertaining to that time were fulfilled, and those which belonged to shadows had passed away, and the preaching of the Gospel was to be extended every where; when, indeed, the disciples were spreading the feast in all places, they asked our Saviour, 17. Where wilt Thou that we shall make ready? Our Saviour also, since He was changing the typical for the spiritual, promised them that they should no longer eat the flesh of a lamb, but His own, saying, Take, eat and drink; this is My body, and My blood. When we are then nourished

7 26-28. 1 Conf. Letter i. p. 3. 2 Tâsis Syr. 3 Such a song as is in accordance with the superior blessings of the Christian dispensation. Ps. xviii. 1. Rev. xiv. 3. 4 1:10 505. I understand this as referring to Christ. Vid. John xiv. 6. by these things, we shall also, my beloved, properly keep the feast of the Passover. We commence on the first of Pharmuthi (Mar. 27.); and having ceased on the sixth of the same month (Apr. 1.), on the evening of the seventh day, and the holy first day of the week having risen upon us on the seventh of the same Pharmuthi (Apr. 2.), celebrate we too the days of the holy Pentecost following thereon, by them introducing a symbol of the world to come. But

that henceforth we may be with Christ for ever, let us give praise to God over all in Christ Jesus, and through Him, with all saints, say unto the Lord, Amen.

8 Salute one another with a holy kiss. All the brethren who are with me salute you. We have sent this letter from the Comitatus, by the hand of an attendant officer, to whom it was given by Ablabius, the Praefect of the Praetorium, who fears God in truth. The whole interval of fifty days between Easter-day and Whitsunday (all which time was sometimes denominated Pentecost) was looked upon by the early Church as a time of rejoicing. During the continuance of it, the ordinary fasts, as on Wednesdays and Fridays, were generally suspended, though not alike by all the Churches of Christendom. Cassian Collat. xxi. c. xi. (Lips. 1733. p. 461.) speaks of the monasteries of Syria paying little regard to the rule which forbade kneeling at prayers, or fasting in Pentecost, while the Egyptians carefully observed it. Crepinus diligentius perennetari, cur apud. Egyptius tanta observantia caveretur, ne quis penitus totis Quinquagesima diebus vel gema in oratione curvatet, vel asque ad horam nonam jejunare praesmerit; eoque ad diligentius scrut-bamur, quod requaquam hoc tanta cautione servari in Syriae monasteriis videramus. Bingham's Christian Ant. book xx. ch. 6.

9 It was due to this custom of regarding the whole season of Pentecost as one of rejoicing, during which fasts were suspended, that it is mentioned as a symbol of the world to come. S. Cyril uses the same comparison towards the end of his 26th Paschal discourse, Vide note to the title of this Letter. I am inclined to think that the person here mentioned belonged to the classtermed palatini. These were employed about the palace of the emperor, and though not actually of the number of the army, or accustomed to bear arms, were nevertheless included in the term 'military,' whatever service might be assigned them. This may account for the word used with reference to him in the title of the Letter. Among the number of these palatini, was one who was specially engaged as the bearer of the ordinary communications to and from the Emperor and the Patriarch. There was an officer to whom the general superintendence of the palace and the command of the palatini was committed. Ablabius probably now filled that post. Vid. Suicer. Thes. in v.

10 7 Ablavius (hic, Ablabius) Praefect of the city, the minister and favourite of Constantine the Great, was murdered after the death of the latter. He

was consul in the preceding year. Zosimus ii. 40. (Smith's Diet. of Gr. and Rom. Biography.) D 2 For I am at the Comitatus, having been summoned by the emperor Constantine to see him. But the Meletians, who were present there, being envious, sought our ruin before the Emperor. But they were put to shame and driven away thence as calumniators, being confuted by many things. Those who were thus driven away were Callinicus, Ision, Eudaemon, and Gelous Hieracammon, who, on account of the shame of his name, calls himself Eulogius. Here endeth the fourth Festal Letter of holy Athanasius.

LETTER 5.

¹ Easter-day, Coss. Dalmatius and Zenophilus; Prefect. Paterius; VI. Indict. XVII. Kal. Maii; XX. Pharmuthi; Easter-day XI. Moon; VII. Gods; Era Dioclet. 19. on April 15. WE duly proceed, my brethren, from feasts to feasts, duly from prayers to prayers; we advance from fasts² to fasts, and join holy-days to holy-days. Again the time has arrived which brings to us a new beginning, even the announcement of the blessed Passover, in which our Lord was sacrificed. We eat, as it were, the food of life; and, thirsting continually, are at all times delighted, as it were, from a fountain, by His precious blood. For we, on the one hand, are always eagerly desirous; He, on the other, stands ready for those who thirst; and for those who thirst, there is the word of our Saviour, which, according to His lovingkindness, He vouchsafed in the day of the feast; If any man thirst, let him come to Me and drink. Nor was it then alone

² The Syriac must be for 'Paterius' not 'Paterius,' as Larsow writes it. The Nun and the Yod are often confounded in the Ms. Moreover, the letter Oisph would not be written in Syriac as part of the final syllable 'tus,' though it does frequently appear in the Ms. in the termination 'ius:' e. g. Patricius, Anicius, Septimius, Florentius. We know that the prelect in the year 319 bore the name of Paterius. Vid. Baron. Ann. Eccles. tom. 4. p. 8. §. xxi. ²Read 1100, with the Rebu. The allusion here is to the time of the year at which Easter is celebrated, viz. the Spring, and in particular to the passage in Deut. chap. xxvi. 1, which is more than once quoted in these letters: Vid. note o to Letter i. p. 12.; also note to Letter xix, sub init. In the expression 'new beginning' reference is also made to our Saviour, (. Apocal. iii. 14.) to whom we are brought near in the feast, according to what follows. Conf. Athan. contra Apollinarium, hb. i. §. 20. p. 748 9.

3when any one drew near to Him, that He cured his thirst; but, moreover, whenever it is sought, is there access freely for any man to the Saviour. For the grace of the feast is not limited to one time, nor does its splendid brilliancy suffer an eclipse; but it is always near, enlightening the conscience of those who earnestly desire it. For there is constant virtue in this, to those who are illuminated in their minds, and meditate on the divine Scriptures day and night, like the man to whom a blessing is given, as it is written in the sacred Psalms; Blessed is the man who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the seat of corrupters. But his delight is in the law of the Lord, and in His law doth he meditate day and night. For it is not the sun, or the moon, or the host of those other stars which illumines him; but he glitters with the high effulgence of God over all. For it is God, my beloved, even the God Who at first established the feast for us, Who vouchsafes the celebration of it year by year. He also brought about the slaying of His Son for salvation, and gave us this reason for the holy feast; to which every year is a witness, the feast being proclaimed annually at a season corresponding with the present.

4This also leads us on from the cross by means of this world to that which is before us, and God produces even now from it the joy of glorious salvation, bringing us to the same assembly, and in every place uniting all of us in spirit; appointing us common prayers, and a common grace proceeding from the feast. For this is the marvel of his lovingkindness, that He should gather together in the same place those who are at a distance; and make those who appear to be far off in the body, to be near together in unity of spirit. Wherefore then, my beloved, do we not acknowledge the grace as becometh the feast? Wherefore do we not make a return to our Benefactor? It is indeed impossible to make an adequate return to God; still, it is a 5f. Vide note c to Letter i. p. 3. g. In the Ms. 1500 is written by mistake for 1500. h. Syr. 1500. This root is unknown in Syriac, and I believe in all the Shemite languages. There is, I doubt not, an error in the text, and that the word should be some form of the root 1501 which, in Heb. Chald. Syr. Æthiop. and Arabic, conveys the idea of splendor. wicked thing for us who receive the gracious gift, not to acknowledge it. Nature itself manifests our inability; but our own will reproves our unthankfulness. Therefore the blessed Paul, when admiring the greatness of the gift of God, said, And who is sufficient for these things? For He made the world free by the blood of our Saviour; then,

again, He caused the grave to be trodden down by the death of our Saviour, and opened the gates of heaven, granting through our Saviour an uninterrupted way to those who ascend (thereto). On this account, one of the saints, while he acknowledged the grace, but was insufficient to repay it, said, What shall I render unto the Lord for all He has done unto me? For instead of death he had received life; freedom instead of bondage; and the kingdom of heaven instead of the grave. For of old time, death reigned from Adam to Moses; but now the divine voice hath said, To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise. And the saints, being sensible of this, said, Except the 43. Lord had helped me, my soul had almost dwelt in hell. Besides all this, being compelled to make a return, while he acknowledged the gift, he wrote finally, saying, I will take the cup of salvation, and call on the name of the Lord; precious in His sight is the death of His saints.

6 With regard to the cup, our Lord also said, Are ye able Mat. 20, 22. to drink of that cup which I am about to drink of? And when the disciples assented, the Lord said, Ye shall indeed drink of My cup; but that ye should sit on My right hand, and on My left, is not Mine to give; but to those for whom it is prepared. Therefore, my beloved, let us be sensible of the gift, though we are found incompetent to repay it. As we have ability, let us meet the occasion. For although nature is not able, with things unworthy of the Word, to return a recompense for such benefits, yet let us render Him thanks while we persevere in piety. And how can we be more regardful of piety, than when we acknowledge God, Who, in His love to mankind, has bestowed on us such things? (For thus we shall obediently keep the law, and observe the commandments thereof. Further, we shall not, as unthankful persons, be accounted transgressors of the law, or do those things which ought to be hated; for the Lord loveth the thankful;) when too we offer ourselves to the Lord, like the saints; when, finally, we subscribe ourselves, living not to ourselves, but to the Lord, Who

7 died for us, as also the blessed Paul did, when he said, I am crucified with Christ, yet I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me. Now our life, my brethren, truly consists in our denying all bodily things, and continuing stedfast in those only of our Saviour. Therefore the season now requires this of us, that we should not only utter such words, but also imitate the deeds of the saints. But we imitate them, when we acknowledge Him Who died; and no longer live unto ourselves, but Christ henceforth lives in us; when we

render a recompense to the Lord to the utmost of our power; when, I say, we make a return, not by giving any thing of our own, but those things which we have before received from Him; this being especially of His grace, that He should require, as from us, His own gifts. He bears witness of this when He says, My offerings are My gifts. That is, those things which ye give Me are yours, as having received them from Me; but they are the gifts of God. And let us offer to the Lord every virtue, and the true holiness He requires; and in piety let us keep the feast to Him with those things which He has hallowed for us.

8 Let us thus engage in the holy fasts, as having been Perhaps S. Athanasius had in mind here the words of David, (1 Chron. xxix. 14.) All things come of Thee, and of Thine own have we given Thee." prescribed by Him, and by means of which we attain the way to God. But let us not be like the heathen, or the ignorant Jews, or as the heretics and schismatics of the present time. For the heathen think the accomplishment of the feast is in the abundance of food; the Jews, erring in the type and shadow, think it still such; the schismatics keep it in separate places, and with vain imaginations. But let us, my brethren, be superior to the heathen, in keeping the feast with sincerity of soul, and purity of body; to the Jews, in no longer receiving the type and the shadow, but as having been gloriously illumined with the light of truth, and as looking upon the Sun of Righteousness; to the schismatics, in not rending the coat of Christ, but in one house, even in the Catholic Church, eating the Passover of the Lord, Who, in giving us His holy laws, instructed us to virtue, and for the exercise thereof, promised the feast. For the Passover is in truth a turning from vice to virtue, and a conversion from death unto life. This may be gathered even from the type of old time. For then they were solicitous to pass from Egypt to Jerusalem; but now we remove from death to life. They also at that time passed from Pharaoh to Moses, but now we go up from the devil to the Saviour. And as, at that time, an emblem of their deliverance was every year established as a witness;

9 46. A S. Cyril, towards the end of his homilies de Festis Paschalibus, frequently speaks of the quadragesimal fast, as of Apostolic or Evangelical origin: are the terms he employs in his seventh, fifteenth, and twentieth homilies, when declaring the periods at which Lent was to begin and end. The words — — are similar terms found in other of his paschal discourses. A The figure of the - utilis, (John xix. 23.) as applied to the indivisible Church,

owes its origin and frequent use to the Arian dispute. It is mischievously to tear the body of the Church, to sever and to rend its whole garment *Vide Germani I. Patriarchæ Constantin. de hæresibus et synod. apud A. Mai Spicil. t. vii. p. 44.* So also, §. 15. "Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, who was against receiving Aries back again into communion with the Church, relates that the Lord appeared to him clad in torn garments. On his asking, O Lord! who has rent Thee? the answer was, Aries has rent Me; receive him not, for he is condemned now and for ever. L.

10 So now, introducing the memorial of our salvation, we fast, meditating on death, that we may be able to live. And we watch, not as mourning, but as waiting for the Lord, when He shall have returned from the wedding; so that we may vie with each other in the triumph, hastening to announce the result of victory over death. Would therefore, O my beloved, (for the word requires this) that we here so governed ourselves at all times and entirely, and so lived, as never to forget the noble acts of God, nor to depart from the practice of virtue! As also the Apostolic voice exhorts; Remember Jesus Christ, that He rose from the dead. Not that there was a limited season of remembrance appointed; but that at all times He should be in our thoughts. Yet, on account of general supineness, we delay from day to day. Let us then begin in these days. To this end a time of remembrance was appointed, which should set before the saints the recompense of the reward of their calling, while to the careless it should be a reproving monitor.

11 Therefore in all the remaining days, let us persevere in virtuous conversation, repenting, as is our duty, of our neglect in various things, of whatever kind it may be; for there is no one free from defilement, though his course may have been but one hour on the earth, as that man of surpassing fortitude, Job, testifies. But, stretching forth to those things that are to come, let us pray that we eat not the Passover unworthily, lest we be exposed to dangers. For to those who keep the feast in purity, the Passover is heavenly food; but to those who observe it profanely and contemptuously, it is harm and loss. For it is written, Whosoever shall eat and drink unworthily, is guilty of the death of our Lord. Wherefore, let us not proceed, as merely regarding the performance of the act of the feast, but as being about to approach the divine Lamb, and to touch heavenly food. Let us cleanse our hands; let us purify the body. Let us keep our whole spirit from guile; not giving up ourselves to excess, and to lusts, but occupying ourselves entirely

with our Lord, and with divine doctrines; so that, being altogether pure, we may be able to partake of the Word.

¹² We begin the holy fast on the fourteenth of Pharmuthi (Apr. 9.), on the evening of the Sabbath; and having ceased on the nineteenth of the same month Pharmuthi (Apr. 14.), the first day of the holy week dawns upon us on the twentieth of the same month Pharmuthi (Apr. 15.), to which we join the seven weeks of Pentecost; with prayers, and distribution towards our neighbour, and love towards one another, and, which is above all, a conciliatory disposition. For in this manner also shall we be heirs of the kingdom of heaven, through our Lord Jesus Christ, through Whom to the Father be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen. All the brethren who are with me salute you. Salute one another with a holy kiss. Here endeth the fifth Festal Letter of holy Athanasius.

LETTER 6.

¹ Easter-day, XII. Pharmuthi; VII. Id. April: XVII. Moon; Easter-day Era Dioclet. 50; Coss. Optatus Patricius, Anicius on April 7. Paulinus; Prefect; Philagrius, the Cappadocian; VII. Indict. Now again, my beloved, has God also brought us to the season of the feast, and through His loving-kindness we have reached the period of assembly for it. For that God who brought Israel out of Egypt, even He also at this time calls us to the feast, saying by Moses, Observe the mouth of new fruits² and keep the Passover to the Lord thy God: and by the prophet, Keep thy feasts, O Judah; pay to the Lord thy vows. If then God Himself loves the feast, and calls us to it, it is not right, my brethren, that it should be delayed, or observed carelessly; but that with alacrity and zeal we should come to it; so that, having begun joyfully here, we may also receive an earnest of that heavenly feast. For if we diligently keep the feast which is celebrated here, doubtless we shall receive the perfect joy which is in heaven; as the Lord says; With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer. For I say unto you, that I will not

² There appears to be an error in the Syriac text: we must read in place of This Philagrius was a violent persecutor of the Church, taking part with the Arians. He was an apostate from the true faith. Conf. Hist. Arian. ad Monachos, p. 276. §. 9. and p. 277. §. 12. An elegant comparison between Athan. and Philagrius is however drawn out by Greg. Nazianzen, tom. i. p. 401. ed. Par. 1778. Conf. note to title of Letter x. ²Conf. note o, to Letter i. p. 12. eat it, until it is fulfilled with you in the kingdom of God. Now we eat it when,

having entertained in our minds the occasion of the feast, and acknowledging the Deliverer, we are properly attracted to His grace, as Paul saith; So that we may keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. For the Lord died in those days, that we should no longer do the deeds of death. He gave His life, that we might preserve our own from the snares of the devil. And, what is most wonderful, the Word became incarnate, that we should no longer live in the flesh, but in spirit should worship God, who is a Spirit?

3 He who is not so disposed, though employing the days, does not keep the feast, but, like an unthankful person, finds fault with the grace; and though he may esteem the days before others, he does not supplicate the Lord who in those days redeemed him. Let him by all means hear, though fancying that he keeps the feast, the Apostolic voice reproving him: Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years: I fear lest I have laboured among you in vain. For 11. the feast is not on account of the days; but we observe it, because in them the Lord suffered in our stead, for our Passover, Christ, is sacrificed. Even as Moses, when teaching Israel not to consider the feast as pertaining to the days, but to the Lord, said, It is the Lord's Passover. To the Jews forsooth when they thought they celebrated the Passover, because they persecuted the Lord, the feast was useless; since it no longer bore the name of the Lord, even according to their own testimony. It was not the Passover of the Lord, but that of the Jews. The Passover was named after Is. 1, 14.

4 15. &c. 19. 20. 65. 28. the Jews, my brethren, because they denied the Lord of the Passover. On this account, the Lord, turning away His face from such a doctrine of theirs, saith, Your new moons and your sabbaths My soul hateth. So now, those who keep the Passover in like manner, the Lord again reproves, as He did those lepers who were cleansed, when He loved the one as thankful, but was angry with the others as ungrateful, because they did not acknowledge their Deliverer, but preferred the cure of the leprosy to Him Who had healed them. But one of them when he saw that he was healed, turned back, and with a loud voice glorified God, and fell on his face at the feet of Jesus giving Him thanks; and he was a Samaritan. And Jesus answering said, Were there not ten cleansed? but those nine—whence are there none found who returned to give glory to God, but this stranger? And there was more given to this one than to the rest; for being cleansed from his lep-

rosy, he heard from the Lord, Arise, go thy way; thy faith hath saved thee. For he who giveth thanks, and he who glorifies, have kindred feelings, in that they bless their Helper for the benefits they have received. So the Apostle exhorts all men to this, saying, Glorify God with your body; and the prophet commands, saying, Give glory to God.

5 Although testimony was borne by Caiaphas against our Redeemer, and He was set at nought by the Jews, and was condemned by Pilate in those days, yet very exalted and most mighty was the voice of the Father which came to Him; I have glorified, and will glorify again. For those things which He suffered on our account have passed away; but those concerning Him as our Saviour remain for ever. The Syriac would seem to remove the note of interrogation from and to give the meaning 'how is it that those nine did not return to give glory to God, while this stranger did?' is thus to be taken as in Luke iv. *α* Conf. Athan. Expos. in Psalmos. (Ps. lxxvii. 35.) —. The ideas of 'praising' or 'glorifying,' and 'giving thanks,' are closely connected, and are sometimes expressed by the same word, e. g. Heb. Gr. ' . Conf.

6 Ps. l. 23. Whoso offereth praise glorifieth V.e. Suicer in *voe* ' says, significat laudare, celebrare, glorificare, gratias agere; idque—per synecdochen generis Hebraicam: nam qui aliquem celebrant, illi confitentur, vel potius profitentur res praelare ab eo gestas, vel beneficia ab eo accepta. Christ, while on earth, suffered as man, but was glorified as God, the Father bearing testimony of Him. His sufferings for us have ceased, but the glory of them shall endure eternally. Conf. Phil. ii. 7—11. 7 On this account, my brethren, when we remember these things, let us not be occupied with meats, but let us glorify the Lord; let us become fools for Him Who died for us, even as Paul said; For if we are foolish, it is to God; or if we are sober-minded, it is to you; since because one died for all men, therefore all were dead to Him; and He died for all, that we who live should not henceforth live to ourselves, but to Him Who died for us, and rose again. No longer then ought we to live to ourselves, but, as servants, to the Lord. And not in vain should we receive the grace, as the time is especially an acceptable one, and the day of salvation hath dawned, even the death of our Redeemer. For even for our sakes the Word came down, and being incorruptible, put on a corruptible body for the salvation of all of us. On this subject Paul speaks plainly, saying, This corruptible must put on incorruption. The Lord too was sacrificed, that by His blood He might abolish death. Full well did He once, in a certain place,

blame those who participated vainly in the shedding of His blood, while they did not delight themselves in the flesh of the Word, saying, What profit is there in My blood, that I go down to corruption? This does not mean that the descent of the Lord was of no advantage; for it gained the whole world;

8 but rather that after He had thus suffered, sinners would prefer to be without it, to profiting by it. For He regarded our salvation as a delight and a peculiar gain; while, on the contrary, He looked upon our destruction as loss. Also in the Gospel, He praises those who increased the grace twofold, both him who made ten talents of five, and him who made four talents of two, as those who had profited, and turned them to good account; but him who hid the talent He cast out as wanting, saying to him, Thou wicked serrant! oughtest thou not to have put my money into the bank? then on my return, I should have received mine own with interest. Take, therefore, from him the talent, and give it to him that hath ten talents. For to every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have more abundantly; but from him that hath not, shall be taken away even that which he hath. And cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth. For it is not His will that the grace we have received should be unprofitable; but He requires us, as a duty, to render Him of His fruits, as the blessed Paul saith; The fruit of the Spirit is lore, joy, and peace.

9 Therefore, being right-minded, and owing no man any thing, but rather giving every thing to every man, he was a teacher of the like propriety of purpose, saying, Render to all their dues. He was like those sent by the householder to receive the fruits of the vineyard from the husbandmen; for he also exhorted all men to render a return"; but Israel despised, and rendered not. Their inclinations were not good; nay, moreover, they killed those that were sent; so that there was no reverence shewn the Lord of the vineyard", but He was even slain by them. Notwithstanding, when He came and found no fruit in them, He cursed them through the fig-tree, saying, Let there be henceforth no fruit from thee; and the fig-tree died fruitless, so that even the disciples wondered when it withered away. Then was fulfilled that which was also spoken by the prophet; I will take away from them the voice of joy and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the scent of myrrh, and the light of a lamp, and the whole land shall be destroyed. For the whole service of the law has been removed from them, and henceforth and for ever they remain without a feast. And

they observe not the Passover; for how can they? They have no abiding place, but they wander every where. And they eat unlea-

¹⁰ " The comparison here made, as well as the order of the words in the Syriac text, requires the translation here given. Larsow renders the passage, 'he was studious to render a return to all men.' But though I can might take this signification, it would not suit here. Those who were sent to the husbandmen exhorted them to make a proper return of the fruits; St. Paul, who was sent as a preacher of the Gospel to all the world, exhorted all men to a perform- ance of their Christian duties. The same word is employed before in this letter; 'The apostle exhorts all men to this,' p. 52. I can is the expression in p. 4, where we read 'urging us to note.' Conf. 'De Passione et Cruce Domini,' p. 62. After quoting the verse of Scripture, 'Render to all their dues, &c.' there follows;... ¹¹ vened bread without fulfilling the law, since they are unable first to sacrifice the lamb, as they were commanded to do when eating unleavened bread. But in every place they transgress the law, and judgments are inflicted on them by God; so that they introduce days of grief and not of gladness. Now the cause of this to them was their slaying of the Lord, and their not reverencing the Only-Begotten. At this time also, the altogether wicked heretics and ignorant schismatics are in the same case: the one, in that they slay the Word; the other, in that they rend the coat. They also remain expelled from the feast, because they live without godliness and knowledge, and emulate the conduct shewn in the matter of Bar Abbas the robber, whom the Jews desired instead of the Saviour. Therefore the Lord cursed them under the figure of the fig-tree. Yet also even thus He spared them in His loving-kindness, not destroying them, root and all. For He did not curse the root, but [said], that no man should eat fruit of it thenceforth. When He did this, He brought the shadow to nought, causing it to wither; but preserving the root, so that we might [not] be grafted upon it: they too, if they remain not in unbelief, may attain to be grafted into their own olive tree. When therefore the Lord had cursed these because of their negligence, He removed from them the new moons, the true lamb, and that which is truly the Passover. But to us it came: there came too the solemn day, in which it is incumbent upon us to call to the feast with a trumpet, and separate ourselves to the Lord with thanks Matt. 26, 58.

¹² 17. 13. giving, considering it as our own festival. For we are bound to celebrate it, not to ourselves, but to the Lord; and to rejoice, not in ourselves,

but in the Lord, Who bore our afflictions, and said, My soul is sorrowful unto death. For the heathen, and all those men who are destitute of our faith, keep feasts according to their own wills, and have no peace, since they sin against God. But the saints, as those who live to the Lord, also keep the feast to Him, saying, I will rejoice in Thy salvation, and, my soul shall be joyful in the Lord. The commandment also is common to them, Rejoice, ye righteous, in the Lord—so that they also may be gathered together, to sing that common and festal Psalm, Come, let us rejoice, not in ourselves, but, in the Lord. For thus, the patriarch Abraham rejoiced not to see his own day, but that of the Lord; and when he thus longed for it, he saw it, and was glad. And when he was tried, by faith he sacrificed Isaac, and offered up his only-begotten son—he who had received the promises. And, in offering his son, he worshipped the Son of God. And, being restrained from sacrificing Isaac, he saw the Messiah in the ram, which was offered up instead as a sacrifice to God. The patriarch was tried then, through Isaac; not however that he was sacrificed, but He who was pointed out in Isaiah; He shall be led as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers he shall be speechless; but He took away the sin of the world.

¹³ especially the first Letter of this series. In both, allusion is made to Eccles. chap. iii. where it is stated that there is a time for every thing; the command given to Moses, Numb. x. 1. is quoted in both; and the figure of the Christian trumpet is also contained equally in both. The Passover is no longer to be a feast of the Jews: it is to be celebrated by Christians as a festival of the Lord. Vid. page 45 and note g. See note to Letter ii. p. 18. where add that Jeroboam is called by Athan.: Synopsis Sac. Script. p. 135. The latter part of the translation Whom (i. e. Isaac) he had received by a promise. The Syriac here is more exact to the Greek, He (i. e. Abraham) who had received the promises. The Syriac, here rendered by 'ram,' is though we might have expected. It is the same word that is used directly after, in the quotation from Isaiah, and rendered 'lamb.' Difference between the sacrifice of Christ, and that of Isaac. 51

¹⁴ And on this account [Abraham] was restrained from laying his hand on the lad, lest the Jews, taking occasion from the sacrifice of Isaac, should reject the prophetic declarations concerning our Saviour, even all of them; but more especially those uttered by the Psalmist: Sacrifice and offering Thou wouldest not; a body Thou hast prepared Me; and should refer all such things

as these to the son of Abraham. For the sacrifice was not properly the establishment of Isaac, but of Abraham who also offered, and by that he was tried. Thus God accepted the will of the offerer, but prevented that which was offered from being sacrificed. For the death of Isaac did not procure freedom to the world, but that of our Saviour alone, by whose stripes we all are healed. For He raised up the falling, healed the sick, satisfied those who were hungry, and filled the poor; and, what is more wonderful, raised us all from the dead: having abolished death, He hath brought us from affliction and sighing to the rest and gladness of this feast, a joy which reacheth even to heaven.

¹⁵ For not we alone are affected by this, but because of it, even the heavens rejoice with us, and the whole church together of the first-born, written in heaven, is made glad, as the prophet proclaims, saying, Rejoice, ye heavens, for the Lord hath comforted Israel. Shout, ye foundations of the earth. Cry out with joy, ye mountains, ye high places, and all the trees which are in them, because the Lord hath redeemed Jacob, and Israel hath been glorified. And again; “I use the word ‘establishment’ for want of one that would better express the meaning. The Syriae is which is the rendering of the Greek in Heb. ix. 10,. The sacrifice of Isaac was not only to serve as a type of the death of Christ; but the particular circumstances attending it, were designed for the instruction of Abraham, and his establishment in the Christian faith. Cont. The phylact on the passage in Heb. —. The original Greek was probably,

¹⁶ 1 2 Is. 19, 13. I Rejoice, and be glad, ye heavens; let the hills melt into gladness, for the Lord hath had mercy on His people, and comforted the oppressed of the people. The whole creation keeps a feast, my brethren, and every thing that hath breath praises the Lord, as the Psalmist [says], both on account of the destruction of the enemies, and our salvation. And very right is it; for if there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, what should there not be over the abolition of sin, and the resurrection of the dead? Or what kind of a feast and gladness must there be in heaven: how must all its hosts joy and exult, as they rejoice and watch in our assemblies, both those held from time to time, and especially those at Easter? For they look on sinners while they repent; on those who have turned away their faces, when they become converted; on those who formerly persisted in lusts and excess, but who now humble themselves by fastings and temperance; and, finally, on the enemy who lies weakened, no longer possessed of life, being bound hand and

foot, so that we may mock at him; Where is thy victory, O Death? where is thy sting, O Grave? Let us then sing unto the Lord a victorious song of praise.

¹⁷ Who then will conduct us to such a company of angels as this? Who, coming with a desire for the heavenly feast, and the angelic holiday, will say like the prophet, I will pass to the place of the wondrous tabernacle, unto the house of God; with the voice of joy and praise, with the shouting of those who keep festival? To such a state, the saints also encourage us, saying, Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob. But such a feast as this is not for an impure person, neither is the approach to it for sinners; but it is for the virtuous and diligent; and such as have the same end in view as the saints; for, Who shall ascend to the hill of the Lord? or who shall stand in His holy place, but he that hath clean hands, and a pure heart: who hath not devoted his soul to vanity, nor sworn deceitfully to his neighbour. For he, as the Psalmist adds, when he goes up, shall receive a blessing from the Lord. Now this clearly also refers to what the Lord gives to them at the right hand, saying, Come, ye blessed, inherit the kingdom prepared for you. But the deceitful, and he ^{31.} that is not pure of heart, and possesses nothing that is pure, (as the Proverb saith, To a deceitful man there is nothing good, shall assuredly, being a stranger, and of a different ^{13.}

¹⁸ race from the saints, be accounted unworthy to eat the Passover, for a foreigner shall not eat of it. Thus Judas, Exol. 12, when he thought he kept the Passover, because he plotted ^{43.} deceit against the Saviour, was estranged from the city which is above, and from the apostolic company. For the law commanded the Passover to be eaten with due observance; but he, while eating it, was sifted of the devil, who had entered his soul. ¹⁹ Wherefore let us not be affected as those who keep the feast on earth, but as celebrating it in heaven with the angels. Let us glorify the Lord, by temperance, by righteousness, and those other virtues. And let us rejoice, not in ourselves, but in the Lord, that we also may be inheritors with the saints. Let us keep the feast then, as Moses. Let us watch like David, who rose seven times, and in the middle of the night gave thanks for the righteous judgments of God. Let us be early, as he said, In the morning I will ^{3.} stand before Thos, and Thos will look upon me; in the morning Thos will hear my voice. Let us fast like Daniel: let us pray without ceasing, as Paul commanded; all of us recognising

the season of prayer, but especially those who are honourably married, so that when a testimony is borne to us by these things, and we keep the feast by them, we may be able to enter into the joy of our Lord in the kingdom of heaven. But as Israel, when going up to Jerusalem, was first purified in the wilderness, being trained to forget the customs of Egypt: as the [divine] word has graciously prescribed to us the holy fast of forty days; let us first be purified and purged, so that when we depart hence, having been careful of fasting, we may be able to ascend to the upper chamber with the Lord, to sup with Him; and may be partakers of the joy which is in heaven. In no other manner shall we be able to go up to Jerusalem, and to eat the Passover, but as we apply ourselves to the fast of forty days.

²⁰ We begin the fast of forty days on the first day of the month Phamenoth (Feb. 25.); and having prolonged it till the fifth of Pharmuthi (Mar. 31.), suspending it upon the previous first days of the week, and the Saturdays, then we begin again on the holy days of Easter, on the sixth of Pharmuthi (Apr. 1.), and cease on the eleventh of the same month (Apr. 6.), late in the evening of the Saturday, immediately after which there rises upon us the first day of the holy week, on the twelfth of Pharmuthi (Apr. 7.), which extends its beams, with unobscured grace, to all the seven weeks of the holy Pentecost. Resting on that day, we shall have fulfilled, through all the season, the feast of Easter, by Jesus Christ our Lord, through Whom, to the Father, be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen. All the brethren who are with me salute you. Salute one another with a holy kiss.

²¹ Here endeth the sixth Festal Letter of the holy and God-clad Athanasius.

LETTER 7.

¹ Easter-day IV. Pharmathi; III. Kal. April; XX. Moon; Er. Dioclet. 51; Coss. Julius Constantinus, the brother of Easter-day Augustus, Rufinus Albinus; Praefet, the same Philagrius; on March VIII. Indiet. THE blessed Paul wrote to the Corinthians that he always bore in his body the death of Jesus; not as though he alone should make that boast, but also they and we too; and in this let us be followers of him, my brethren. And let this be the customary boast of all of us at all times. In this also David participated, saying in the Psalms, For thy sake we 22. die all the day; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. Now this is becoming in us, especially in the days of the feast, when a commemoration of the death of our Saviour is held. For he who is

made like Him in His death, is also careful in the practice of virtue, having mortified his members which are upon the earth, and crucifying the flesh with the affections and lusts: but he lives in the Spirit, and is conformed to the Spirit. He is always mindful of God, and forgets Him not, and never does the deeds of death. On this account, in order that we may bear in our body the death of Jesus, he immediately adds, when describing such fellowship, we having the same spirit of faith, as it is written, I believed, and therefore have I spoken; we also believe, and therefore speak. He adds also, speaking of the grace that arises from knowledge; For He that raised

2 The twentieth Letter, as far as it is extant, bears a great resemblance with this. In both, the comparison between natural and spiritual food is enlarged upon, and several of the same quotations of Jesus, will also raise us up with Jesus, and will present us before Him with you. When, by such faith and knowledge, the saints have attained to this true life, they also receive, doubtless, the joy which is in heaven: for which the wicked not caring, are deservedly deprived of the blessedness arising from it. (LXX. vers.) Mat. 25, 11. 25. 13. 3 For, let the wicked be taken away, so that he shall not see the glory of the Lord. For although, when they shall hear the universal publication of the promise, Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, they shall rise and shall reach even to heaven, knocking and saying, Open to us; nevertheless the Lord will reprove them, as those who put the knowledge of Himself far from them, saying, I know you not. But the holy Spirit cries against them, The wicked shall be turned into hell, even all the nations that forget God. They indeed humble themselves, (we may say of the wicked) but not by a discipline opposed to sin: for they do not, like the saints, bear death in their body. They rather bury the soul in sins and follies, drawing near to the dead, and satisfying it with dead nourishment; like young eagles which, from high places, fly upon the carcasses of the dead, and which the law prohibited, commanding figuratively. Thou shalt not eat the eagle, nor any other bird that feedeth on a dead carcase; and it pronounced unclean whatsoever eateth the dead. But these kill the soul with lusts, and say nothing but, let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. And the kind of fruit those have who thus love pleasure, he immediately describes, adding, And these things are revealed in the ears of the Lord of Hosts, that this sin shall not be forgiven you until ye die. Yea, even while they live, they shall be ashamed, because they consider their belly their Lord: and, when dead, they shall be tormented, as those who

have made a beast of such a death. To this effect also Paul bears witness, saying, Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats; but God shall destroy both it and them. And the divine saying declared before respecting them: The death

⁴ The commonly received railing of the Greek in this place is which the Eeshua version agrees: have (Vas. 6am. 10am.) which Athan, appears to have adopted, Genl. Eph. ii. 6. Vas. 6am. 10am. Some Mos. however, 1 Cor. 12am. 10am. 10am. contrasted with the state of the good here and hereafter. 57 of sinners is evil, and those who hate the righteous commit sin. For bitter is the worm, and grievous the darkness, which wicked men inherit. But the saints, and the real followers of virtue, mortify their members which are upon the earth, fornication, uncleanness, wicked passions, evil concupiscence; and, as the result of this, are pure and without spot, confiding in the promise of our Saviour, who said, Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. These, having become dead to the world, and renounced the merchandise of the world, meet with an honourable death such as this: for, precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints. They are also able, preserving the Apostolic likeness, to say, I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ lieth in me. For that is the true life, which a man lives in Christ: for although they are dead to the world, yet they dwell, as it were, in heaven, meditating on those things which are above, as he who was a lever of such a habitation said, While we walk on earth, our dwelling is in heaven.

⁵ Those, therefore, who thus live, and participate in such virtue, are alone able to give glory to God, which may be set down as the peculiar duty of a feast and a holiday. For the feast is not an indulgence in food, nor splendor of clothing, nor days of leisure, but it is an understanding directed to God, and the offering of thanksgiving by a song Ps. 115, 17. 18. Ecclus. 16, 9. 28. Vs 118, 17. of praise to Him. Now this appertains to the saints alone, who live in Christ: for it is written, The dead shall not praise Thee, O Lord, neither all those who go down to hell; but we who live will bless the Lord, from henceforth even for ever. As also it was with Hezekiah, who was delivered from death, and therefore praised God, saying, Those who are in hell cannot praise Thee; the dead cannot bless Thee; but the living shall bless Thee, as I also do. For to praise and bless God belongs to those only who live in Christ, and by such means they go up to the feast; for the Passover is not of the Gentiles, nor of those who are yet Jews in the flesh; but of those who acknow-

ledge the truth in Christ, according to the declaration of him who was sent to proclaim such

6 a feast; Our Passover, Christ, is sacrificed. Therefore, although wicked men press forward to keep the feast, and, as at a feast, praise God, and intrude into the Church of the saints, yet God expostulates, saying to the sinner, Wherefore dost thou talk of My laws? And the gentle Spirit rebukes them, saying, Praise is not comely in the month of a sinner. Neither hath sin any place in common with the praise of God; but the sinner has a mouth speaking perverse things, as the Proverb saith, The month of the wicked answereth evil things. For how is it possible for us to praise God with an impure mouth? since things which are contrary to each other cannot exist in the same person. For what communion is there of righteousness with iniquity? or, what fellowship is there between light and darkness? So exclaims Paul, a minister of the Gospel.

7 Thus it is that sinners, and all those who are aliens from the Catholic Church, heretics, and schismatics, since they are excluded from the praise of the saints, cannot properly even continue observers of the feast. But the righteous man, although he appears dying to the world, uses plainness of speech, saying, I shall not die, but live, and narrate all Thy marvellous deeds. For even God is not ashamed to be called the God of those who truly mortify their members Conf. Letter vi. p. 46, note i. 8 which are upon the earth, but live in Christ; for He is the God of the living, not of the dead. And He, by His living Word, quickeneth all men, and gives Him to be food and life to the saints; as also the Lord exclaims, I am the bread of life. The Jews, being unsound in their perception, and having the senses of the mind unexercised to virtue, and not alive to seek after such bread, murmured against Him, because He said, I am the bread which came down from heaven, and giveth life unto men. For sin has her own peculiar bread, [bread] of her death; wherefore, calling to those who are lovers of pleasure and lack understanding, she saith, Touch with delight secret bread, and sweet waters which are stolen; for he who merely touches them knows not that the earth-born perish with her. For even when the sinner looks for gratification, he finds not the result of its meat pleasant, as the Wisdom of God saith again, Bread of deceit is pleasant to a man; but afterwards his mouth shall be filled with gravel. And, Honey droppeth from the lips of a whorish woman, which, for a time, is sweet to thy palate; but at the last thou shalt find it more bitter than gall, and sharper

than a two-edged sword. Thus, then, he eats and is delighted for a little time; afterwards he spurneth it when he hath removed his soul afar. For the fool knoweth not that those who are far from God shall perish.

⁹ Moreover, in accordance with this, the prophetic admonition says, by way of restraint, What hast thou to do in the way of Egypt, to drink the waters of Gilhon? And what hast thou to do in the way of Asshur, to drink the waters of the rivers? But the wisdom of God, which loves mankind, forbids these things, crying, But depart quickly, tarry not in the place, neither fix thine eye upon it; for thus thou shalt pass over strange waters, and depart quickly from the strange river. She also calls them to herself, For wisdom hath builded her house, and supported it on seven pillars; Conf. Col. in 5. Larson renders this passage erroneously, as I conceive. αHe quickens through His living word every one, gives to him fear, and to the saints, life. The Sykes is literally translated, as given away, and the context seems to require that Christ should be here set forth as food and life, or, the food of life—the bread of life.

¹⁰ This quotation is from Prov. ix. 18. The words are found in the LXX. version, though not in the original H. prov. she hath killed her sacrifices, and mingled her wine in the goblets, and prepared her table: she hath sent forth her servants, inviting to the goblet with a loud proclamation, and saying, Whoso is foolish, let him turn in to me; and to them that lack understanding she saith, Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine I have mingled for you. And what expectation is there in return for these things? Forsake fully that ye may live, and seek understanding that ye may abide. For the bread of Wisdom is also living fruit, as the Lord said: I am the living bread which came down from heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever. For when Israel ate of the manna, which was truly pleasant and wonderful, he died: and it was not the case that he who ate of that lived for ever, but all that multitude died in the wilderness. The Lord thus teaches, saying, I am the bread of life: your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, and are dead. This is the bread which came down from heaven, that a man should eat thereof, and not die. Now wicked men hunger for bread like this, for sickly souls will hunger; but the righteous alone, being prepared, shall be satisfied, saying, I shall behold Thy face in righteousness; I shall be satisfied when Thy glory is seen by me.

¹¹ 15. For he who partakes of divine bread always hungers with desire; and he who thus hungers has a never-failing gift, as Wisdom promises, saying, The Lord will not stay the righteous soul with famine. It is also promised in the Psalms, I will abundantly bless her provision; I will satisfy her poor with bread. We may also hear our Saviour saying, Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled. Well then do the saints and those who love the life which is in Christ raise themselves to a longing after such food as this. And one earnestly implores, while the want of the true believer is supplied by Christ. 61 saying, Is the hart panteth after the fountains of waters, so panteth my soul after Thee, O God? My soul thirsteth for the living God, when shall I come and see the face of God? And another: My God, my God, I seek Thee early; my soul 2. thirsteth for Thee; often does my flesh, in a dry and pathless land, and without water. So did I appear before Thee in holiness to see Thy power and Thy glory.

¹² Since these things are so, my brethren, let us mortify our Cel. 3. 5. members which are on the earth, and be nourished with living bread—by faith and love to God—knowing that without faith it is impossible to be partakers of such bread as this. For our Saviour, when He called all men to Him, and said, If any man thirst, let him [come] to Me and drink, immediately added the faith without which a man cannot receive such food: He that believeth on Me, as the Scripture saith, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. And further, He always nourished His believing disciples with His words, and gave them life by the nearness of His divinity: but to the Canaanitish woman, because she was not yet a believer, He deigned not even a reply, although she stood greatly in need of food from Him. He did this not from scorn, far from it: (for the Lord is loving to men and good, and on that account He went into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon; but because of her unbelief, and because she was a profane woman, destitute of the word. And He did it right only, my brethren: for it was not of advantage that she should prefer her supplication before faith, but that she should corroborate her prayer by her faith: For he 6. that cometh to God, must first believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that seek Him;

¹³ and that without faith it is impossible for a man to please Him. This Paul teaches, Now that he was up to that time an unbeliever, one of the profane, He shows, saying, It is not meet to take the children's Med. 15. 26. bread, and to cast it to dogs. She then, being convinced by the power of the

word, and having changed her profane state, also acquired faith: for the Lord no longer treated her as a dog, but conversed with her as with a human being, saying, O woman, great is thy faith? As therefore she believed, He forthwith granted to her the fruit of faith, and said, Be it N. 15. 25. ¹⁴ The word 12b 201 probably to be supposed in the M— to thee as thou desirest. And her daughter was healed in the self-same hour. For the righteous man, when fed by faith and knowledge, and performance of divine words, has his soul always in health. Wherefore it is commanded to receive to ourselves him who is weak in the faith, and to nourish him, even if he is not yet able to eat bread, but herbs, (for he that is weak eateth herbs.) For even the Corinthians were not able to partake of such bread, being yet babes, and like babes they drank milk. For every one that partaketh of milk is unskilful in the word of righteousness, according to the words of that godlike man. The Apostle also enjoins his beloved son Timothy, in his first Epistle, to be nourished with the word of faith, and the good doctrine whereto he had attained. And in the second, Preserve thou the form of sound words which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love which are in Christ Jesus. And not only here, my brethren, is this bread the food of the righteous; neither are the saints on the earth alone nourished by such bread and such blood; but we also eat them in heaven, for the Lord is the food even of the exalted spirits, and the angels, and He is the joy of all the heavenly host. And to all He is every thing, and He spareth all according to His lovingkindness. Already hath the Lord given us angels' food, and He promises to those who continue with Him in His trials, saying, And I promise to you a kingdom, as My Father hath promised to Me; that ye shall eat and drink at My table in My kingdom, and sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

¹⁵ What kind of a banquet is it, my brethren, and how great? For... leg.... Conf. Letter i. p. 8. For the angels are no otherwise sustained than by beholding at all times the face of the Father, and of the Saviour Who is in heaven. Conf. Ps. lxxviii. 25. 26. And gave them food from heaven. So man did eat angels' food. S. Athan. on the passage (Expos. in Psalmos, p. 908.) says, that God not only fed the bodies of the Israelites with manna, but also their souls with a certain reasonable and heavenly virtue., Referring to 1 Cor. x. 3. he says, ¹⁶ is the harmony and gladness of those who eat at this heavenly table! For they delight themselves not with that food which is cast out, but with that which produces life everlasting. Who then shall be deemed worthy

of that assembly? Who is so blessed as to be called, and accounted worthy of that divine feast? For, blessed is he who shall eat bread in Thy kingdom. For he who has been adjudged worthy of this heavenly calling, and by this calling has been sanctified, if he grow negligent in it, although washed, becomes defiled: counting the blood of the covenant by which he was sanctified a profane thing, and despising the Spirit of grace, he hears the words, Friend, how camest thou in hither, not having wedding garments? For the banquet of the saints is spotless and pure; for many are called, but few chosen. Judas, to wit, though he came to the supper, inasmuch as he thought lightly of it, went out from the presence of the Lord, and having abandoned his Life, hanged himself. But the disciples who continued with the Redeemer, partook also of the happiness of the feast. And that young man who went into a far country, and there wasted his substance, living in dissipation, if he contract a desire for this divine feast, and, coming to himself, shall say, How many hired servants of my father have bread to spare, while I perish here with hunger!

17 and shall then arise and come to his father, and confess to him, saying, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and am not worthy to be called thy son; make me as one of thy hired servants;—when he shall thus confess, then he shall be counted worthy of more than he prayed for. For the father does not receive him as a hired servant, neither does he look upon him as a stranger; but he kisses him as a son; he receives him as a dead man alive again; and deems him worthy of the divine feast, and gives him his former and precious garment.^a So that, on this account, there is singing and gladness in the paternal home. For this is the work of the lovingkindness and grace of the father, that not only should he make him alive from the dead, but that he should also render his grace illustrious through the Spirit. Therefore, instead of cor-

18 15. Heb.10.29. Mat.22,12. Mat.22,14. 17. ruption, he clothes him with an incorruptible garment; instead of hunger, he kills the fatted calf; that he should not henceforth travel afar off, [the father] busies himself on his return, providing shoes for his feet; and, what is most wonderful, putting a divine signet-ring upon his hand; whilst by all these things He begets him afresh^h in the image of the glory of Christ. These are the gracious gifts of the Father, by which the Lord honours and nourishes those who abide with Him, and also those who return to Him and repent. For He promises, saying, I am the bread of life; he that cometh unto Me shall not hunger, and he that

believeth on Me shall never thirst. We, too, shall be counted worthy of these things, if, at all times, we cleave to our Saviour, and if we are pure, not only in these six days of Easter, but consider our whole course as a feast, and continue near and not far off, saying to Him, Thou hast the words of eternal life, and whither shall we go? Let those of us who are far off return, confessing our iniquities and possessing nothing before men, but by the spirit mortifying the deeds of the body. For thus, having beforehand nourished the soul here, we shall partake, with angels, at that heavenly and spiritual table; not knocking, and being repulsed, like those five foolish virgins, but

¹⁹ In the Syr. Ms. there is an error through the transposition of letters, being written instead of. Syr. So we find quoted in Castell s. v. Ablutio que denuo fit. αThe word appears to be applied in this place to the Passion week, (—). So wread (Athan. op. tom. i. p. 256.)... The Greeks usually designated the days of the week, not after the preceding, but the following Sunday. Thus after the Sunday of the Prodigal Son, (Latinis Dominica Septua gesimæ), those days that follow immediately, viz. the second third, fourth ferier, &c. were by the Greeks termed &c. until the following Sunday, which was termed (Latinis, Dominica Sexagesimæ), while the whole week was called. Vid. Suicer. Thes. in voc. and the notes of Valesius on Euseb. Orat. in laud. Constant. ch. ix. With us, Easter-week includes the six days following Easter-Sunday; with the Greeks, the was applied to the preceding six days, as here.

²⁰ Athan. frequently speaks in these Epistles of the Easter-festival as designed to bring us nearer to Christ. Our whole life is to be a continual spiritual feast of praise and thanksgiving to God, whereby we are to be prepared for Christ's presence in heaven. Vid. supra, p. 57. and Letter v. sub init. entering with the Lord, like those who were wise and loved the bridegroom; and, shewing the death of Jesus in our 10 bodies, we shall receive life and the kingdom from Him. We begin the fast of forty days on the twenty-third of Mecheir (Feb. 17.), and the holy fast of the blessed feast on the twenty-eighth of Phamenoth (Mar. 21.); and having joined to these, six days after them, in fastings and watchings, as each one is able, let us cease on the third of the month Pharmuthi (Mar. 19.), on the evening of the seventh day. Also that day which is holy and blessed in every thing, which possesses the name of Christ, the Lord's day 1, having risen upon us, (on the fourth of Pharmuthi, Mar. 30.), let us afterwards keep the holy feast of Pentecost. Let us at all times

worship the Father through Christ, by Whom to Him and with Him be glory and dominion by the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. Amen.

²¹ All the brethren who are with me salute you: salute one another with a holy kiss. Here endeth the seventh Festal Letter of holy Athanasius the Patriarch. There is no eighth or ninth, for he did not send them, for the reason I have before mentioned 2. 2 See the Index. Athan, left Egypt in this year to attend the synod at Tyre; thence repaired to the Emperor Constantine to plead his cause before him. Failing of success in this, he retired, as an exile, to Treviri, in Gaul. I have changed the order of the last two sentences from that in which they are written in the Syr. Ms. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

LETTER 10.

¹ Easter-day on Mar. 26. Coss. Ursus and Polemins; Præf. the same Theodorus, of Heliopolis; and after him, of the Catholics, for the second year, Philagrius; Indict. XI.; Easter-day, VII. Kal. Ap. XXX. Phamenoth; Moon 18½; Æra Dioclet. 54. ² ALTHOUGH I have been all this distance from you, my brethren, I have not forgotten the custom which obtains among you, which has been delivered to us by the fathers, so as to be silent without notifying to you the time of the annual holy feast, and the day for its celebration. For although I have been kept in restraint by those afflictions of which you have doubtless heard, and severe trials have been laid upon me, and a great distance has separated us; while the enemies of the truth have also been on the watch against us, laying snares to discover a letter from us, so that, by their accusations, they might add to the pain of our wounds; yet the Lord, strengthening and comforting us in our afflictions, we have not feared, even when kept in the midst of such machinations and conspiracies, to indicate and make known to you our saving Easter-feast, even from the ends of the earth. Also when I wrote to the presbyters of Alexandria, I urged that these letters might be sent to you through their instrumentality, knowing the fear imposed on them by the adversaries. Still, I exhorted them to be mindful of the apostolic boldness of speech⁴ and to say, Nothing separates us from the love of Christ; neither affliction, nor distress, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword. Thus, keeping the feast myself, I was desirous that you also, my beloved, should keep it; and being conscious that an announcement like this is incumbent on me, I have not kept back from discharging the duty, since I was jealous of incurring the imputation implied in the Apostolic counsel; Render to every man his due.

3 While I then committed all my affairs to God, I considered it as a duty to celebrate the feast with you, not taking into account the distance between us. For although place divides us, yet the Lord, the Giver of the feast, and actions. The death of Constantine, in the year 337, changed the aspect of the affairs of the Church. Athanasius was again taken into favour, and permitted to return to Alexandria, Constantine the younger, who succeeded to the government of Gaul, furnishing a letter to the people of Alexandria, and declaring that it had been the intention of his father, had he lived, to act in the same manner. According to the Index, S. Athan. returned from Gaul on the twenty-seventh of the month Arbyr, answering to the twenty-fifth of November. The Egyptian year (be it remembered) commenced on the twenty-ninth of August. Assembled at the Council of Nice.

4 We frequently meet with the expression towards the end of the Paschal discourses of S. Cyril. Conf. Letter iii. p. 22, and note 5. V 2 Matt. 18, 20. Who is Himself our feast, Who is also the Bestower of the Spirit, brings us together in mind, in harmony, and in the bond of peace. For when we mind and think the same things, and offer up the same prayers on behalf of each other, no place can divide us; but the Lord gathers and unites us together. For if He has promised, that when two or three are gathered together in His name, He is in the midst of them, it is plain that being in the midst of those who in every place are gathered together, He unites them, and receives the prayers of all of them, as if they were near, and listens to all of them, as they cry out the same Amen.

5 I have thus borne affliction like this, and all those trials which I mentioned, my brethren, when I wrote to you. And that we may give you pain in nothing, I would now P P P P P P P P 'and who is our feast' P P P P P P (or, P P P P P P P P P P P P P P 'Christ our Passover.' Larson has missed the point of these words. also (only) briefly remind you of these things, because it is not becoming in a man to forget, when more at ease, the pains he experienced in tribulation; lest, like an unthankful and forgetful person, he should be excluded from the divine assembly. For at no time should a man inwardly praise God, more than when he has passed through afflictions; nor, again, should he at any time give thanks more than when he finds rest from toil and temptations. As Hezekiah, when the Assyrians perished, praised the Lord, and gave thanks, saying, The Lord is my salvation, and I will not cease to bless Thee with harp all the days of my life, before the house of the Lord.

And those three blessed men who were tried in Babylon, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, when they were in safety and the fire became to them as dew, praised and gave thanks, singing a song unto God. I, too, like them, have written, my brethren, having these things in mind; for even in our time, God hath made possible those things which are impossible to men. And those things which could not be accomplished by man, God hath shewn to be easy of accomplishment, by bringing us to you. For God does not give us as a prey to those who seek

6* Perhaps for we should read. to swallow up not so much us, as the Church, and by wickedness to overwhelm faith and godliness. They indeed imagined such things; but God, who is good, multiplied His loving-kindness towards us, not only when He vouchsafed to us by His Word the common salvation of us all; but also now, when enemies have persecuted us, and have sought to seize upon us. As the blessed Paul saith in a certain place, when describing the incomprehensible riches 5. of Christ: But God, being rich in mercy, for the great love wherewith He loved us, even when we were dead in follies and sins, quickened us through Christ. For the might of man and of all creatures, is weak and poor; but the Might which is above man, and uncreated, is rich and incomprehensible, and hath no beginning, but is eternal. It does not, then, possess one method only of healing; but, being rich, it works in divers manners for our salvation by means of His Word, Who is not restricted or hindered in His dealings towards us; but since He is rich and manifold, He varies Himself according to the individual capacity of each soul. For He is the Word, and the Power, and the Wisdom of

7 Wis. 7, 27. God, as Solomon testifies concerning Wisdom, that being one, it can do all things, and remaining in itself, it maketh all things new; and passing upon holy souls, fashioneth the friends of God and the prophets. To those then who have not yet attained to the perfect way—as a lamb—there is I milk, and this was administered by Paul: I have fed you with milk, not with meat. To those who have advanced from the full stature of childhood, but still are weak as regards perfection, the food is according to their capacity, being again administered by Paul; Let him that is weak eat herbs. But as soon as ever a man begins to walk in the The conjunction O, seems wanting in the Syriac. The Syriac seems to require this rendering. Or it may be, 'quickened us in Christ.' The Peschito (Sos lumen) agrees better with the original;.

8 All the various attributes and perfections of the Deity, as exhibited in the person of Christ, work together for the salvation of man. By His gospel, He instructs them; by His power, He upholds and strengthens them; and by His wisdom, He guides them. Conf. Letter i. p. 3. The sense in the last few lines, and in those that follow, is clear, though the construction appears somewhat obscure. Milk, herbs, and meat, are severally mentioned in connection with the different advances made in the Christian course. The translation of Prof. Larson is unsatisfactory, and, as I think, erroneous. perfect way, he is no longer fed with the things before mentioned; but he has the Word for bread, and flesh for food, for it is written, Strong meat is for those who are of full age, for those who, by reason of their capacity, have their senses exercised. Further also, when the word is sown, it does not yield a uniform produce of fruit in this human life, but one various and rich; for it bringeth forth, some an hundred, and some sixty, and some thirty, as the Saviour teaches—that Sower of grace, and Bestower of the Spirit. And this is no doubtful matter, nor one that receives no confirmation; but it is in our power to behold the field which is sown by Him; for in the Church the word is manifold and the produce rich. Nor are virgins alone signified by such a field; nor monks alone, but also honourable matrimony and the abstinence of each one. For in sowing, He did not compel the will beyond the power. Nor is the grace confined to the perfect alone; but it is sent down also among those who occupy the middle and the third ranks, so that He might rescue all men generally to salvation.

9 Therefore also He hath prepared many mansions with the Father, so that although the dwelling-place is various in proportion to the advance in moral attainment, yet all of us are within the wall, and all of us enter within the same fence, the devil being cast out, and all his host expelled thence. For apart from light there is darkness, and apart from blessing there is a curse. The devil also is apart from the saints, and sin far from virtue. Therefore also the Gospel rebukes Satan, saying, Get thee behind Me, Satan. But us it calls to itself, saying, Enter ye in at the strait gate. And again, Come, blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom which is prepared for you. So also the Spirit 34. 1 In the Syriac text, as published by Mr. Cureton, as well as in the German translation by Prof. Larson, there is a hiatus here, the next two or three pages, as far as the words "He wept," being wanting. Two more leaves were afterwards discovered among the fragments in the British Museum by the

learned Editor, and to his courtesy I am indebted for the knowledge of their existence. One of them belongs to this part; the

¹⁰ other to the eleventh Letter. The Syriac text of both of them will be found in the Appendix. 2 Vide note i to page 68. 3 In the Ms. 120:1000 (virtue) is written by mistake for 120:1000 (produce). 4 L. 1000 Vid. Cast. Lex. Syr. p. 660. not. Mich. Ps. 100, 4. 20. ¹¹ before cried in the Psalms, saying, Enter into His gates with psalms. For by means of virtue a man enters in unto God, as Moses did into the thick cloud where God was. But through vice a man goes out from the presence of the Lord; as Cain, when he had slain his brother, went out, as far as his will was concerned, from the face of God; while the Psalmist enters, saying, And I will go in to the altar of God, even to the God that delighteth my youth. But of the Devil the Scripture beareth witness, that the Devil went out from before God, and smote Job with sore boils. For this is the characteristic of those who go out from before God—to smite and to enter among the men of God. And this is the characteristic of those who fall away from the faith—to injure and persecute the faithful. The saints, on the other hand, take such to themselves, and look upon them as friends; as also the blessed David, using plainness of speech, says, Mine eyes are on the faithful of the earth, that they may dwell with me. But those that are weak in the faith, Paul urges that we should the rather take to ourselves. For virtue is philanthropic, just as in men of an opposite character, sin is misanthropic. In this manner Saul, in that he was a sinner, persecuted David; whereas David, though he altogether possessed the opportunity, did not kill Saul. Esau too persecuted Jacob, while Jacob sought to overcome his wickedness by meekness. And those eleven sold Joseph; but Joseph, in his loving-kindness, had pity on them.

¹² But what need we many words? Our Lord and Saviour, when He was persecuted by the Pharisees, wept for their destruction. He was treated injuriously, but He threatened not; not when He was afflicted, not even when He was killed. But He suffered anguish for the sake of those who presumptuously did such things. They, however, contemptuously cast from them life, and light, and grace. All these were theirs through that Saviour Who suffered in our stead. It was in truth for such their darkness and blindness, He wept. For if they had understood the things which are written in the Psalms, they would not have been so vainly daring against the Saviour, the Spirit having said, Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? And if

they had thought upon the prophecy of Moses, they would not have hanged Him Who was their life. And if they had examined with their understanding the things which were written, they would not studiously have fulfilled the prophecies which were against themselves, so as for their city to be now desolate, grace taken from them, and they also themselves without the law, being no longer called children, but strangers. For thus in the Psalms was it before declared, saying, The strange children have acted falsely by Me. Also by Isaiah the prophet; I have begotten and brought up children, and they have rejected Me. And, further, they are no longer called the people of God, and a holy nation, but rulers of Sodom, and people of Gomorrah;

¹³ having exceeded in this even the iniquity of the Sodomites, as the prophet also saith, Sodom is justified before thee. For the Sodomites acted injuriously against angels, but these against the Lord, and God, and King of all, and dared to slay the Lord of angels; not knowing that Christ, Who was slain by them, is living, while those Jews who had conspired against the Lord died, having rejoiced a very little in these temporal things, and falling away from those which are eternal. They were ignorant of this—that the immortal promise has not respect to temporal enjoyment, but to the hope of those things which are everlasting. For through many tribulations, and labours, and sorrows, the righteous man enters into the kingdom of heaven; but when he arrives where sorrow, and distress, and sighing, shall flee away, he shall thenceforward enjoy rest; as Job, who, when tried here, was afterwards the familiar friend of the Lord. But the lover of pleasures,

¹⁴ Syr. The sense 'fulfilled' not 'spoken' is required here, Larson gives the latter. The two words and were anciently confounded together, and that not merely by the Syriac copyists. Vid. Castell. *Lex. Syriac.* p. 500. not. Mich. rejoicing for a little while, afterwards passes a sorrowful life; like Esau, who had temporal food, but afterwards was there condemned. ¹⁵ One may say that a distinction like this may be compared to the departure of the children of Israel and the Egyptians from Egypt. For the Egyptians, rejoicing a little while in their injustice against Israel, when they went forth, were all drowned in the deep; but the people of God, being for a time smitten and injured, by the conduct of the taskmasters, when they came out of Egypt, passed through the sea unharmed, and walked in the wilderness as an inhabited place. For although, according to the mode of living customary among men, the place was desert; yet, through the gracious gift of the law, and also through their

intercourse with angels, it was no longer desolate, but inhabited, yea, and more than inhabited. As also Elishah, when he thought he was alone in the wilderness, was with companies of angels; so, in this case, though the people were first afflicted, and in the wilderness, yet those who remained faithful afterwards entered the land of promise. In the same manner those also who suffer temporal afflictions here, after having remained stedfast, go forth to a place of comfort; while those who here persecute are trodden under foot, and have no good end. For even the rich man, according to the accurate description of the Gospel, having lived in pleasure here for a little while, suffered hunger there; and having drunk largely here, he was there parched with thirst. But Lazarus, after being afflicted in worldly things, found rest in heaven; and having hungered for bread ground from corn, he was there satisfied with that which is better than manna, even the

16 19. 1 The reference is apparently to the history of Elisha as recorded in 2 Kings vi. 13—17, though the mention of the wilderness agrees better with the history of Elijah, as found in 1 Kings xix. 4—8. I cannot, however, agree with Prof. Larsow, who states that for Elisha we ought to read Elijah. Lord who came down and said, I am the bread which came down from heaven, and giveth life to mankind. Johu 6, 51. 17 Oh! my dearly beloved, if we shall gain comfort from afflictions; if rest from labours; if health after sickness; if after death there is immortality; it does not become us to be much distressed by the temporal ills that afflict mankind. It is not right to be greatly moved because of the trials which befall us. It is not right to fear if the host that contended with Christ, should conspire against godliness; but we should the more please God through these things, and should consider such matters as the probation and exercise of a virtuous life. For how shall patience be looked for, if there have not previously been labours and sorrows? Or how can experience be afforded of fortitude, when there has not first been an assault from enemies? Or how can a spectacle of fortitude be exhibited, when contumely and injustice have not preceded? Or how can long-suffering be expected, when opposition on the part of Antichrists has not first existed? And, finally, how can a man hope to witness virtue, when the iniquity of the very wicked has not previously displayed itself? Thus even our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ comes before us [as an example], when He would shew men how to suffer; Who, when He was smitten, bore it patiently; being reviled, He reviled not again; when He suffered, He threatened not; but He gave His

back to the smitters, and His checks to buffetings, and turned not His face from spitting; and, at last, was willingly led to death, that we might behold in Him the image of all that is virtuous and immortal; and all of us, conducting ourselves after these examples, might truly tread on serpents and scorpions, and on all the power of the enemy.

¹⁸ Thus, too, Paul, while he conducted himself after the example of the Lord, also exhorted us, saying, Be ye followers of me, as I also am of Christ. In this way, he prevailed against all the host of the devil, writing, I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Jesus Christ. For the enemy presents himself to us in afflictions, and trials, and labours, doing every thing, and striving eagerly to cast us down. But the man who is in Christ, setting himself against those that oppose, and revisiting wrath by long-suffering, contumely by meekness, and vice by virtue, obtains the victory, and exclaims, I can do all things through Christ, Who strengtheneth me; and, In all these things we are conquerors through Christ Who loved us. This is the grace of the Lord, and these are the Lord's corrective measures towards the children of men. For He suffered to procure freedom from suffering for those who suffer in Him; and He descended that He might raise us up; He took on Him the trial of being born, that we might love Him Who is unbegotten; He went down to corruption, that corruption might put on immortality; He became weak for us, that we might rise with power; He descended to death, that He might bestow on us immortality, and give life to the dead. Lastly, He became man, that we who die as men might live again, and that death should no more reign over us; for the Apostolic word proclaims, Death shall not have the dominion over us.

¹⁹ P A passage very similar to the above, in which Christ is proposed as an example to us in His sufferings, occurs in the treatise '*de Passione et Cruce Domini*,' p. 73. §. 19. Q The order of the words here is that found in some Mss. of the Greek Text. Now because they did not thus consider these matters, the Ario-maniacs, being opposers of Christ, and heretics, smite Him who is their Helper, with their tongue, and blaspheme Him who set [them] free; and, referring all things to their wrong source, have become heterodox concerning the Redeemer. *Because of His coming down, which was on behalf of man, they have denied His essential It may be remarked here, 1st, The

treatise from which this is quoted is placed amongst the. Indeed, the learned editor of Athanasius hesitated whether to include it among the spurious works. In his prelied remarks he says, 'animus fuerat eam inter spurii ab egare: quia tamen in antiquaribus colubibus, et in Athanasius collectionibus reperitur, co nomin in er subla eam re ensemus.' We have had more than one opportunity, beside the present, of abduing parallel passages from the same treatise in illustration. These observations will lead us to the conclusion, (the authenticity of the Festal Letters being placed beyond a doubt), either that one of the writers transferred, not only the ideas, but the very words of the other into his writings; or else, that the treatise 'de Passione, &c.' emanated from the same mind which in beted the Letters. Perhaps an accurate consideration of the question will decide us in favour of the latter opinion. 20th, We may remark, that the Syriac [scribble] 'unbegotten' lives, if need were, the Benedictine reading in opposition

20 to that of some Mes. (For the distinction, between &c. see the remarks of the Benedictine editors Athan. op. tom. i. p. 163.) 34th, The connexion of the sentence in the Syriac, as well as the text of the Greek, would suggest a suspicion that a line has been omitted after the words, 'He went down to corruption, that corruption,' and that we should read, 'He went down to corruption, that corruption might put on incorruption; He clothed Himself with mortality, that mortality might put on immortality.' Compare with the whole passage, S. Cyril. Hum. P. ch. xx. p. 259. The same ideas are also expressed in S. Athan. de Incarn. t. i. p. 695, without, however, the same correspondence of words and phrases. The Syriac here is [scribble] 'Arius and Manetes.' The same words are found twice in the next Letter. There seems little doubt that the translator mistook the Greek word a term applied to the Arians in other places by Athan. used also by Epiphanius.

21 Godhead; and seeing that He came from the Virgin, they have questioned His being truly the Son of God; and, considering Him as become incarnate in time, they have denied His eternity; and, looking upon Him as having suffered for us, they have renounced their faith in Him as the incorruptible Son from the incorruptible Father. And, finally, because He was burdened for our sakes, they deny the things which concern His essential eternity; partaking of the deed of the unthankful, who rejected the Saviour, and offering Him insult instead of acknowledging His grace. To them may these words properly be addressed: Oh! unthankful opponent of Christ, alto-

gether wicked, and the slayer of his Lord, mentally blind, and a Jew in his conscience, hadst thou understood the Scriptures, and listened to the saints, who said, Cause Thy face to shine, and we shall be saved; or again, Send out Thy light and Thy truth;—then wouldst thou have known that the Lord did not descend on His own account, but for us; and, for this reason, thou wouldst the more have admired His loving-kindness. And hadst thou considered what the Father is, and what the Son, thou wouldst not have blasphemed the Son, as [being come] of a mutable nature. And hadst thou understood His work of loving-kindness towards us, thou wouldst not have alienated the Son from the Father, nor have looked upon Him as a stranger, Who reconciled us to His Father. I know these are hard sayings, not truly to those who oppose Christ; but also to the Schismatics; for they are united together, as men of kindred feelings. For they have learned to rend the seamless coat of God: they think it not strange to divide the indivisible Son from the Father.

22 I know, indeed, that when these things are spoken, they will gnash their teeth upon us, with the devil who stirs them up, since they are troubled by the declaration of the true glory concerning the Redeemer. But the Lord, who always has scoffed at the devil, does the same even now, saying, I am in the Father, and the Father in Me. This is the Lord, Who is manifested in the Father, and in Him also the Father is manifested; Who, being truly the Son of the Father, at last became incarnate for our sakes, that He might offer Himself to the Father in our stead, and redeem us through His offering and sacrifice. This is He Who once, in old time, brought the people out of Egypt; but Who afterwards redeemed all of us, or rather the whole race of men, from death, and brought them up from the grave. This is He Who, in old time, was sacrificed as a lamb, having been typified in the lamb; but Who afterwards was slain for us, for Christ, our Passover, is sacrificed. This is He Who delivered us from the snare of the hunters;—I mean, that He cast out the opposers of Christ; and the Schismatics, —and again rescued us His Church. And because we were then victims of deceit, He hath now delivered us by His own self.

23 What then is our duty, my brethren, on account of these Syr. One of the erroneous assertions of the Arians, as given by S. Alexander in his Encyclic Epistle, (Athanasius, op. tom. i. p. 385.) is the following: αἱ. ε. the Arians. Vid. note z. p. 78. Syr. The words translated 'rend' and 'seamless' are cognate in

the Syriac, and answer to and its derivatives. The Arians are thence called. Vid. I. Damascen. de haessib. c. i. e. the Arians. The connexion seems to require that a passive sense should be given to as is here done. things, but to praise and give thanks to God, the King of all? And let us first exclaim in the words of the Psalms, Blessed be the Lord, Who hath not given us over as a prey to their teeth. Let us keep the feast in that way which He hath consecrated to us for salvation—the holy day of Easter—so that we may celebrate the feast which is in heaven with the angels. Thus, anciently, the people of the Jews, when they came out of affliction into a state of ease, kept the feast, singing a song of praise for their victory.

²⁴ Esther 3, 9. So also the people in the time of Esther, because they were delivered from a deadly decree, kept a feast to the Lord; reckoning it a feast, returning thanks to the Lord, and praising Him for having changed their condition. Therefore let us also, performing our vows to the Lord, and confessing our sins, keep the feast to the Lord, in conversation, moral conduct, and manner of life; praising our Lord, Who hath chastened us a little, but hath not utterly failed and forsaken us, nor altogether kept silence from us. For if, having also brought us out of the crafty and famous Egypt of the opposers of Christ, He hath caused us to pass through many trials and afflictions, as it were in the wilderness, to His holy Church, so that from hence, according to custom, we can send to you, as well as receive letters from you; on this account especially I both give thanks to God myself, and exhort you to thank Him with me and on my behalf, this being the Apostolic custom, which these opposers of Christ, and the Schismatics, wished to put an end to, and to break off. The Lord did not permit it; but both renewed and preserved that which was ordained by Him through the Apostle, so that we may keep the feast together, and together keep holy-day, the one with the other, according to the tradition and commandment of the fathers.

²⁵ We begin the fast of forty days, on the nineteenth of the month Mecheir (Feb. 13.); and the holy Easter-fast on the twenty-fourth of the month Phamenoth (Mar. 20.) We cease from the fast on the twenty-ninth of the month Phamenoth (Mar. 25.) late in the evening of the seventh day. And we thus keep the feast on the first day of the week which dawns on the thirtieth of the month Phamenoth (Mar. 26.); from which, to Pentecost, we keep holy-day, through seven weeks, one after the other. For when we have first meditated properly on these things, we shall attain to be counted worthy of

those which are eternal, through Christ Jesus our Lord, through Whom to the Father be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen. Greet one another with a holy kiss, remembering us in your holy prayers. All the brethren who are with me salute you, at all times being mindful of you. And I pray that ye may have health in the Lord, my beloved brethren, whom we love above all.

²⁶ Here endeth the tenth Letter of holy Athanasius. Conf. Epist. ii. ad Orsinium tom. i. also Phil. iv. 1.—my brethren, dearly p. 694. beloved and longed for—stand fast in (1.) the Lord, my dearly beloved. G

LETTER 11.

¹ Coss. Constantius Augustus II., Constans I.; Prefect. Easter-day Philagrius, the Cappadocian, for the second time; Indict. on Apr. 15. XII.; Easter-day XVII. Kal. Mai.; XX. Pharmuthi; Afra Dioclet. 55. THE blessed Paul, being girt about with every virtue, and called faithful of the Lord—for he was conscious to himself of nothing but what was a virtue and a praise, or what was in harmony with love and godliness—familiarized these things to himself the more, and was carried up even to heavenly places, and was borne to Paradise; to the end that, as he surpassed the conversation of men, he should be exalted above men. And when he descended, he preached to every man; We know in part, and we prophesy in part; 9. 12. here I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known. For, in truth, he was known to those saints who are in heaven, as their fellow-citizen. And in relation to all that is future and perfect, the things known by him here were in part; but with respect to those things which were committed and entrusted to him by the Lord, he was perfect; as he said, We who are perfect, should be thus minded. For as the Gospel of Christ is the fulfilment and accomplishment of the ministration which was supplied by the law of Israel, so future things will be the accomplishment of such as now exist, the Gospel being then fulfilled, and the faithful receiving those things which, not seeing now, they yet hope for, as Paul saith; For what a man

^{224. 25.} Conf. Eph. vi. 14. Conf. 1 Cor. iv. 4. α The reading of the Ms. $\rho\rho\rho\rho$ we should read $\rho\rho\rho\rho$ must be an error for $\rho\rho$. Conf. Eph. ii. 19. I have no doubt that the Syriac Ms. is again faulty here, and that for $\rho\rho\rho\rho$ we should read $\rho\rho\rho\rho\rho\rho$ as here rendered. seeth, why doth he also hope for? But if we hope for those things we see [not], we then by patience wait for

them. ³ Since then that blessed man was of such a character, and an apostolic grace was committed to him, he wrote, wishing that all men should be as he was. For virtue is philanthropic, and the company of the kingdom of heaven is a large one: for thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads there serve the Lord. And though a man enters it through a strait and narrow way, yet, having entered, he beholds an immeasurable space, and a place greater than any other, as they declare, who were eye-witnesses and heirs of these things. Thou didst place afflictions before us. But afterwards, having related their afflictions, they say, Thou broughtest us forth into a wide place: and again, In affliction Thou hast enlarged us. For truly, my brethren, the course of the saints here is a troubled one; since they either endure painfulness through longing for those things which are to come, as he who said, Woe is me that my pilgrimage is prolonged; or they are afflicted and wearied for the salvation of other men, as Paul wrote to the Corinthians, saying, Lest, when I come to you, God should humble me, and I should bewail on account of many of those who have before sinned, and not repented for the uncleanness, and fornication, and lasciviousness which they have committed. As Samuel bewilled for the destruction of Saul, and Jeremiah wept for the captivity of the people. But after this affliction, and sorrow, and sighing, when they depart from this world, a certain divine gladness, and pleasure, and exultation receives them, from which pain, and sorrow, and sighing, flee away.

⁴ Since we are thus circumstanced, my brethren, let us never depart from the way of virtue; but also that we should be such persons, he (St. Paul) exhorted, saying, Be ye followers of me, as I also am of Christ. For he not only gave this advice to the Corinthians—since he was not their Apostle alone—but also, since he was a teacher of the Gentiles in faith and verity, us also, even all of us, he admonished by them; and, in short, the things he wrote to each particular person are commandments common to all men. On this account, when he wrote to others, some he exhorted, as, for instance, in the Epistles to the Romans, and the Ephesians, and Philemon. Some he reproofed, and was indignant with them, as in the case of the Corinthians and Galatians. But to some he gave advice, as to the Colossians and Thessalonians. The Philippians he approved of, and was made glad by them. The Hebrews he taught that the law was a shadow to them. But to his elect sons, Timothy and Titus, when they were near, he gave instruction; when far away, he put them in remembrance. For he was all things to all men; and be-

ing himself a perfect man, he adapted his teaching to the need of every one, so that by all means he might rescue some of them. Therefore his word was not without fruit; but, in every place, it is planted and productive even to this day. And wherefore, my beloved?

5 For it is necessary that we should search into the apostolic mind. Not only in the beginning of the Epistles, but also at their close, and in the middle of them, he used persuasions and admonitions. I hope, therefore, that by your prayers, I shall, in no respect, give a false representation of the plan of that holy man. As he was well skilled in these divine matters, and knew the power of the divine teaching, he deemed it necessary, in the first place, to make known the word concerning Christ, and the mystery regarding Him; and then afterwards to point to the correction of habits, so that when they had learned to know the Lord, they might readily acquiesce in the observance of those things which He commanded. For when the 6 Conf. Letter ii. p. 15, and Letter iii. p. 28. Vid. note x to Letter vii. p. 62. Guide to the laws is unknown, one does not readily pass on to the observance of them.

7 The faithful Moses, the minister of God, adopted this method; for when he promulgated the words of the divine dispensation of laws, he first proclaimed the matters relating to the knowledge of God: Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord. Afterwards, having shadowed Him forth to the people, and taught of Him in Whom they ought to believe, and informed their minds of Him Who is truly God; then he further lays down the law relating to those things whereby a man may be well-pleasing to Him, saying, Thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not steal; together with the other commandments. For also, according to the Apostolic teaching, He that draweth near to God must believe that He is, and that He is a recorder of them that seek Him. Now He is sought by means of virtuous deeds, as the prophet saith: Seek ye the Lord, and when ye have found Him, call upon Him; when He is near to you, let the wicked forsake his ways, and the lawless man his thoughts. It will also be well if a man is not offended at the testimony of the Shepherd, saying in the beginning of his book, Before all things believe that there is one God, Who created and established all these things, and from non-existence called them into being. And, further, the blessed Evangelists— those who brought to remembrance the words of the Lord—in the beginning of the Gospels, wrote the things concerning our Saviour;

8 so that, having first made known the Lord, the Creator, they might command belief, when narrating the events that took place. For how could they have been credited, when writing respecting him who [was blind] from his mother's womb, and those other blind men who recovered their sight, and those persons who rose from the dead, and the changing of water into wine, and those lepers who were cleansed; if they had not taught of Him as the Creator, writing, In the beginning was the Word! Or, according to Matthew, that He Who was born of the seed of David, was Emmanuel, and the Son of the living God? He from Whom the Jews, with the Arians, turn away their faces, but Whom we acknowledge and worship. 9 The Apostle, therefore, also, as was meet, sent to others; but his own son he plainly reminded, that he should not despise the things in which he had been instructed by him. He also enjoined him: Remember Jesus Christ, who rose from the dead, of the seed of David, according to my Gospel. But as he speaks of these things being delivered to him, to be always had in remembrance, so he immediately writes to him, saying, Meditate on these things: be engaged in them. For constant meditation, and the remembrance of divine words, strengthens piety towards God, and produces a love to Him inseparable and not merely formal; as he (S. Paul) entertaining such feelings, speaks in behalf of himself and others like-minded, saying boldly, What shall separate us from the love of God? For they who are such, being confirmed in the Lord, and possessing an unshaken disposition towards Him, and being one in spirit, (for he who is joined

10 well as by the Arians, who, however, perverted its meaning. In the fragment of the thirty-ninth epistle, the 'Shepherd' is also excluded from the Canon. 11 to the Spirit is one spirit, are sure as the mount Sion; and although ten thousand trials may rage against them, they are founded upon a rock, which is Christ. In Him the careless take no delight; and while they entertain no imaginations of good thoughts, they are sullied by temporal attacks, and esteem nothing more than the unstable things here, being reproachable as regards the faith. For either the care of this world, or the deceitfulness of riches, chokes them; or, as Jesus said in that parable which had reference to them, since they have not established the faith that has been preached to them, but are only for a time, immediately, in time of persecution, or when affliction ariseth through the word, they are offended. Now of men of evil imaginations we say, [they regard] not truth, but falsehood; and not right-

eousness, but iniquity, for their tongue learneth to speak lies. They have done evil and have not ceased, that they might repent. For, persevering with delight in wicked actions, they hasten thereto without turning back, even treading underfoot the commandment with regard to neighbours, and, instead of loving them, devise evil against them, as the saint testifies, saying, And those who seek me evil have spoken vanity, and imagined deceit all the day. But that the cause of such meditation is none other than the want of instruction, the divine proverb has already declared; The son that forsaketh the commandment of his father meditateth evil words.

¹² But for such meditation as this, inasmuch as it is evil, the Holy Spirit chides in these, and reproves too in other terms, saying, Your hands are polluted with blood, your fingers with sins; your lips have spoken lawlessness, and your tongue imagineth iniquity: no man speaketh right things, nor is there true judgment. But what the end is of such perverse imagining, He immediately declares, saying, They trust in canities and speak falsehood; for they conceive mischief, and bring forth lawlessness. They have ¹³ The proper reading of the text is, He that is joined unto the Lord is one Spirit. The Peschito version adds 'with Him'—is one spirit with Him. Conf. Pseudo-Chrys. As the Church built by Christ cannot be thrown down, so any such Christian who has built himself upon Christ no adversity can overthrow, according to that, Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Catena Aurea, vol. i. p. 292, ed. Oxford, 1841. Vid. note k, Letter v. p. 39. The exact words do not occur in Scripture. The quotation is probably made up of more than one proverb. hatched the eggs of an asp, and woven a spider's web; and he who is prepared to eat of their eggs, when he breaks them finds gall, and a basilisk therein. But, again, what the hope Isaiah 59, of such is, He has already announced. Because righteous- 9-11. ness does not overtake them, when they waited for light, they had darkness; when they waited for brightness, they walked in a thick cloud. They shall grope for the wall like the blind, and as those who have no eyes shall they grope; they shall fall at noon-day as at midnight; when dead, they shall groan. They shall roar together as a bear, or [mourn] as a dove.

¹⁴ This is the fruit of wickedness; these rewards are given to those that employ it; for perverseness does not deliver those who regard it. But, in truth, against them it opposes itself, and before them it tears, and rather prepares for them harm. Woe to them against whom these are borne! for it is sharper

than a two-edged sword, slaying beforehand those who will lay hold of it. For their tongue, according to the testimony of the Psalmist, is a sharp sword, and their teeth spears and arrows. But the wonderful part is that while often he against whom men imagine [harm] suffers nothing, they are pierced by their own spears: for they possess, even in themselves, before they reach others, anger, wrath, malice, guile, hatred, bitterness. Although they may not be able to bring these upon others, they forthwith return upon and against themselves, as the Psalmist prays, saying, Let their sword enter into their own heart. There

15 22. is also such a proverb as this: The wicked is encircled by the chain of his sins. The Jews in their imaginings, and in their agreeing to act unjustly against the Lord, forgot that they were bringing wrath upon themselves. Therefore also does the [divine] word lament for them, saying, Why do the people exalt themselves, and the nations imagine vain things? For vain indeed was the imagination of the Jews, meditating death against the Life, and devising unreasonable things 1 In his exposition on this passage in the Psalms, S. Athan, directly refers these words to the conduct of the Jews against our Lord in putting Him to death, as he also does here. 3 The parallel clause of this sentence would seem to determine, that by 'Life' here we must understand Christ. 16 against the Word of the Father. For who that looks A.D. 3:9. upon their dispersion, and the desolation of their city, may not aptly say, Woe unto them, for they have imagined an 10. eril imagination, saying against their own soul, let us bind the righteous man, because he is not pleasing to us. And full well is it so, my brethren; for when they erred concerning the Scriptures, they knew not that he who diggeth a pit for his neighbour falleth therein; and he who destroyth a hedge, a serpent shall bite him. And if they had not turned their faces from the Lord, they would have feared what was before written in the divine Psalms: The heathen are caught in the pit which they made; in the snare which they hid is their own foot taken. The Lord is known when executing judgments: by the works of his hands is the sinner taken. Let them observe this, and how that the snare they know not shall come upon them, and the net they hid take them. But they understood not these things, for had they done so, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. Therefore the righteous and faithful servants of the Lord, who are made disciples for the kingdom of heaven, and bring Mat. 13, 52. forth from it things new and old; and who meditate on the words of the

Lord, when sitting in the house, when lying down or rising up, and when walking by the way;—since they are of good hope because of the promise of the Spirit which said, Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the seat of corrupters; but his delight is in the law of the Lord, and in His law doth he meditate day and night;—being grounded in faith, rejoicing in hope, fervent in spirit, they Ps. 49, 3.

¹⁷ (LXX. vers.) have boldness to say, My mouth shall speak of wisdom, and the meditation of my heart shall be of understanding. And again, I have meditated on all Thy works, and on the work of Thy hands has been my meditation. And, If I have remembered Thee on my bed, and in the morning have meditated on Thee. Afterwards, advancing in boldness, they say, The meditation of my heart is before Thee at all times. And he immediately after introduces us to the end of such an one, saying, The Lord is my Helper and my Redeemer. For to those who thus examine themselves, and conform their hearts to the Lord, nothing adverse shall happen; for, indeed, their heart is strengthened by confidence in the Lord, as it is written, They who trust in the Lord [shall be] as the mount Sion: he who dwelleth in Jerusalem shall not be moved for ever. For if, at any time, the crafty one shall be presumptuously bold against them, chiefly that he may break the rank of the saints, and cause a division among brethren; even in this they look to the Lord, not only as an avenger on their behalf, but also, when they have already been beaten, as a deliverer for them. For this is the divine promise; The Lord shall fight for you.

¹⁸ 14. 12. 113. 14. And further, although afflictions and trials from without overtake them, yet, being fashioned after the apostolic words, and being stedfast in tribulations, and persevering in prayers; by meditation, moreover, on the law; they stand against those things which befall them, are well-pleasing to God, and give utterance to the words which are written, Afflictions and distresses are come upon us; but Thy commandments are my meditation. And whereas, not only in action, but also in the thoughts of the mind, do men attend to deeds of virtue, he afterwards adds, saying, Mine eyes prevent the dawn, that I might meditate on Thy words. For it is meet that the spiritual meditations of those who are whole should precede their bodily actions. And does not our Saviour, when intending to convey similar instruction, begin with the thoughts of the mind? saying, Whosoever

looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery: and, Whosoever shall be angry with his brother, A.21. 339, is guilty of murder. For where there is no wrath, murder is prevented; and where lust is first removed, there can be no crime connected with adultery.

¹⁹ Necessary then is meditation on the law, and uninterrupted converse with virtue, that the saint may lack nothing, but be perfect to every good work. For by these things is the promise of eternal life, as Paul wrote to Timothy, calling constant meditation exercise, and saying, Exercise thyself unto godliness; for bodily exercise profiteth little; but godliness is profitable for all things, since it has the promise of the present life, and of that which is eternal. Worthy, indeed, of admiration is the virtue of that man, my brethren! for, through Timothy, he also enjoins upon all the necessity of devoting the mind to nothing in preference to godliness: yet, above every thing, to determine upon faith in God. For what favour has the perverse man to expect, though he may fancy he keeps the commandments? Nay, rather, the perverse man is unable even to keep a portion of the law; for, as is his conscience, such, of necessity, must be his actions; as also the Spirit reproves such, saying, The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God. After this, the Word, shewing that actions correspond with the thoughts, says, They are corrupt; they are profane in their machinations. The perverse man, then, is in every respect corrupt in his body: stealing, committing adultery, cursing, being drunken, and doing such like things. Even as Jeremiah, the prophet, convicted Israel of these things, crying out and saying, Oh, that I had a lodge far off in the wilderness! then would I leave my people and depart from them:

²⁰ for they are all adulterers, an assembly of oppressors, who draw out their tongue as a bow; lying and not truth has prevailed upon the earth, and they proceed from iniquities to iniquities; but Me they have not known. Thus, on account of their wickedness and falsehood, and their deeds, in that they proceed from iniquity to iniquity, he reproves their machinations; but, because they knew not the Lord, and were faithless, he charges them with perverseness. For faith and godliness are allied to each other, and sisters; and he who believes in Him is godly, and he also who is godly, believes the more. He therefore who is in a state of wickedness, undoubtedly also erreth from the faith; and he who falleth from godliness, falleth from the true faith. Paul, for instance, bearing testimony to the same point, ²¹ 16. 17. advises his disciple, saying, Avoid profane conversations; for they rather advance in un-

godliness, and their word doth eat as doth a canker, of whom are Hymenæus and Philetus. In what their perverseness consisted he declares, saying, 18. Who have erred from the faith, saying that the resurrection is already past. But again, desirous of shewing that faith 12. is yoked with godliness, the Apostle says, And all those who will live godly in Jesus Christ shall suffer persecution. Afterwards, that no man should renounce godliness through persecution, he counsels them to preserve the faith, adding, 14. Thou, therefore, continue in the things thou hast learned, and hast been assured of. And as when brother is helped by brother, they become as a wall to each other; so faith and godliness, being of kindred growth, hang together; and he who is occupied in the one, of necessity is strengthened by the other. Therefore, wishing the disciple to be exercised in godliness unto the end, and to contend in faith, he

22 counsels them, saying, Fight the good fight of faith, and lay hold on eternal life. For if a man first put away the perverseness of idols, and properly confesses Him Who is truly God, he also then fights by faith with those who war against him. For of these two things we speak of—faith and godliness—the hope is the same, even everlasting life; 7. 8. for he saith, Fight the good fight of faith; lay hold on eternal life. And, exercise thyself unto godliness, for it hath the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.

23 For this cause, the Ario-maniacs, who now have gone out from the Church, being opposers of Christ, have digged a pit of unbelief, into which they themselves have been thrust; and, since they have advanced in ungodliness, they overthrow the faith of the simple; blaspheming the Son of God, and saying that He is a creature, and has His being from things which are not. But as then against the adherents of Philetus and Hymenæus, so now the Apostle forewarns all men against ungodliness like to theirs, saying, The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are His; and, Let every one that nameth the name of the Lord depart from iniquity. For it is well that a man should depart from wickedness and deeds of iniquity, that he may be able properly to celebrate the feast; for he who is defiled with the pollutions of the wicked is not able to sacrifice the Passover to the Lord our God. Thence, also, the people who were then in Egypt said, We cannot sacrifice the Passover in Egypt to the Lord our God. For God, Who is over all, willed that they should go far away from the servants of Pharaoh, and from the furnace of iron: so that being set free from

wickedness, and having carefully put away from them all strange notions, they might be recipients of the knowledge of God and virtuous deeds. For He saith, Go far from them: depart from the midst of them, and touch not the unclean things.

²⁴ For a man will not otherwise depart from sin, and lay hold on virtuous deeds, than by meditation on his acts: and when he has been practised by exercise in godliness, he will lay hold on the reward of the confession of faith; which also Paul, after he had fought the fight, possessed, namely, the crown of righteousness which was laid up; which the righteous Judge will give, not to him alone, but to all who are like him. ²⁵ For meditation like this, and exercise in godliness, since it was always familiar to the saints, should be familiar to us also, at such a time as the present, when the divine word requires us to keep the feast with them. For what is the feast, but the constant worship of God, and the recognition of godliness, and unceasing prayers, with concord, from the whole heart? In this manner, Paul, wishing us to be thus disposed, enjoins, saying, Rejoice evermore; pray without ceasing; in every thing give thanks. Not, therefore, in a divided manner, but unitedly and collectively, let us all keep the feast together, as the prophet exhorts, saying, O come, let us rejoice in the Lord; let us make a joyful noise unto God our Saviour. Who then is so negligent, or who so disobedient to the divine command, as not to forsake every thing, and run to the general and common assembly of the feast? which is not in one place only, for

²⁶ not one place alone keeps the feast; but into all the earth their song has gone forth, and to the ends of the world their words. And the sacrifice is not offered in one place, but in every nation, incense and a pure sacrifice is offered unto God. When in this united manner from all those who are in every place, praise and prayer shall ascend to the gracious and good Father; when the Catholic Church, which is in every place, with gladness and rejoicing, celebrates together the same worship to God; when all men in common send up a song of praise and say, Amen; how blessed will it not be, my brethren! who will not, at that time, be engaged, praying devoutly? For even the walls of every adverse power, yea even of Jericho especially, falling down, and the gift of the Holy Spirit being then richly poured upon all men, every man perceiving the coming of the Spirit shall say, We are all filled in the morning with Thy favour, and we rejoice and are made glad in our days.

27 Since then these things are so, let us make a joyful noise with the saints, and let no one of us fail of his duty in these things; thinking nothing of the affliction or the trials which, especially at this time, have been enviously directed against us by the party of Eusebius. They even now wish to injure us, and, by their accusations, to compass our death, on account of godliness, whose defender is the Lord. But, as faithful servants of the Lord, (since ye know that there is salvation for us in the time of trouble; for our Lord also promised, saying, Blessed are ye when men revile you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for My sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for your reward is great in heaven. Again, it is the word of the Redeemer, that affliction shall not befall every man in this world, but only those who have a holy fear of Him,—on this account, the more the enemies afflict us, the more should we be enlarged; although they revile us, we should still contend; and in proportion as they would turn us aside from godliness, we should boldly preach it, saying, All these things are come upon us, yet have we not forgotten Thee. And we have not acted perversely with the Ariomaniacs, who say that Thou hast existence from those things that exist not. The Word, which is eternally with the Father, is also from Him.

28 Let us therefore keep the feast, my brethren, celebrating it not as worthy of grief and mourning; neither let us be confounded with heretics through temporal troubles brought upon us by godliness. But if any thing that would promote joy and gladness should offer, let us attend to it; so that our heart may not be sad, like that of Cain; but that, like faithful and good servants of the Lord, we may hear the words, Enter into the joy of thy Lord. For we do not 96*The Arians and the Jews equally opposed to Christ.* 29 introduce days of mourning and sorrow, as a man may consider those of the Passover to be; but we keep the feast, being filled with joy and gladness. We keep it then, not regarding it after the deceitful error of the Jews; nor according to the teaching of the Arians, which takes away the Son from the Godhead, and numbers Him among creatures; but as viewing it according to the correct doctrine we derive from the Lord. For the deceitful error of the Jews, and the unbounded impiety of the Arians, involve nothing but sad reflections. The former, indeed, commenced with killing the Lord; the latter remove the occasion of His conquering that death which was brought upon Him by the Jews, in that they say He is not the Creator, but a creature. For if He were a creature, He would have been holden by death; but if He was not

holden by death, as the Scriptures aver, He is not a creature, but the Lord of the creatures, and the substance of this immortal feast. For the Lord of death would abolish death; and being Lord, what He would was accomplished; for we have all passed from death unto life. But the imagination of the Jews, and of those who are like them, was vain in regard to Him, since the result was not such as they contemplated, but turned out adverse to themselves; and at them He that sitteth in the heaven shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision. Farther, when our Saviour was led to death, He restrained the women who followed Him weeping, saying unto them, Weep not for Me; meaning to shew that the Lord's death is an event, not of sorrow, but of joy, and that He Who dies for us, is alive. For He does not derive His being from those things which are not, but from the Father.

³⁰ It truly is a subject of joy, that we can see the signs of victory against death, even our own incorruptibility, through the body of the Lord. For since He rose gloriously, it is clear that the resurrection of all of us will take place; and since His body remained without corruption, there can be no doubt regarding our incorruption. For as by one man, Rom. 5, as saith Paul, (and it is the truth) sin passed upon all men, so by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, we shall all rise. For, he says, this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. But this took place in the time of the Passion, in which also our Lord died for us, for our Passorer, Christ, is sacrificed. Therefore, because He was sacrificed, let each of us feed upon Him, and with alacrity and diligence partake of His sustenance; since He is given to all without grudging, and is in every one a well of water flowing to everlasting life.

³¹ We begin the fast of forty days on the ninth of the month Phanenoth (Mar. 5.); and having, in these days, served the Lord with abstinence, and first purified ourselves, we also commence the holy Easter on the fourteenth of the month Pharmuthi (April 9.) Afterwards, extending the fast to the seventh day, on the seventeenth of the month, let us rest late in the evening. And the light of the Lord having before dawned upon us, the first day of the week will illumine us, on which our Lord arose. It behoves us, then, to rejoice and be glad with the joy which arises from good works, during the seven weeks which remain—to Pentecost—giving glory to the Father, and saying, This is the day which the Lord hath made: we will rejoice and be glad in

it, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, through Whom 1724. The Syriac here rendered signs

³² of victory is. which is most likely the translation of. By faith, we look upon Christ crucified, and see in His cross the trophy He has erected against the great enemy whom He has subdued. We see farther in it, the glorious results of that victory, even our own deliverance from death, and our resurrection to eternal life. Conf. Gal. iii. 1. Theophilus, the predecessor of S. Cyril, employs the same figure in his first Paschal Letter, as preserved in the Latin translation of S. Jerome. *Lgitur dominicum Pascha celebrantes, sanctis Scripturarum purificemur eloquii, et ad trophæa Salvatoris respicientes, cancta effendicula, quibus vitæ nostræ curriculum retardatur, auferamus e medio.* Bibliotheca Vett. Patt. La Bigne, vol. iii. p. 93. ed. Paris, 1646. Vid. note k, Letter vi. p. 52. to the same, and to His Father, be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen. Salute one another with a holy kiss. All the brethren who are with me salute you. That ye may have health in the Lord, I pray, brethren beloved.

³³ Here endeth the eleventh Letter of holy Athanasius.

LETTER 12. TO SERAPION

¹ THANKS be to Divine Providence for those things which, at all times, it vouchsafes to us; for it has vouchsafed to us now also to come to the season of the festival. Having, therefore, according to custom, written the Letter respecting the festival, I have sent it to thee, our beloved; that through thee all the brethren also may be able to know the day of rejoicing. But because some Meletians, being come from Syria, have boasted that they had received what does not belong to them; I mean, that even they were reckoned in the Catholic Church; on this account, I have sent unto thee a copy of one letter of our fellow-labourers in the ministry who are of Palestine, that when it reaches thee, thou mayest know the fraud of the pretenders in this matter. For because they boasted, as I have said before, it was necessary for me to write to the Bishops who are in Syria; and immediately those of Palestine sent us a reply, having coincided in the judgment against them in the manner you may learn from the copy. That thou mayest not have occasion to peruse the letters of all the Bishops one after the other, I have sent thee [only] one, which is of like character with the rest, in order that from it, thou mayest know the purport of all of them. I know also that when they are convicted in

this matter, they will incur perfect odium at the hands of all men. And thus far concerning the pretenders.

² But I have further deemed it highly necessary and very urgent, to make known to your modesty—for I have written this to each one—that thou shouldest proclaim the fast of forty days to the brethren, and persuade them to fast; to the end that, while all the world is fasting, we who are in Egypt should not become a laughing-stock, as the only people who do not fast, but take our pleasure in these days. For if we do not fast, because the Letter is [only] then read, it is right that we should take away this pretext also, and that it be read before the fast of forty days, so that they may not make this an excuse for neglect of fasting. Also, when it is read, they may be able to learn respecting the fast. But, O, our beloved, whether in this way or any other, exhort and teach them to fast forty days. For it is even a disgrace that when all the world does this, those alone who are in Egypt, instead of fasting, should find their pleasure. For even I also, being grieved because men make a laughing-stock of us for this, have been constrained thus to write to thee. When thou, therefore, receivest the letters, and hast read them and given the exhortation, write to me in return, our beloved, that I also may rejoice upon learning it.

³ But I have also thought it necessary to inform you of There is a similar notification of the appointment of fresh Bishops, appended to the nineteenth Letter. Theophilus, the predecessor of S. Cyril in the see of Alexandria, at the close of his first Paschal Letter, as translated by S. Jerome, imitates S. Athanasius in this respect, adopting almost his very words. *Salutate invicem in osculo sancto. Salutant vos omnes qui mecum sunt fratres. Et hoc necessario scribimus, ut sciatis pro sanctis et beatis Episcopis qui in Domino dormierunt ordinatos esse; in Lemnado pro Herone Nascam.... His ergo scribite, et ab iis accipite pacificas juxta Ecclesiasticum mortem literas. Bibliotheca Vett. Patt. La Bigue vol. iii. p. 94. ed. Paris. 1616.* There is a similar ending to his third Paschal Letter. Indeed, some such form appears to have become customary, whereby the ordaining Bishops notified to the different districts the appointment of those whom they ordained to any diocese. The Primate of Alexandria, as we know, had the sole privilege of ordaining all the suffragan Bishops. Probably the Paschal Letters, being sent annually, became, by degrees, the ordinary channel of such communication. Such was the case, as we have seen, with two out of the three Letters of Theophilus,

which are extant. Valerius says, (*Observat. in Socrat. H. E. lib. vii. §. 30.*) *Nota-
anda est diligens cautela sanctorum patrum, qui deposito haretico sacerdote,
nomen catholici the fact, that Bishops have succeeded those who have fallen
asleep. In Tanis, in the stead of Elias, is Theodorus. In Arsenoitis, Silvanus
instead of Calosiris. In Paralus, Nemesion is instead of Nonnus. In Bucolia is
Heraclius. In Tentyra, Andronicus is instead of Saprion, his father.*

⁴*episcopi qui in ejus locum substitutus fuerat, cunctis episcopis signifi-
cunt, ut scilicet sciant, a quo ecclesiasticas litteras accipere, et ad quem
scribere debeant—Sed et quoties mortuis episcopis ali in eorum locum fuer-
ant ordinati, eorum nomina reliquis episcopis indicare consueverat ordinat-
or, ut scirent ad quos scribere, et a quibus pacificas literas accipere deberent,
ut discimus ex Theophii epistolis paschatibus. The Greek of what is rendered
in the text, 'so that to these you may write, and from these receive the ca-
nonical Letters,' is, according to what we find in the passage of Socrates re-
ferred to above; (which passage is an extract of a Letter of the Council of An-
tioch, on the subject of the deposition of Paul of Samosata, and the appoint-
ment of Donnus in his stead;) (or, *Can. viii. Concil. Antioch.*) Such Letters
were called by the Latins, *communicatoria litterae*. The epithet was also ap-
plied to them. *Vid. Zonar. Observat. apud Bever. Synod. tom. i. p. 438.* So in
the quotation from Theophilus, given above, we find *pacificas—litteras*. Ter-
tullian makes mention of such Letters. *De Præscript. adv. Haret. cap. 20.*
*Communicatio pacis et appellatio fraternitatis et contesserratio hospitalit-
atis, quae jura non alia ratio regit, quam ejusdem sacramenti una tradition.**

⁵In the *Apologia contra Ar. Athan. Op. tom. i. p. 133*, we have a list of
ninety-four Egyptian Bishops, among others, who were present at the Coun-
cil of Sardica. As this was held we might naturally expect to find among
them some of the names of those mentioned above as recently appointed. A
refer note to this list has enabled me to give, with a degree of certainty, some
names which otherwise would have been more obscure, and which have been
mistaken by Prof. Larsow. For a list of the Egyptian Bishopries, the reader is
referred to Neale's *Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church. Gen. Introd. vol. i. p.*
115, 116. To the list there given must be added the names of Bucolia,
Stathma, the Eastern Garyathis, the Southern Garyathis. The mention of the
last two would favour the supposition that there were also Bishopries in the
Western and the Northern Garyathis. The Syriac of the word given in the
text 'Elias' is

6 This name is doubtless to be taken thus. There were two Egyptian Bishops of that name who subscribed their names at the Council of Sardica. Prof. Larsow writes it 'Ilius.' Tanis is situate in Augustannica Prima. Vid. Quatremere *Memoires geogr. et histor. sur l'Egypte*, tom. i. p. 281. &c. (L.) The word Távus is the LXX. rendering of in the various places where it is found. Silvanus was succeeded by Andreas, as we learn from the postscript to the nineteenth Letter. The Syriac is which Prof. Larsow writes Nanos. I think it is meant for Nonnus, which was the name of an Egyptian Bishop who was present at the Synod of Tyre. *Apol. contra Ar.* tom. i. p. 154. § 79. Bucolia. For a dissertation on the situation of Bucolia, see the treatise by Quatremere, already referred to, (tom. i. p. 224—233.) In p. 233, he writes: *La contree de l'Elarchae ou des Bucolies, telle qu'elle nous a ete decrite par les auteurs anciens, est, si je ne me trompe, parfaitement identique avec la province de Baschmour— peut etre le Baschmour s'etendoit a l'occident du bras de Damiette, le long des cotes de la mer, jusqu'au lac de Bourlos.* Fabricus, in his *Index Geographicus Episcopatum orbis Christiani*, mentions among the Egyptian Bishopries, 'Elarchae, in provincia Egypti secunda.'

7 An Egyptian Bishop of the name of Saprion was among those assembled at the Synod of Tyre. *Apol. contra Ar.* tom. i. p. 154. §. 79. In Thebais, Philon instead of Philon. In Maximianopolis, Herminus instead of Atras. In the lower Apollon is Sarap'on instead of Plutionk. In Aphroditon, Serenus is in the place of Theodorus. In Rhinocoruroni, Salomon. In Stathma, Arabion, and in Marmarica. In the eastern Garyathis, Andragathius in the place of Hierax. In the southern Garyathis, Quintus instead of Niconi. So that to these you may write, and from these receive the canonical Letters. Salute one another with a holy kiss. All the brethren who are with me salute you. He (Athan.) wrote this from Rome. There is no twelfth Letter.

LETTER 13.

1 Coss. Marcellinus, Probius; Pref. Longinus; Indict. XIV.; Easter-day, XIII. Kal. Maii; XXIV. Pharmuthi; Era Dioclet. 57. EVEN now, my beloved brethren, I do not shrink from notifying to you the saving feast, which occurs according to annual custom. For although, with afflictions and sorrows, the opposers of Christ have oppressed you also together with us: yet, God having comforted us by our mutual faith; behold, I even write to you from Rome. Keeping the feast here with the brethren, still I also keep it with you in will and in spirit; for we send up prayers in common to God, Who hath

granted us not only to believe in Him, but also now to suffer for His sake. For, troubled as Vid. Letter x. p. 67. note e. The. Vid. Letter x. p. 75. note n. and p. 78. note z. *α*By that faith which we hold in common. Conf. Rom. i. 12.

²S. Athan. had been obliged to leave Alexandria some time before, having fled from the violence of Gregory the Cappadocian, on which occasion he left the city (according to the Index on the twenty-third of Phanæth (Mar. 19.). Gregory, immediately upon being constituted Bishop of Alexandria, became conspicuous by his acts of violence. S. Athan. after his withdrawal from Alexandria, remained for a short time at no great distance from the city, though it is uncertain where. It was during this period that he wrote the Encyclical Letter to the Bishops, against the illegal intrusion of Gregory into his see. He afterwards took ship ³ to Italy, and came to Rome. In the life of Athanasius, prefixed to the Benedictine edition, we read, (p. xxxix.) *Eo anno (341.) incidit Paschatis solennitas in diem decimam nonam Aprilis; arbitramurque profectum Athanasium postremis hujus mensis dicbus, mense Maio ad Italiae oras appuisse.* This Letter would, however, favour the opinion that he reached Rome earlier than May. In the Index it is stated expressly that Gregory sent no Paschal Letter either for this year, or for those immediately preceding and following. In 340, his acts of tyranny and oppression left him no leisure. In this, and the following year, his illness is there stated as the preventing cause. 'Nor did this Pope write any Festal Letter even this year, (341.) the commencement of his illness taking place in it.'—'Because Gregory was severely ill in the city, the Pope was unable to send any Letter.' we are, because we are so far from you, He moves us to write, that by a letter we might comfort ourselves, and provoke one another to good. For, indeed, numerous afflictions and bitter persecutions directed against the Church have been against us. For heretics, depraved in their mind, untried in the faith, rising against the truth, violently persecute the Church; and of the brethren, some are scourged, and others torn asunder by the rack; and, what is still more hard, the ill-treatment reaches even to the Bishops. Nevertheless, it is not becoming, on this account, that we should neglect the feast. So far from neglecting the commemoration of it, even for a time, we should the rather bear it in remembrance.

⁴Now such things as seasons for feasts are not thought of by the unbelievers, because they spend all their lives in revelling and follies; and the

feasts that obtain among them are an occasion of grief rather than of joy. But to us in this present life they are especially an uninterrupted passage [to heaven]—it is indeed our season. For such things as these serve for exercise and trial, so that, having approved ourselves zealous and chosen servants of Christ, we may be fellow-heirs with the saints. For thus Job: The whole world is a trial to men upon the earth. Nevertheless, they are proved in this world by afflictions, labours, and sorrows, to the end that each one also may receive of God such reward as is meet for him; as He saith by the prophet, I am the Lord, Who trieth the hearts, and searcheth the reins, to give to every one according to his ways. But he does not first know the things of a man on his being tried; for He knows them all before they come to pass: but because He is good and philanthropic, He distributes to each a due reward according to his works, so that every man may exclaim, Righteous is the judgment of God! As the prophet

5 saith again, The Lord trieth justice, and understandeth the reins. And further, for this cause He trieth each one of us, Conf. Heb. x. 24. Provoke unto love and to good works. Prof. Larson has translated this passage erroneously, through an oversight with respect to the word is the rendering of in the verse quoted. Syr. 10: 10—the rendering of in Letter v. Vid. note i, p. 39. either that to those who know it not, our virtue may be discovered by means of the trials laid upon us: as was said respecting Job: Thinkest thou that I was revealed to thee for any other cause, than that thou shouldest be seen righteous? Or that, when men come to a sense of their deeds, they may know the temper of them, and may therefore either repent of their wickedness, or remain steadfast in the faith. Now the blessed Paul, when troubled by afflictions, and persecutions, and hunger and thirst, in every thing was a conqueror, through Jesus Christ, Who loved us. Through suffering, he was weak indeed in body; yet, believing and hoping, he was strong in spirit, and his strength was made perfect in weakness.

6 But the other saints also, who had a like confidence in God, accepted a probation such as this with gladness: as Job said, Blessed be the name of the Lord. But the Psalmist, Search me, O Lord, and try me: prone my reins and my heart. For since, when the strength is proved, it convinceth the foolish: therefore they, perceiving the purity and the advantage resulting from the divine fire, did not draw back in trials like these. But they rather received a character from them, suffering no injury at all from the things which

happened, but appearing more bright, like gold from the fire: as he said, who was tried by such exercise as this; Thou hast tried my heart; Thou hast visited me in the night-season; Thou hast prored me, and hast not found iniquity in me, so that my mouth shall not speak of the works of men. But, on the other hand, those who are lawless in their actions, so that they know nothing more than eating and drinking and dying, account trials as danger. They soon

7 The words here, and in the following lines, rendered 'probation,' 'prove,' &c. are all from the root 'tentavit,' 'probasvit,' and convey the idea of purification by fire, which idea is enlarged upon a few lines farther. The Syriac word answers to the Hebrew: Gr. as in Ps. lxi, 10. Conf. S. Greg. Nazian. *Præmi in laudem virginitatis* v. 600 2. There appears to be an error in the Syriac. It is rendered in the text as from 'signavit,' which agrees with the context. Conf. Mal. iii. 3, and 1 Pet. i. 7. 2 10. stumble at them, so that, being untried in the faith, they are given over to a reprobate mind, and do those things which are not seemly. Therefore the blessed Paul, when urging us to such exercises as these, and having before measured himself by them, says, Therefore I take pleasure in afflictions, in infirmities. And again, Exercise thyself unto godliness. For since he knew the persecutions that accompanied those who chose to live in godliness, he wished his disciples to meditate beforehand on the difficulties connected with godliness; that when trials should come, and affliction arise, they might be able to bear them easily, as having been exercised in these things. For in those things wherewith a man has been conversant in mind, there is a hidden joy which he ordinarily experiences. In this way, the blessed martyrs, since they were first conversant with trials, were quickly perfected in Christ, not at all regarding the injury of the body, while they contemplated the

8 expected rest. But all those who call their lands by their own names, and have wood, and hay, and stubble in their thoughts; such as these, since they are strangers to troubles, are aliens from the kingdom of heaven. Had they, however, known that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, and hope maketh not ashamed, they would have exercised themselves, after the example of 27. Paul, who said, I keep under my body and bring it into subjection, lest when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway. But they would easily have borne the Lam. 3, 27. afflictions which were brought upon them from time to time, if the proph-

etic admonition had been listened to by them, It is good for a man to take up Thy yoke in his youth; he shall sit alone and shall be silent, because he hath taken Thy yoke upon him. He will give his cheek to him who smiteth him; he will be filled with reproaches. Because the Lord does not cast away for ever; for when He afflicteth, He is gracious, according to the multitude of His tender mercies.

9 For if all these things should proceed from the enemies, stripes, insults, reproaches, yet they shall avail nothing against the tender mercies of God; since from them we shall quickly recover, they being temporal things, but God being always gracious, pouring out His tender mercies on those who please [Him]. Therefore, my beloved brethren, we should not look at temporal things, but fix our attention on those which are eternal. Though affliction may come, it will have an end; though insult and persecution, yet are they nothing to the hope which is in reserve. For all present matters are trifling compared with those which are future; the sufferings of this present time not being worthy to be compared with the hope that is to come. For what can be compared with the kingdom? or what is like to everlasting life? Or what is all we could give here, compared with what we shall inherit yonder? For we are heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ. Therefore it is not right, my beloved, to consider afflictions and persecutions, but the hopes which are laid up for us because of persecutions.

10 Now to this even the example of Issachar, the patriarch, may persuade, as the Scripture saith, Issachar desires that which is good, resting between the heritages; and when he 1 Serapion quotes the first part of tom. iv. p. li. (L.) this passage of Scripture in his Epastola 3 Conf. Rom. viii. 8. 2 Cor. iv. ad Monachos, in praise of the ascetic 17. life. Vid. A. Mac. Spicileg. Rom. saw that the rest was good, and the land fertile, he bowed his shoulder to labour, and became a husbandman. Being consumed by divine love, like the spouse in the Canticles, he collected from the holy Scriptures that which is profitable; for his mind was captivated not by the old alone, but by both the heritages. And further, like one expanding his wings, he beheld the rest which is in heaven, while [he looked upon] the earth as full of good deeds—rather, in truth, the heavenly—since that is always new, and never grows old. For this earth passes away, as the Lord said; but that which is ready to receive the saints is immortal. Now when Issachar, the patriarch, saw these things, he joyfully made his boast of afflictions and toils, bowing his shoulders that he

might labour. And he did not contend with those who smote him, neither was he disturbed by insults; but like a man triumphing the more by these things, and the more earnestly tilling his land, he received profit from it. The Word, indeed, scattered the seed, but he watchfully cultivated it, so that it brought forth fruit, even a hundred-fold.

¹¹ Now what is this, my beloved, but that we also, when the enemies are set against us, should glory in afflictions; and that when we are persecuted, we should not be discouraged, but should the rather press after the crown of the high Larsow translates the last of these words by 'heavenly,' stating in a note that the context requires it. But I think it better to take the root as man, and to consider it an exact translation of the wise of the LXX. vers. This will not be opposed to the context. The primary and literal translation may be adhered to, without affecting the more hidden and spiritual explanation. Jarchi translates the passage figuratively of Issachar being strong to bear the yoke of the law. The Jerusalem Targum thus paraphrases the verse. 'And he saw the rest of the world to come, that it was good, and the portion of the land of Israel, that it was pleasant; therefore he inclined his shoulders to work in the law, and his brethren brought gifts unto him.' This paraphrase appears to me in substance very similar

¹² to the comment of S. Athan, on the passage. The patriarch looked upon this world as the present portion assigned him by God; he duly estimated the blessings connected with it, notwithstanding its trials and afflictions; and he therefore willingly and cheerfully acquiesced in his lot. But he looked forward to another and better heritage to be enjoyed hereafter, and it was the prospect of this especially, that was his stay and support. The literal explanation of resting between the heritages must be sought in the particular tract of land in which the tribe was situated. Conf. S. Aug. Enarratio in Psalmum ciii. 13. (tom. iv. p. 1139. c.l. Ben.) Pennae ergo animarum virtutes, bona opera, recte facta.—Quisquis dilexerit Deum et proximum, animam habet pennatam, liberis alis, sancto amore volantem ad Dominum. Sufferings for the truth should unite us more closely to God. 109 ¹³ calling in Christ Jesus our Lord? and that being insulted, we should not be disturbed, but should give our cheek to the smiter, and even bow the shoulder? For the lovers of pleasure and the lovers of enmity are tried, as saith the blessed Apostle James, when they are drawn away by their own lusts and enticed. But let us, knowing that we suffer for the truth, and that those who deny the

Lord smite and persecute us, count it all joy, my brethren, according to the words of James, when we fall into trials of various temptations, knowing that the trial of our faith worketh patience. Let us even keep the feast with rejoicing, my brethren, knowing that our salvation is reserved in the time of affliction. For our Saviour did not redeem us by ease; but He abolished death by suffering for us. And respecting this, He intimated to us before, saying, In the world ye shall have tribulation. But He did not say this to every man, but to those who diligently and faithfully perform good service to Him, knowing beforehand, that they should be persecuted who would live godly to Him. But evil-doers and deceivers will wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived. If therefore, like the expounders of dreams and false prophets, who professed to give signs, these ignorant men, in the same manner, being drunk, not with wine, but with their own wickedness, make a profession of priesthood, and glory in their threats, believe them not;

¹⁴ but since we are tried, let us humble ourselves, not being drawn away by them. For so God warned His people by Moses, saying, If there shall rise up among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and shall give signs and tokens, and the sign or the token shall come to pass which he spake to thee, saying, Let us go and serve strange gods, which ye have not known; ye shall not hearken unto the words of that prophet or that dreamer of dreams. For the Lord your God trieth you, that He may know whether you will love the Lord your God with all your heart. So we, when we are tried by these things, will not separate ourselves from the love of God. But let us also now keep the feast, my beloved, not as introducing a day of suffering, but of joy in Christ, by Whom we are fed every day. Let us be mindful of Him Who was sacrificed in the days of the Passover; for we celebrate this, because Christ the Passover was sacrificed. He Who once brought His people out of Egypt, and hath now abolished death, and him that had the power of death, that is, the devil, will also now turn him to shame, and again grant aid to those who are troubled, and cry unto God day and night.

¹⁵ We begin the fast of forty days on the thirteenth of Phamenoth (9 Mar.), and the holy week of Easter on the eighteenth of Pharmuthi (Apr. 13.); and having ceased on the seventh day, being the twenty-third (Apr. 18.), and the first of the great week having dawned on the twenty-fourth of the same month Pharmuthi (Apr. 19.), let us reckon from it till Pentecost. And at all times let us sing praises, calling on Christ, being delivered from our

enemies by Christ Jesus our Lord, through Whom to the Father be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen. Greet one another with a holy kiss. All those who are here with me salute you. I pray, my beloved brethren, that ye may have health in the Lord. He (Athanasius) wrote this also from Rome. Here endeth the thirteenth Letter.

LETTER 14.

¹ Coss. Augustus Constantius III., Constans II.; Praef. the same Longinus; Indict. XV.; Easter-day III. Id. Apr.; XVI. Pharmuthi; Era Dioclet. 58. THE gladness of our feast, my brethren, is always near at hand, and never fails those who wish to celebrate it^a. For the Word is near, Who is all things on our behalf; even our Lord Jesus Christ, Who, having promised that His habitation with us should be perpetual, in virtue thereof cried, saying, Lo, I am with you all the days, [even to the end] of the world. For as He is the Shepherd, and the High Priest, and the Way and the Door, and every thing at once to us, so further, He has been revealed to us as the feast, and the holy-day, according to the blessed Apostle; Our Passover, Christ, is sacrificed. He also was waited for; He, too, caused a light to shine at the prayer of the Psalmist, who said, [Thou art] my joy; deliver me from those who surround me; this being indeed true rejoicing, this being a true feast, even deliverance from wickedness, where to a man attains by altogether adopting an upright conversation, and by his mind being bent on pious obedience towards God^b. For thus also the saints all their lives long, were like men rejoicing at a feast. One found rest in praying to God, as blessed David, who rose in the night, not once but seven times. Another was celebrated for songs of praise, as the great Moses, who sang a song of praise for the victory over Pharaoh, and those task-masters. Others performed worship with unceasing cheerfulness, like the great Samuel and the blessed Elijah; who have ceased from their perfect conversation, and now keep the feast in heaven, and rejoice in their former instruction, which was by emblems, and out of types understand the truth.

² But what sprinklings shall we now employ, while we celebrate the feast? Who then will thus be our guide, as we haste to this festival? None can do this, my beloved, but Him Whom ye will name with me, even our Lord Jesus Christ, Who said, I am the Way. For it is He Who, according to the blessed John, taketh away the sin of the world. He also purifies our souls, as Jeremiah the prophet says in a certain place, Stand in the ways and see, and enquire,

and look which is the good path, and ye shall find in it cleansing for your souls. Of old time, the blood of the he-goats and the ashes of a heifer, sprinkled upon those who were unclean, were adapted only to purify the flesh; but now, through the grace of God the Word, every man is thoroughly cleansed. Following Him, we may, even here, as on the threshold of the Jerusalem which is above, meditate beforehand on the feast which is eternal; as also, the blessed Apostles, when they together followed the Saviour, Who was their Leader, have now become teachers

3 of a like readiness of disposition, saying, Behold, we have 28. left all, and followed Thee. For the following of the Lord, and the feast which is of the Lord, is not accomplished by words only, but by deeds, every enactment of laws and commands involving a distinct performance. For as the great Moses, when administering the holy laws, exacted a promise from the people, respecting the practice of them; 8. so that having promised, they might not neglect them, and be accused as liars: thus also, the celebration of the feast of the Passover moves no question, and demands no reply; but when the word is given, the obedience of it follows, for He saith, And the children of Israel shall keep the Passover; 47. intending that there should be a ready performance of the commandment, while the thing itself, at the same time, A D 342 should be rendered more easy. But respecting these matters, I have confidence in your wisdom, and your doctrinal care. Such points as these have been touched upon by us often and in various Letters.

4 But now, which is above all things most necessary, I wish to remind you, and myself with you, how that the command would have us not come to the Paschal feast profanely and without preparation; but with sacramental and doctrinal rites, and prescribed observances; as indeed we learn from the historical account, A man who is of another nation, or bought with money, or uncircumcised, shall not eat the Passover. Neither should it be eaten in any house; but He commands it to be done in haste; inasmuch as before we groaned and were made sad by the bondage to Pharaoh, and the commands of the task-masters. For when, in former time, the children of Israel acted in this way, they were counted worthy to receive the type. For that (the type) had respect to this feast, nor was the feast now introduced on account of the type. As also the Word of God, when desirous of this, said to His disciples, With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you. The account, given us as it is, is a wonderful one; for a man might have seen them equipped as

for a show or a dance, and going out with staves, and sandals, and unleavened bread. These things took place before, as it were, in shadows, and were typical. But now, the Truth is nigh unto us, the Image of the invisible God, our Lord Jesus Christ, the true Light; Who,

5 The argument appears to be this. Moses, as we read in Exodus, ch. xiv. v. 3—7, heard from God the terms of the covenant He would make with the children of Israel, obedience to all that God should command being imposed on them. Moses repeated these words to the Israelites, who promised obedience: 'All that the Lord hath spoken will we do.' (v. 8.) After that, the promulgation of the law takes place. The command to keep the Passover is renewed. (Levit. iv. 9.) The Israelites were therefore bound to keep it, as well in virtue of their promise, as by their duty of obedience to God. The Syriac is here The cross which would be more correctly translated 'in any part of the house.' But what is given above appears to be required by the reference. Conf. Letter v. p. 47. 'In one house, even in the Catholic Church, eating the Passover of the Lord.'

6 I have given this as the translation of The cross not The cross. The word is rather indistinct in the Ms. but it may be meant for the former word. Prof. Larson translates this passage, 'the invisible image of God.' But it is clearly the translation of (Col. i. 15.) God the Father cannot be seen, but Christ, His Only-begotten Son, hath manifested Him. Conf. John i. 18. instead of a staff, is our sceptre; instead of unleavened bread, is the bread which came down from heaven; Who, instead of sandals, hath furnished us with the preparation of the Gospel; and Who, to speak briefly, by all these hath guided us to His Father. And if enemies afflict us, through persecution, He again, in the place of Moses, will encourage with more than the words of that man, saying, *Be of good cheer; I have overcome the wicked one*^h. And if also, after we have passed over the Red sea, heat should again vex us, or some bitterness of the waters befall us, again even there the Lord will appear to us, imparting to us of His sweetness, and His life-giving fountain, saying, If any man thirst, let him come to Me, and drink.

7 Why therefore do we tarry, and why do we delay, and come not with all eagerness and diligence to the feast, trusting that it is Jesus who calleth us? Who is all things for us, and was laden in ten thousand ways for our salvation; Who indeed hungered and thirsted for us, though He nourishes and gives us to drink of His saving gifts! For this is His glory, this the miracle of

His divinity, that He changed our sufferings for His happiness. For, being life, He died that He might make us alive; being the Word, He became flesh, that He might, by the Word, instruct that which is flesh; and being the fountain of life, He thirsted our thirst, that thereby He might urge us to the feast, saying, If any man thirst, let him come to Me, and drink. At that time, Moses proclaimed the beginning of the feast, saying, This month is the beginning of months to you. But the Lord, Who came down in the end of the ages, proChrist the sum and substance of the Old Testament prophecies. 115

⁸ claimed a different day,—not as though He would abolish the law, far from it—but that He should establish the law, and be the end of the law. For Christ is the end of the law to every one that believeth in righteousness; as the blessed Paul saith, Do we make void the law by faith? by no means: we rather establish the law. ⁹ Now these things astonished even the officers who were sent by the Jews, so that wondering they said to the Pharisees, No man ever thus spake. What was it then that Jolou 7, 46. astonished those officers, or what was it which so affected the men as to make them marvel? It was nothing but the boldness and authority of our Saviour. For on former occasions of their applying to the prophetic writings, and those skilled in the law, they perceived that they referred those who applied, not to themselves, but elsewhere. Moses, for instance, A prophet will the Lord raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; to him hearken in all that he commands you. Isaiah again, Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and ye shall call his name Emmanuel. By others also, prophecies were uttered differently, and in various ways, concerning the Lord. But by the Lord, of Himself, and of no other, were these things prophesied; to Himself He limited them all, saying, If any man thirst, let him come to Me—not to any other person, but to Me. A man may indeed hear of those concerning My coming; but he must not henceforth drink from others, but from Me. Therefore let us also, when we come to the feast, no longer come as to old shadows, for they are accomplished; neither as to common feasts; but let us hasten as to the Lord, Who is Himself the feast, not looking upon it as an indulgence and delight of the belly, but as a manifestation of virtue. For the feasts of the heathen are full of greediness, and utter indolence, since they consider they celebrate a feast when

¹⁰ pensation came to an end when Christ appeared. The Christian religion was the closing of the Jewish economy, and therefore S. Paul speaks of

Christians as those. 1 Cor. x. 11. they are idle; and they then work the works of perdition when they feast. Our feasts, on the contrary, are the scenes of virtuous exercises, and the practice of temperance; as also the prophetic word testifies in a certain place, saying, 19. The fast of the fourth, and the fast of the fifth, and the fast of the seventh, and the fast of the tenth [month], shall be to the house of Judah for gladness, and rejoicing, and for pleasant feasts. Since therefore this occasion for exercise is before appointed, and such a day as this is come, and the prophetic voice gone forth to celebrate the feast, let us give all diligence to this good proclamation, and like those who are opposed to each other in the race course, vie with each other in observing the purity of the fast; by watchfulness in prayers; by practice in the Scriptures; by distributing to the poor, and by reconciliation with our enemies. Let us bind up those who are scattered abroad; banish pride; and instead thereof put on lowliness of mind, being at peace with all men, and urging the brethren to love. Thus also the blessed Paul was often engaged in fastings and watchings, and was willing to be accursed for his brethren. Also, again, the blessed David, having humbled himself by fastings,

¹¹ Psalm 7, 3. used boldness, saying, O Lord my God, if I have done this, if there is any iniquity in my hands, if I have repaid those who dealt evil with me, then may I fall from my enemies as a vain man. Acting thus, we shall conquer death; and receive an earnest of the kingdom of heaven. Conf. Letter vii. p. 57. 'The feast is not an indulgence in food, nor splendour of clothing, nor days of leisure.' Conf. 1 Corinth. ix. 24—27. Syr. The exhortation is, to be as ready to celebrate the feast, when the divine command is given, as were the runners in the races to start when the signal was made; and then to vie with each other in properly keeping it, as the runners strove to surpass each other in speed. Syr. Vid. note to Letter vi. p. 50. Conf. Eph. i. 13, 14.—'that holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance. In both the other places in the We begin the holy Easter feast on the tenth of Pharmuthi (April 5.), desisting from the holy fasts on the fifteenth of the same month Pharmuthi (April 10.), on the evening of the seventh day. And let us keep the holy feast on the sixteenth of the same month Pharmuthi (April 11.); adding one by one [the days] till the holy Pentecost, passing on to which, as through a succession of feasts, let us keep the festival to the Spirit, Who is always near us, in Jesus Christ, through Whom and with Whom to the Father be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

¹² The fifteenth and sixteenth are wanting.

LETTER 17.

¹ Coss. Amantius, Albinus; Pref. Nestorius of Gaza; Indict. Easter-day III.; Easter-day, VII. Id. Apr.; XII. Pharmuthi; Moon on April 7. 19; Era Dioclet. 61. ATHANASIUS, to the Presbyters and Deacons of Alexandria, and the beloved brethren in Christ, greeting. According to custom, I give you notice respecting Easter, my beloved; that you also may notify the same to the districts of those who are at a distance, as is usual. Therefore, after this present festival, I mean this which is on the twentieth of the month Pharmuthi, the first of the Paschal week ensuing will be on the vii Id. April: or, according to the Alexandrians, on the twelfth of Pharmuthi. Give, therefore, notice in all those districts, that the first day of the Paschal week is on the vii Id. April, on the twelfth of Pharmuthi according to the Alexandrian reckoning. That ye may be in health in Christ, I pray, my beloved brethren.

² It is observed here by Mr. Cureton, (who has also given the translation of this Letter), that S. Athan, gave notice at Easter upon what day Easter was to be observed in and not immediately after the succeeding Epiphany, as Cassian asserts to have been the custom of the Patriarch of Alexandria. (Cassian. Collat. x. cap. i. Edit. Lugduni 1606, p. 364.) The same period for forwarding the Paschal notice was observed with regard to the next Letter. In previous Epistles, we not unfrequently find reference made to Easter, as in course of celebration, at the time they were written. Thus the second commences: 'Again, my beloved, is Easter come, and gladness.' The fourth: 'Now again, my beloved, has God also brought us to the season of the feast.' Perhaps we should not be wrong in supposing that some of the Epistles were, in the first instance, delivered as homilies, at the places where they were written, and afterwards, with slight alterations, and the addition of the concluding parts, sent as Paschal Letters to the various dioceses. However, we know that, in consequence of the troubles of the Church, the usual period for forwarding the Letters was not always adhered to. (Vid. Letter iv. p. 31.)

LETTER 18.

¹ Coss. Constantius IV., Constans III.; Pref. Nestorius; Indict. IV.; Easter-day III. Kal. Apr.; IV. Pharmuthi; Easter-day on Mar. 30. Moon 21; Era Dioclet. 62. ATHANASIUS, to the Presbyters and Deacons of Alexandria, brethren beloved in the Lord, greeting. Ye have done well, dearly beloved brethren,

that ye have given the customary notice of the holy Easter in those districts; for I have seen and acknowledged your exactness. By other letters I have also given you notice, that, when this year is finished, ye may know concerning the next. Yet now I have thought it necessary to write the same things that, since ye are exact, ye may also write with care. Therefore, after the conclusion of this feast, which is now at its termination, on the twelfth of the month Pharmuthi, which is on the vii Id. Apr.a, Easter-day is on the iii Kal. April; the fourth of Pharmuthi, according to the Alexandrians. When therefore the feast is finished, give notice again in these districts, according to the early custom, thus: The first of the Paschal week is on the iii Kal. April, which is the fourth of Pharmuthi, according to the Alexandrian reckoning. And let no man hesitate concerning the day; neither let any one contend, saying, It is requisite that Easter should be held on the twenty-seventh of the month Phamenoth; for it was discussed in the holy Synod, and all there settled it to be on the iii Kal. April. I say then that it is on the fourth of the month Pharmuthi; for the week before this is much too early. Therefore let there be no dispute, but let us act as becometh us. For I have thus written to the Romans also. Give notice then as it has been notified to you, that it is on the iii Kal. April; the fourth of Pharmuthi, according to the Alexandrian reckoning.

²That ye may have health in the Lord, I pray, my dearly beloved brethren. This could not have been the Synod of Sardica, as Larsow states in a note, misled by an error in the index prefixed to the Letters. The Synod of Sardica was not held till the following year, In the index (Letter xv.) it is said, that the Council of Sardica was held in that year, and published directions with respect to the time of Easter. The translator of the Letters appears to have confused between the Synod of Antioch and that of Sardica. At a Synod held at Antioch in the Paschal question was discussed, (vid. Bever. Synod. tom. i. p. 430.), and this I conclude to be the Synod to which S. Athan. refers. α I think the Syr. 'misit' is an error for 'confirmavit.' In Letter xix. p. 126. we find ³I am indebted to the kindness of J. C. Adams, Esq. M.A. Fellow of Pembroke College, for the following calculation. The 14th day of the Moon, reckoning from the time of mean New Moon, took place on Sunday the 23d. According to the rule which obtained in later times, and continued in use until the Gregorian reformation of the Calendar, the 14th day of the Ecclesiastical Moon took place on Saturday the 22d, which would make

Easter-day happen on the 23d. It would seem, therefore, that the decision of the Synod referred to, brought the Ecclesiastical Moon into closer accordance with that of the heavens, than the later Calendar would have done.

LETTER 19.

¹ Coss. Rufinus, Eusebius; Pref. the same Nestorius; Indict. V.D. 347.; Easter-day, Prid. Id. Apr.; Pharmuthi XVII; Æra Easter-day Dioclet. 63; Moon 15. on Apr. 12. BLESSED is God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, for such an introduction is fitting for an Epistle; and now more especially, when accompanied with thanksgiving to the Lord, in the Apostle's words, because He hath brought us from a distance, and granted us again to send openly α to you, as usual, the Festal Letters. For this is the season of the feast, my brethren, and it is near; being not now proclaimed by trumpets, as the history records, but made known and brought near to us by the Saviour. Who suffered on our behalf and rose again: even as Paul preached, saying, Our Passover, Christ, is sacrificed. The feast of the Passover then is ours, not that of a stranger, nor of the Jews any longer α For the time of shadows is abolished, and these old things have ceased; and now the month of new things is at hand, in which every man should keep the feast, in obedience to Him who said, Observe the month of new things, and keep the Passover to the Lord thy God.

² This was the year in which the Council of Sardinia was held. Who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly things in Christ.' S. Athan, is comparing the rest God had given the Church from their enemies, and the opportunity of improvement by spiritual privileges, (vid. p. 129) with the blessings for which the Apostle thanked God in the passage quoted. He had been absent at Rome nearly thirty years. Conf. Letter i. p. 4-7. Or, 'made known and offered up.' α Vid. note 2, to Letter vi. p. 45. Vid. note 3, to Letter i. p. 12, and note d, to Letter v. p. 37. S. Cyril, in his 29th Paschal discourse, beautifully enlarges on the season at which the Pasch (including therein the quadragesimal fast) is kept, viz. in the spring, when all nature is joyful around us, and bursting, as it were, into new life. S. Cyril. Op. tom. vi. p. 336. Lutet. 16 S. S. Chrysostom, in allusion to the same, calls the quadragesimal fast, the spiritual spring of the soul. t. tom. 4. ' p. 615. ed. 1718-

³ 38. With ourselves, the season gives the name to the fast. In Sax. we have Lencæen, 'the spring,' Lencæenperæen, 'the spring fast,' Lencæ. 122 The blindness of the Jews with regard to their law. Even the heathen fancy they

keep festival, and the Jews hypocritically feign therein. But the feast of the heathen He reprove, as the bread of mourners; and He turns His face from that of the Jews, inasmuch as they are outcasts, saying, Your new moons and your sabbaths My soul hateth. For actions not done lawfully and piously, are not of advantage, though they may be reputed to be so, but they rather argue hypocrisy in those who venture upon them. Therefore, although such persons as these fancy to themselves that they offer sacrifices, yet they hear from the Father, Your whole burnt-offerings are not acceptable, and your sacrifices do not please Me; and although ye bring fine flour, it is vanity; incense also is an abomination unto Me. For God does not need any thing; and, since there is nothing which can defile Him, He is full in regard to them, as He testifies, saying by Isaiah, I am full.

⁴ Now there was a law given respecting these things, for the instruction of the people, and to prefigure things to come; for Paul saith to the Galatians, Before faith came, we were kept guarded under the law, being shut up in the faith which should afterwards be revealed unto us; wherefore the law was our instructor in Christ, that we might be justified by faith. But the Jews knew not, neither did they understand; therefore they walked in the day-time as in darkness; feeling for, but not touching, the truth we possess, which [was contained] in the law; conforming to the letter, but not attending to the spirit. And when Moses was veiled, they looked on him, but turned away their faces from him when he was uncovered. For they knew not what they read, but erroneously substituted one thing for another. The prophet, therefore, cried against them, saying, Falsehood and faithlessness have prevailed among them. The Lord also therefore said concerning them, The strange children have dealt falsely with me; the strange children have waxen old. But how gently now does He reprove them, saying, Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed Me, for he wrote of Me. But being faithless, they further also dealt falsely respecting the law, affirming things after their own pleasure, but not understanding them according to the Scripture; and, further, having as with hypocrisies distorted the plain text of Scripture, and this being their confidence, He is angry with them, saying by Isaiah, Who hath required these of your hands?

⁵ And by Jeremiah, since they were very bold, he threatens, Gather together your whole burntofferings with your sacrifices, and eat flesh; for I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought

them out of the land of Egypt, concerning whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices. For they did not act as was right, neither was their zeal according to law; but they rather sought their own pleasure in such days, as the prophet accuser them; thrusting their bondsmen, and gathering themselves together for strifes and quarrels. They also smote the lowly with the fist, and did all things that tended to their own gratification. ¶ For this cause, they continue without a feast until the end, although they make a display now of eating flesh, out of place and out of season. For, instead of the legally appointed lamb, they have learned to sacrifice to Baal; instead of the true unleavened bread, they collect the wood, and their fathers kindle the fire, and their wives prepare the dough, that they may make cakes to the host of heaven, and pour out libations to strange gods, that they may provoke Me to anger, saith the Lord. They have the just reward of such devices; since, although they pretend to keep the Passover, yet joy and gladness is taken from their mouth, as saith Jeremiah, There hath been taken away from the cities of Judah, and the streets of Jerusalem, the voice of those who are glad, and the voice of those who rejoice; the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride. Therefore now, he who among them sacrificeth an ox, is as he who smiteth a

124 Explanation of the time and circumstances under which

7 MAN: and he who sacrificeth a lamb is as he who killeth a dog; he that offereth fine flour, is as [if he offered] swine's blood; he that giveth frankincense for a memorial, is as a blasphemer". Now these things will never please God, neither hath the [divine] word required them of them. But He saith, These have chosen their own ways; and their abominations are what their soul delighteth in. And what is this, my brethren? For it is right for us to investigate the saying of the prophet, and especially with regard to those who heretically devise imaginations contrary to the law. By Moses then, God gave commandment respecting sacrifices; and all the book called Leviticus, is entirely taken up with the arrangement of these matters, so that He might accept the offerer. He therefore, by the Prophets, finds fault with him who despised these things, as disobedient to the commandment, saying, I have not required these at your hands. Neither did I speak to your fathers respecting sacrifices, nor command them concerning whole burnt-offerings.

8 Now it has been ventured as an opinion, that the Scriptures do not agree together, or that God, Who gave the commandment, is false. But there is no disagreement whatever; far from it; neither can the Father, Who is truth, lie;

for it is impossible that God should lie, as Paul affirms. But these things are plain to those who rightly consider them, and to those who receive with faith the writings of the law. Now it appears to me—may God vouchsafe, by your prayers, that the remarks I presume to make may not be far from the truth—that not at first were the commandment and the law concerning sacrifices, neither did the mind of God, Who gave the law, regard whole burnt-offerings, but those things which were pointed out and prefigured by them. For the law contained a shadow of good things to come. And, Those things were appointed until the time of reformation. Therefore, the whole law did not treat of sacrifices, though there was in the law a commandment concerning sacrifices, by their means imparting instruction beforehand, withdrawing men from idols, and bringing them near to God, teaching them to understand the true character of the time then present. Therefore neither at the beginning, when God the law concerning sacrifices was delivered to the Jews. 125

9 brought the people out of Egypt, did He command them concerning sacrifices or whole burnt-offerings, nor even till they came to mount Sinai. For God is not as man, that He should have a care of these things beforehand; but His commandment was given, that they might know Him Who is truly God, and also His Word; and might disregard those which are falsely called gods, which exist not, but only attain to the outward show. Thus He would be known to them by those [signs] whereby He brought them out of the land of Egypt, causing them to pass through the Red Sea. But when they would serve Baal, and dared to offer sacrifices to those that have no existence, and forgot the miracles which were wrought in their behalf in Egypt, and thought of returning thither again; then indeed, after the law, a commandment also was given to serve as a law concerning sacrifices; so that with their mind, which at one time had meditated on those [gods] which did not exist, they might turn to Him Who is truly God; and learn not, in the first place, to sacrifice, but to turn away their faces from idols, and give heed to what God commanded.

10 For when He saith, I have not spoken concerning sacrifices, neither given commandment concerning whole burnt-offerings, He immediately adds, But this is the thing which I commanded them, saying, Obey My voice, and I will be to you a God, and ye shall be to Me a people, and ye shall walk in all the ways that I command you. Thus then, being before instructed and

taught, they learned not to give their service to any one but the Lord. They attained to know what time the shadow should last, and not to forget the time that was at hand, in which no longer should the bullock of the herd be a sacrifice to God, nor the ram of the flock, nor the he-goat, but all these things fulfilled in a purely spiritual manner, and by constant prayer, and upright conversation, with godly words; as David sings, May my meditation be pleasing to Him. Let my prayer be set forth before Thee as incense, and the lifting 34. up of my hands as the evening sacrifice. The Spirit also, who is in him, commands, saying, Offer unto God the sacrifice of praise, and pay to the Lord thy cows. Offer the sacrifice of righteousness, and put your trust in the Lord.

12 Mat. 12, 34. The great Samuel also not the less pointedly reproved Saul, saying, Is not the word better than a gift? For by these things a man fulfils the law, and pleases God, as He saith, The sacrifice of praise shall glorify Me. Let a man learn what this is, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice, and not condemn the adversaries. But this displeased them. They were not anxious to understand, for had they known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. And what is the end of these, the prophet before pronounced, saying, Woe unto their souls, for they have devised an evil thought, saying, let us bind the just man, because he is not pleasing to us. The end of such abandonment as this is nothing but error, as the Lord, when reproving them, saith, Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures. Afterwards when, through reproof, they should have come to their senses, they rather waxed bold, saying, We are Moses' disciples; and we know that God spake to Moses; dealing the more falsely by that very expression, and accusing themselves. For had they believed him who heard, they would not have denied the Lord, Who spake by Moses, at a time when He was near. But such was not the cunning in the Acts; for when he heard, Understandest thou what thou readest? he was not ashamed to confess his ignorance, and implored to be taught. Therefore, because he was like a learner, the grace of the Spirit was given.

13 But as for them [the Jews], because they persisted in their ignorance, as the proverb saith, Death came upon them. For the fool dies in his sins. Like these too, are the heretics, who, having fallen from a true conscience, dare to imagine to themselves atheism. For the fool saith in his heart, There is no God. They are corrupt, and become abominable in their doings. Of such as are fools in their thoughts, the actions are wicked. For, as He saith, can ye,

being evil, speak good things? They were evil, because they thought wickedness. Or how can those do just acts, whose minds are set upon fraud? Or how shall he love, who is prepared beforehand to hate? How shall he be kind, who is bent upon the love of money? How shall he be chaste, who looks upon a woman to lust after her? For from the heart proceed evil thoughts, fornications, adulteries, murders. By them the fool is wrecked, as by the waves of the sea, being led away and enticed by these fleshly pleasures: for this also stands written, The whole body of fools is entirely shipwrecked. Having then associated with folly, he is afterwards caught by a tempest, and perishes; as Solomon says in the Proverbs. The fool and he who lacketh understanding shall perish together, and shall leave their wealth to strangers. Now they suffer such things, because there is not among them one sound of mind to guide them.

¹⁴ For where there is sagacity, there the Word, which is the pilot of souls, accompanies the vessel; for he that hath understanding shall possess government; they who are without government falling like the leaves. ¹⁵ Who then is it that altogether falls away, as Hymenæus and Philetus, because they entertained evil conceits respecting the resurrection, and suffered shipwreck in regard to the faith of it? Judas also, being a betrayer, fell away from the Pilot, and perished with the Jews. But the [other] disciples since they were wise, and therefore remained with the Lord, although the sea was agitated, and the ship covered with the waves, there being a storm, and the wind contrary, yet fell not away. For they awoke the Word, Who was sailing with them, and immediately the sea became smooth at the command of its Lord, and they were saved. They then together became preachers and teachers; relating the miracles of our Saviour, and also teaching us to imitate their example. These things were written on our account and for our profit, in order that by these tokens, we may acknowledge the Lord Who wrought

¹⁶ appears to be an as referred to. error for I know not what passage is intended here. The word translated 'body' is literally 'flesh.' This passage is not to be found in the Proverbs. It occurs in the Psalms, The word appears to be wrongly inserted in the Ms. Conf. Letter ii. p. 18. Conf. Letter vii. p. 63 'Judas—having abandoned his Life, hanged himself.' Ps. 104, ¹⁷ 25. 26. them. Let us therefore, in the faith of the disciples, hold converse with our Master. For the world is like the sea to us, my brethren, of which it is written, This is the great and wide sea; there go the ships; the Leviathan, which Thou has created

to play in it. We are carried along then in this, as by the wind, through our own free-will; for every one directs his course according to his will, and either, under the pilotage of the Word, he enters into rest; or, laid hold on by pleasure, he suffers shipwreck, and is in peril^α by storm. For, as in the ocean, there are tempests and waves, so in the world there are many afflictions and trials. The unbelieving, therefore, when affliction or persecution ariseth, is offended, as the Lord said. For being unconfirmed in the faith, and regarding temporal things, he cannot resist the difficulties which arise from afflictions. But as the house, built on the sand by the foolish man, so he, since he is without understanding, falls before the assault of temptations, as it were by the winds. But the saints, having their senses exercised by reason of practice, and being strong in faith, and understanding the word, do not become faint in trials; but although, from time to time, circumstances of greater trial arise against them, yet they continue faithful; and, awaking the Lord, Who is with them, they are delivered.

¹⁸ So, passing through water and fire, to a place where they can breathe freely, they duly keep the feast, offering up prayers, with thanksgiving, to God Who hath redeemed them. For either, being tempted, they are known, as Abraham; or, suffering, they are approved, as Job; or, being oppressed and guilfully treated, as Joseph, they patiently endure it; or, being persecuted, they are not overtaken; but, as it is written, through God they leap over the wall of wickedness, which divideth and separateth between brethren, and turns them from the truth. After this example, the blessed Paul, when he took pleasure in infirmities, in reproach, in necessities, in persecutions, and in distresses for Christ, rejoiced, and wished all of us to rejoice, saying, Rejoice always; in every thing give thanks. ¹⁸. ¹⁹ faulty. But hold converse with [our] Master.' ^αProf. Larsow translates these words (?) differently, considering the text as ^α(Syr.). For what is there so consonant with the feast, as turning from wickedness, and a pure conversation, and prayer offered without ceasing to God, with thanksgiving? Therefore let us, my brethren, looking forward to celebrate the eternal joy in heaven, keep the feast here also; rejoicing at all times, praying incessantly, and in every thing giving thanks to the Lord. I also give thanks to God, as well for those other wonders He has done, as for the various helps that have now been afforded us, in that though He hath chastened us sore, He did not deliver us over to death, but brought us from a distance, even as from the ends of the earth, and hath united us again

with you. I then, while I keep the fast myself, have been anxious to give you also notice of the great feast of the Passover, so that we may go up together, as it were, to Jerusalem, and eat the Passover, not in a divided manner, but as in one house; not sodden as in water, let us divide the word of God; nor having, as it were, broken its bones, let us make void the commands of the Gospel. But, as it were, roasted with fire, with bitter herbs, being fervent in spirit, in fastings and watchings, with lying on the ground, let us keep it with penitence and thanksgiving.

²⁰ We begin the fast of forty days on the sixth day of Phamenoth (Mar. 2.); and having passed through that properly, with fasting and prayers, we may be able to attain to the holy day. For he who regards lightly the fast of forty days, as one who rashly and impurely treadeth on holy things, cannot celebrate the Easter festival. Further, let us put one another in remembrance, and stimulate one another not to be negligent, and especially that we should fast those days; so that fasts may receive us in succession, and we may duly bring the feast to a close. The fast of forty days begins then, as was before said, on the sixth of Phamenoth (Mar. 2); and the great week of the Passion on the eleventh of Pharmuthi (Apr. 6.). And let us rest from the fast on the sixteenth of it (Apr. 11.), on the seventh day, late in the evening. Let us keep the feast when the first of the week rises upon us, on the seventeenth of the month Pharmuthi (Apr. 12.). Let us then add, one after the other, the seven holy weeks of Pentecost, rejoicing and praising God, that He hath by these things made known to us beforehand, joy and rest everlasting, prepared in heaven for those of us, who truly believe in Christ Jesus our Lord; through Whom, and with Whom, be glory and dominion to the Father, with the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.

²¹ Salute one another with a holy kiss. The brethren who are with me salute you. Lycos, Eudaemon p. in the stead of Plusianus a. In Antinous, Arion r, instead of Ammonius and Tyrannus s. In Oxyrynchus, Theodorus, instead of Pelagius. In Nilopolis, instead of Theon, Amatus t, and Isaac, having been reconciled to each other. In Arsenoitis, Andreas, instead of Silvanus u. In Prosopontis x, Triadelphus, instead of Serapammon. In Diosphacus y, on the river side, Theodorus, instead of Serapammon. In Saiton [Suis], Paphnutius, instead of Nemesion. In Xoïs, Theodorus, instead of Anubion; and there is also with him Isidorus, being reconciled to the Church. In Sethroitais z, Ori-

on, instead of Potammon a. In Clysmas, Tithonas, instead of Jacob i; and there is with him Paulus, having been reconciled to the Church.

LETTER 20.

¹ Coss. Philippus, Salia; Praefect. the same Nestorius; Indict. VI.; Easter-day III. Non. Apr.; VIII. Pharmuthi; Æra Dioelet. 64; Moon 18. ² Let us now keep the feast, my brethren; for as our Lord then gave notice to His disciples, so does He now beforehand to us; that after some days is the Passover. Therein the Jews indeed betrayed the Lord, but we celebrate His death as a feast, while we rejoice that then we obtained rest from our afflictions, and eagerly assemble ourselves together, whereas we formerly were dispersed. And whereas we were lost, we have been found; from having been far off, we are brought nigh; and from having been strangers, we have become His, Who suffered for us, and was nailed on the cross; Who bore our sins, as the prophet saith, and was afflicted for us, that He might remove from all of us grief, and sorrow, and sighing. When we thirst, He too satisfies us with the feast, standing and crying, If any man thirst, let him come to Me, and drink. For such is the love of the saints at all times, that they never once leave off, but offer the uninterrupted, constant sacrifice to the Lord, and continually thirst, and ask of Him to drink; as David sang, My God, my God, early will I seek Thee; my soul thirsteth for Thee; many times my heart and flesh longeth for Thee in a barren land, without a path, and without water. Thus was I seen by Thee in the sanctuary. Isaiah the prophet also says, From the night my spirit seeketh Thee early, O God, because Thy commandments are light.

³ And another says, My soul fainteth for the longing it hath for Thy judgments at all times. And again he says, For Thy judgments I have hoped, and Thy law will I keep at all times. Another boldly cries out, saying, 43, 44. Mine eye is ever towards the Lord. And with him one says, The meditation of my heart is before Thee at all times. And Paul further advises, At all times give thanks; pray without ceasing. Those then who are thus continually 17. engaged, are altogether waiting for the Lord, while they say, Let us follow on to know the Lord: we shall find Him ready as the morning, and He will come to us as the early and the latter rain for the earth. For not only does He satisfy them in the morning: neither alone does He give them to drink as often as they ask; but He gives them abundantly according to His loving-kindness, vouchsafing to them, at all times, the grace of the Spirit. And what it is they thirst for He immediately adds, saying, He that believeth on Me. For, as

cold waters are pleasant to those who are thirsty. according to the proverb, so to those who believe in the 25. Lord, the coming of the Spirit is better than all refreshment and delight.

⁴It becomes us also then in these days of the Passover, to rise early with the saints, and approach the Lord with all our soul: with purity of body, with confession and godly faith in Him; so that when we have here first drunk, and been filled with these divine waters which [flow] from Him, we may also be able to sit at table with the saints in heaven, and may share in the one voice of gladness which is there. For this, sinners having evinced no inclination, are properly cast out, with the words sounding in their ears, Friend, how camest thou in hither, not having a wedding garment? It is true that sinners also thirst, but not for 12. the grace of the Spirit; but, being inflamed with wickedness, they are altogether set on fire by pleasures, as saith the Proverb, All day long he desires evil desires. But the Prophet cries against them, saying, Wo unto those who rise 26. up early, and follow strong drink; who continue until the evening, for wine inflameth them. And since they run wild

⁵For 1600s. I. g. 1500. in wantonness, they dare to thirst for the destruction of others. Having first drunk deceitful waters, which cannot be trusted, those things come upon them, which are stated by the Prophet; My wound, saith he, is grievous; how shall I be healed; it hath surely been to me like deceitful waters, in which there is no trust. The second, again, while they drink with those who are with them, lead astray and throw into confusion the mind [which was desirous] of truth, and turn away the simple from it. And what does he [the prophet] cry? Wo unto him who causeth his neighbour to drink turbid destruction, and maketh him drunk, that he may look upon his caverns. But those who dissemble, and steal away the truth, quiet their hearts. Having first drunk thereof, they go on to say those things which the whorish woman saith in the Proverbs, Lay hold with delight on hidden bread, and sweet stolen waters. They lay snares secretly, because they have not the freedom of virtue, nor the boldness of Wisdom, who praiseth herself in the streets, and employeth freedom of speech in the broad ways, preaching on high walls. For this reason, they are bidden to lay hold with delight, because, having chosen carelessness and pleasure, they steal the sweetness of truth, and with it disguise their own bitter waters [to escape] from the blame of their wickedness, which would be speedy and public. On this account, the

wolf puts on the skin of the sheep, sepulchres deceive by their whitened exteriors. Satan, that is,

6e The Syriac translator appears to have had before him the words as some Mss. read, and as the passage is quoted in the *Tomus ad Antiochenses*, Athan. op. tom. i. p. 619 not. The last word in the verse 'caverns' arises from the similarity between the words (nakedness) and (caves).

The Festal Epistles: Fragments and Additional Letters

ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA

c. AD 296–373

Fragments of the Festal Letters (27, 29, 39 and 44) and four letters found later (40, 42, 43 and 45), printed after the main series in Burgess's book.

LETTER 27. FRAGMENT OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH LETTER

For who is our joy and boast, but our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Who suffered for us, and by Himself made known to us the Father? For He is no other than He Who of old time spake by the Prophets; but now He saith to every man, I Who speak am near. Right well is this word spoken; for He does not at one time speak, at another being silent; but continually and at all times, from the beginning without cessation, He stirs up every man, and speaks to every man in his heart.

LETTER 29. FRAGMENT OF THE TWENTY-NINTH LETTER

¹37–41. And the Lord proved the disciples, when He was asleep on the pillow, at which time a miracle was wrought, which is especially calculated to put even the wicked to shame. For when He arose, and rebuked the sea, and silenced the storm, He plainly shewed two things; that the storm of the sea was not from the winds, but from fear of its Lord, Who walked upon it; and that the Lord, Who rebuked it, was not a creature, but rather its Creator, since a creature is not obedient to a creature. For although the Red Sea ²¹ was divided before Moses, yet it was not Moses who did it; for it took place, not because he spake, but because God commanded. And also if the sun stood still in Gibeon, and the moon in the valley of Ajalon, yet this was the work, not of the son of Nun, but of the Lord, Who heard his

²Joshua 10, 12. prayer. He it was, Who both rebuked the sea, and on the cross caused the sun to be darkened.

LETTER 39. OF THE BOOKS RECEIVED BY THE CHURCH (THE CANON)

¹Of the particular books and their number, which are received by the Church. From the thirty-ninth Letter of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, which treats of the Paschal festival; wherein he defines canonically which are the divine books which are received by the Church. But since we have made mention of heretics as dead, but of ourselves as possessing the Divine Scriptures for salvation; and since I fear lest, as Paul wrote to the Corinthians, some few of the simple should be beguiled from their simplicity and purity, by the subtilty of certain men, and should afterwards read other books—those called apocryphal—led astray by the similarity of their names with the true books: I beseech you to bear patiently, if I also write, by way of remembrance, of matters with which you are acquainted, influenced by the need and advantage of the Church. In proceeding to make mention of these things, I shall adopt, to commend my undertaking, the pattern of Luke the Evangelist, saying, Forasmuch as some have taken in hand, to reduce into order for themselves the books termed

²The above fragment of the thirty-ninth Letter has long been before the world, having been preserved in the original Greek, by Theodorus Balsamon. It may be found in the first volume of the Benedictine edition of the works of S. Athan. tom. i. p. 767, ed. 1777. A Syriac translation of it has been discovered by Mr. Cureton in an anonymous Commentary on the Scriptures in the collection of the British Museum, (Col. 12, 168.) and appended to his volume. This translation does not contain quite so much as the fragment of the original, commencing only at the quotation from S. Luke. The heading above given is translated from the Syriac. A careful consideration of the style, compared with that of the other Letters, has led me to consider it as the work of a different translator. It adheres less closely to the Greek, than is the case in the other Letters with the few fragments that are extant; more than once introducing explanations of the word Apocryphal. The quotation from St. Luke differs widely in the choice of words from the same quotation, as found in Letter ii. p. 20. Lastly, the word 'heretics' is written very differently in this fragment from the mode uniformly adopted in the other Letters.

³In this we find it written, elsewhere,. The Greek has the words found in some Mss. of the Scriptures. apocryphal, and to mix them up with the divinely inspired Scripture, concerning which we have been fully persuaded, as they who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the Word,

delivered to the fathers; it hath seemed good to me also, having been urged thereto by the brethren, and having learned from the beginning, to bring before you the books included in the Canon, and handed down, and accredited as Divine; to the end that any one who has fallen into error may correct those who have led him astray; and that he who continues stedfast in purity, may again rejoice, having these things brought to his remembrance. There are, then, of the Old Testament, in all twenty-two books in number: for, as I have heard, they are handed down the same in number as the letters among the Hebrews, their respective order and names being as follows. The first is Genesis, then Exodus, next Leviticus, after that Numbers, and then Deuteronomy. Following them, we have Joshua, the son of Nun, and Judges, then Ruth. And again next, four books of Kings, and of them the first and second are reckoned one book, and so likewise the third and fourth, one. And again, after these, the first and second of the Chronicles are similarly reckoned as one book. Esdra again, the first and second as one. After these there is the book of Psalms, then Proverbs, next Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. Job follows, then the Prophets, the twelve being reckoned as one book. Then Isaias, Jeremias, and with him Baruch, Lamentations, and the epistle; afterwards, Ezekiel and Daniel. Thus far constitutes the Old Testament.

⁴ But we must not look upon it as a task to speak of the books of the New Testament. These then are, the four Gospels, according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Afterwards, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Catholic Epistles, called of the Apostles, seven in number, viz. of James, one; of Peter, two; of John, three; and then, one of Jude. Besides these, there are fourteen Epistles of the The Syriac has the conjunction, editors, which is rejected by the Benedictine Syri. And the seven Epistles. Apostle Paul, written in this order. The first, to the Romans; then two to the Corinthians; after these, to the Galatians; next, to the Ephesians; then to the Philippians and to the Collossians; after these, two to the Thessalonians, and that to the Hebrews; and again, two to Timothy; one to Titus; and lastly, that to Philemon. To these, the Revelation of John.

⁵ These are the fountains of salvation, that he who thirsteth may be satisfied with the words they contain. In these alone is proclaimed the doctrine of godliness. Let no man add to them, neither let him take ought from them. For on this point the Lord put to shame the Sadducees, saying, Ye do err, not

knowing the Scriptures. And He reproveth the Jews, saying, Search the Scriptures, for they testify of Me. But for greater exactness, I add this also, considering it necessary so to write: that there are other books besides these, not indeed included in the Canon, but appointed by the Fathers to be read by those who are come of late, wishing for admonition and instruction in godliness. The Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Sirach, and Esther, and Judith, and Tobit, and that which is called the Doctrine of the Apostles, and the Shepherd. But the former, my brethren, are included in the Canon, the latter being [merely] read: nor is there any mention of apocryphal writings. But this is an invention of heretics, writing them to favour their own views, bestowing upon them their approbation, and assigning to them a date, and producing them as ancient writings, that thereby they might find occasion to lead astray the simple.

6Syr. 'Of Paul.' Syr. 'living words.' The Syriac translator appears to have had before him the Benedictine reading, *sui Bonhagorans*. Syr. 'The Son of Sirach.'

LETTER 44. FRAGMENT OF THE FORTY-FOURTH LETTER

1 WHEN, therefore, the servants of the Chief Priests and the Scribes saw these things, and heard from Jesus, Whosoever is athirst, let him come to Me and drink; they perceived that this was not a mere man like themselves, but that this was He Who also gave water to the saints, and that it was He Who was acknowledged by the prophet Isaiah. For He was truly, as it were, the splendour of the light, and the Word of God; thus too He was the river from the fountain which gives drink. And then to Paradise, and now to all men, He gives the same gift of the Spirit, and says, If any 38. man thirst, let him come to Me and drink. Whosoever believeth on Me, as saith the Scripture, rivers of living water shall flow out of his belly. This was not for man to say, but for the living God, Who truly vouchsafes life, and gives the Holy Spirit.

2a The hitherto unpublished Syriac text corresponding to p. 71—73. of the translation. Vide note y, p. 71. 1 (virtue) is doubtless an error for (produce).

LETTER 40. ADDENDUM TO THE FORTIETH LETTER

Ye are they that have continued with Me in My temptations; and I appoint to you a kingdom, as My Father hath appointed unto Me, that ye may eat and drink at My table in My kingdom. Being called, then, to the great and heav-

enly Supper, in that upper room which has been swept, let us cleanse ourselves, as the Apostle exhorted, from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God; that so, being spotless within and without,—without, clothing ourselves with temperance and justice; within, by the Spirit, rightly dividing the word of truth—we may hear, Enter into the joy of thy Lord.

LETTER 42. ADDENDUM TO THE FORTY-SECOND LETTER

For we have been called, brethren, and are now called together, by Wisdom, and according to the Evangelical parable, to that great and heavenly Supper, and sufficient for every creature; I mean, to the Passover,—to Christ, Who is sacrificed. Again, a little afterwards: They, therefore, that are thus prepared shall hear, Enter into the joy of thy Lord.

LETTER 43. ADDENDUM TO THE FORTY-THIRD LETTER

¹ Of us, then, whose also is the Passover, the calling is from above, and our conversation is in heaven, as Paul says; For we have here no abiding city, but we seek that which is to come, whereto, also, looking forward, we properly keep the feast. And again, a little afterwards: heaven truly is high, and its distance from us infinite; for the heaven of heavens, says he, is the Lord's. But not, on that account, are we to be negligent or fearful, as though the way thereto were impossible; but rather should we be zealous. Yet not, as in the case of those who formerly, removing from the east and finding a plain in Senaar, began [to build a tower], is there need for us to bake bricks with fire, and to seek slime for mortar; for their tongues were confounded, and their work was brought to nought. But for us the Lord has consecrated a way through His blood, and hath made it easy. And again. For not only has He afforded us consolation respecting the distance, but also in that He hath come and opened the door for us which was once shut. For, indeed, it was shut from the time He cast out Adam from the delight of Paradise, and set the Cherubim and the flaming sword, that turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life—now, however, opened wide.

² And He that sitteth upon the Cherubim having appeared with greater grace and loving-kindness, led into Paradise with himself the confessing thief, and having entered heaven as our forerunner, opened the gates to all. And again. Paul also, Phila. 3, 14. pressing toward the mark for the prize of the high calling, by it was taken up to the third heaven, and having seen

those things which are above, and then descended, he teaches us, announcing what is written to the Hebrews, and saying, For ye are not come unto the mount that might be touched, and that burned with fire, and clouds, and darkness, and a tempest, and to the voice of words. But ye are come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, and to the general assembly and Church of the first-born, which are written in heaven. Who would not wish to enjoy the high companionship with these! Who not desire to be enrolled with these, that he may hear with them, Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you 31. from the foundation of the world.

LETTER 45. ADDENDUM TO THE FORTY-FIFTH LETTER

Let us all take up our sacrifices, observing distribution to the poor, and we enter into the holy place, as it is written; whither also our forerunner Jesus is entered for us, having obtained eternal redemption... From the same... And this is a great proof that, whereas we were strangers, we are called friends; from being formerly aliens, we are become fellow-citizens with the saints, and made children of the Jerusalem which is above, whereof that which Solomon built was a type. For if Moses made all things according to the pattern shewed him in the mount, it is clear that the service performed in the tabernacle was a type of the heavenly mysteries, whereto the Lord, desirous that we should enter, prepared for us the new and abiding way. And as all the old things were a type of the new, so the festival that now is, is a type of the joy which is above, to which coming with psalms and spiritual songs, let us begin the fasts.

PART FOUR

Leo the Great: Sermons

*The sermons of the bishop of Rome who stood behind the Council
of Chalcedon.*

Sermons

LEO THE GREAT

d. AD 461

Bishop of Rome whose Tome shaped the Council of Chalcedon.

SERMON 1: PREACHED ON HIS BIRTHDAY, OR DAY OF ORDINATION

¹Having been elected in absence he returns thanks for the kindness and earnestly demands the prayers of his church. ²"Let my mouth speak the praise or the Lord," and my breath and spirit, my flesh and tongue bless His holy Name. For it is a sign, not of a modest, but an ungrateful mind, to keep silence on the kindnesses of God: and it is very meet to begin our duty as consecrated pontiff with the sacrifices of the Lord's praise. Because "in our humility" the Lord "has been mindful of us " and has blessed us: because "He alone has done great wonders for me," so that your holy affection for me reckoned me present, though my long journey had forced me to be absent. Therefore I give and always shall give thanks to our God for all the things with which He has recompensed me. Your favourable opinion also I acknowledge publicly, paying you the thanks I owe, and thus showing that I understand how much respect, love and fidelity your affectionate zeal could expend on me who long with a shepherd's anxiety for the safety of your souls, who have passed so conscientious a judgment on me, with absolutely no deserts of mine to guide you. I entreat you, therefore, by the mercies of the Lord, aid with your prayers him whom you have sought out by your solicitations that both the Spirit of grace may abide in me and that your judgment may not change. May He who inspired you with such unanimity of purpose, vouchsafe to us all in common the blessing of peace:

³so that all the days of my life being ready for the service of Almighty Can, and for my duties towards you, I may with confidence entreat the Lord: "Holy Father, keep in Thy name those whom Thou hast given me: and while you ever go on unto salvation, may "my soul magnify the Lord," and in the

retribution of the judgment to come may the account of my priesthood so be rendered to the just Judge that through your good deeds you may be my joy and my crown, who by your good will have given an earnest testimony to me in this present life.

SERMON 2: ON HIS BIRTHDAY, DELIVERED ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF
HIS CONSECRATION)

I. The Lord Raises Up the Weak and Gives Him Grace According to His Need.

1 The Divine condescension has made this an honourable day for me, for it has shown by raising my humbleness to the highest rank, that He despised not any of His own. And hence, although one must be diffident of merit, yet it is one's bounden duty to rejoice over the gift, since He who is the Imposer of the burden is Himself the Aider in its execution: and lest the weak recipient should fall beneath the greatness of the grace, He who conferred the dignity will also give the power. As the day therefore returns in due course on which the Lord purposed that I should begin my episcopal office, there is true cause for me to rejoice to the glory of God, Who that I might love Him much, has forgiven me much, and that I might make His Grace wonderful, has conferred His gifts upon me in whom He found no recommendations of merit. And by this His work what does the Lord suggest and commend to our hearts but that no one should presume upon his own righteousness nor distrust God's mercy which shines out more pre-eminently then, when the sinner is made holy and the downcast lifted up. For the measure of heavenly gifts does not rest upon the quality of our deeds, nor in this world, in which "all life is temptation," is each one rewarded according to his deserving, for if the Lord were to take count of a man's iniquities, no one could stand before His judgment.

II. The Mighty Assemblage of Prelates Testifies to Men's Loyal Acceptance of Peter in Peter's Unworthy Successor.

2 Therefore, dearly-beloved, "magnify the Lord with me and let us exalt His name together," that the whole reason of to-day's concourse may be referred to the praise of Him Who brought it to pass. For so far as my own feelings are concerned, I confess that I rejoice most over the devotion of you all; and when I look upon this splendid assemblage of my venerable brother-priests I feel that, where so many saints are gathered, the very angels are amongst us. Nor do I doubt that we are to-day visited by a more abundant outpouring of

the Divine Presence, when so many fair tabernacles of God, so many excellent members of the Body of Christ are in one place and shine with one light. Nor yet I feel sure, is the fostering condescension and true love of the most blessed Apostle Peter absent from this congregation: he has not deserted your devotion, in whose honour you are met together. And so he too rejoices over your good feeling and welcomes your respect for the Lord's own institution as shown towards the partners of His honour, commending the well ordered love of the whole Church, which ever finds Peter in Peter's See, and from affection for so great a shepherd grows not lukewarm even over so inferior a successor as myself.

3 In order therefore, dearly beloved, that this loyalty which you unanimously display towards my humbleness may obtain the fruit of its zeal, on bended knee entreat the merciful goodness of our God that in our days He will drive out those who assail us, strengthen faith, increase love, increase peace and deign to render me His poor slave, whom to show the riches of His grace He has willed to stand at the helm of the Church, sufficient for so great a work and useful in building you up, and to this end to lengthen our time for service that the years He may grant us may be used to His glory through Christ our Lord. Amen.

SERMON 3

Chapter I. The Honour of Being Raised to the Episcopate Must Be Referred Solely to the Divine Head of the Church.

1 As often as God's mercy deigns to bring round the day of His gifts to us, there is, dearly-beloved, just and reasonable cause for rejoicing, if only our appointment to the office be referred to the praise of Him who gave it. For though this recognition of God may well be found in all His priests, yet I take it to be peculiarly binding on me, who, regarding my own utter insignificance and the greatness of the office undertaken, ought myself also to utter that exclamation of the Prophet, "Lord, I heard Thy speech and was afraid: I considered Thy works and was dismayed. For what is so unwonted and so dismaying as labour to the frail, exaltation to the humble, dignity to the undeserving? And yet we do not despair nor lose heart, because we put our trust not in ourselves but in Him who works in us. And hence also we have sung with harmonious voice the psalm of David, dearly beloved, not in our own praise, but to the glory of Christ the Lord. For it is He of whom it is prophetically written, "Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melch-

izedeck," that is, not after the order of Aaron, whose priesthood descending along his own line of offspring was a temporal ministry, and ceased with the law of the Old Testament, but after the order of Melchizedeck, in whom was prefigured the eternal High Priest.

² And no reference is made to his parentage because in him it is understood that He was portrayed, whose generation cannot be declared. And finally, now that the mystery of this Divine priesthood has descended to human agency, it runs not by the line of birth, nor is that which flesh and blood created, chosen, but without regard to the privilege of paternity and succession by inheritance, those men are received by the Church as its rulers whom the Holy Ghost prepares: so that in the people of God's adoption, the whole body of which is priestly and royal, it is not the prerogative of earthly origin which obtains the unction but the condescension of Divine grace which creates the bishop.

Chapter II. From Christ and Through S. Peter the Priesthood is Handed on in Perpetuity.

¹ Although, therefore, dearly beloved, we be found both weak and slothful in fulfilling the duties of our office, because, whatever devoted and vigorous action we desire to do, we are hindered by the frailty of our very condition; yet having the unceasing propitiation of the Almighty and perpetual Priest, who being like us and yet equal with the Father, brought down His Godhead even to things human, and raised His Manhood even to things Divine, we worthily and piously rejoice over His dispensation, whereby, though He has delegated the care of His sheep to many shepherds, yet He has not Himself abandoned the guardianship of His beloved flock. And from His overruling and eternal protection we have received the support of the Apostles' aid also, which assuredly does not cease from its operation: and the strength of the foundation, on which the whole superstructure of the Church is reared, is not weakened by the weight of the temple that rests upon it. For the solidity of that faith which was praised in the chief of the Apostles is perpetual: and as that remains which Peter believed in Christ, so that remains which Christ instituted in Peter.

² For when, as has been read in the Gospel lesson the Lord had asked the disciples whom they believed Him to be amid the various opinions that were held, and the blessed Peter had replied, saying, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," the Lord says, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona, because

flesh and flood hath not revealed it to thee, but My Father, which is in heaven. And I say to thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build My church, and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shall loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven."

Chapter III. S. Peter's Work is Still Carried Out by His Successors.

1 The dispensation of Truth therefore abides, and the blessed Peter persevering in the strength of the Rock, which he has received, has not abandoned the helm of the Church, which he undertook. For he was ordained before the rest in such a way that from his being called the Rock, from his being pronounced the Foundation, from his being constituted the Doorkeeper of the kingdom of heaven, from his being set as the Umpire to bind and to loose, whose judgments shall retain their validity in heaven, from all these mystical titles we might know the nature of his association with Christ. And still to-day he more fully and effectually performs what is entrusted to him, and carries out every part of his duty and charge in Him and with Him, through Whom he has been glorified. And so if anything is rightly done and rightly decreed by us, if anything is won from the mercy of God by our daily supplications, it is of his work and merits whose power lives and whose authority prevails in his See. For this, dearly-beloved, was gained by that confession, which, inspired in the Apostle's heart by God the Father, transcended all the uncertainty of human opinions, and was endued with the firmness of a rock, which no assaults could shake. For throughout the Church Peter daily says, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," and every tongue which confesses the Lord, accepts the instruction his voice conveys. This Faith conquers the devil, and breaks the bonds of his prisoners. It uproots us from this earth and plants us in heaven, and the gates of Hades cannot prevail against it. For with such solidity is it endued by God that the depravity of heretics cannot mar it nor the unbelief of the heathen overcome it.

Chapter IV. This Festival Then is in S. Peter's Honour, and the Progress of His Flock Redounds to His Glory.

1 And so, dearly beloved, with reasonable obedience we celebrate to-day's festival by such methods, that in my humble person he may be recognized and honoured, in whom abides the care of all the shepherds, together with

the charge of the sheep commended to him, and whose dignity is not abated even in so unworthy an heir. And hence the presence of my venerable brothers and fellow-priests, so much desired and valued by me, will be the more sacred and precious, if they will transfer the chief honour of this service in which they have deigned to take part to him whom they know to be not only the patron of this see, but also the primate of all bishops. When therefore we utter our exhortations in your ears, holy brethren, believe that he is speaking whose representative we are: because it is his warning that we give, nothing else but his teaching that we preach, beseeching you to "gird up the loins of your mind," and lead a chaste and sober life in the fear of God, and not to let your mind forget his supremacy and consent to the lusts of the flesh. Short and fleeting are the joys of this world's pleasures which endeavour to turn aside from the path of life those who are called to eternity. The faithful and religious spirit, therefore, must desire the things which are heavenly, and being eager for the Divine promises, lift itself to the love of the incorruptible Good and the hope of the true Light.

² But be sure, dearly-beloved, that your labour, whereby you resist vices and fight against carnal desires, is pleasing and precious in God's sight, and in God's mercy will profit not only yourselves but me also, because the zealous pastor makes his boast of the progress of the Lord's flock. "For ye are my crown and joy," as the Apostle says; if your faith, which from the beginning of the Gospel has been preached in all the world has continued in love and holiness. For though the whole Church, which is in all the world, ought to abound in all virtues, yet you especially, above all people, it becomes to excel in deeds of piety, because founded as you are on the very citadel of the Apostolic Rock, not only has our Lord Jesus Christ redeemed you in common with all men, but the blessed Apostle Peter has instructed you far beyond all men. Through the same Christ our Lord.

S E R M O N 4

Chapter I. The Devil's Wickedness in Leading Men Astray is Now Counteracted by the Work of Redemption in Restoring Them to the Truth.

¹ God's mercy and justice, dearly-beloved, has in loving-kindness disclosed to us through our Lord Jesus Christ's teaching, the manner of His retributions, as they have been ordained from the foundation of the world, that accepting the significance of facts we might take what we believe will happen, to have, as it were, already come to pass. For our Redeemer and Saviour knew

what great errors the devil's deceit had dispersed throughout the world and by how many superstitions he had subjected the chief part of mankind to himself. But that the creature formed in God's image might not any longer through ignorance of the Truth be driven on to the precipice of perpetual death, He inserted in the Gospel-pages the nature of His judgment that it might recover every man from the snares of the crafty foe; for now all would know what rewards the good might hope for and what punishments the evil must fear. For the instigator and author of sin in order first to fall through pride and then to injure us through envy, because "he stood not in the Truth" put all his strength in lying and produced every kind of deceit from this poisoned source of his cunning, that he might cut off man's devout hopes from that happiness which he had lost by his own uplifting, and drag them into partnership with his condemnation, to whose reconciliation he himself could not attain.

2 Whoever therefore among men has wronged God by his wickednesses, has been led astray by his guile, and depraved by his villainy. For he easily drives into all evil doings those whom he has deceived in the matter of religion. But knowing that God is denied not only by words but also by deeds, many whom he could not rob of their faith, he has robbed of their love, and by choking the ground of their heart with the weeds of avarice, has spoiled them of the fruit of good works, when he could not spoil them of the confession of their lips.

Chapter II. God's Just Judgment Against Sin is Denounced that We May Avoid It by Deeds of Mercy and Love.

1 On account therefore, dearly-beloved, of these crafty designs of our ancient foe, the unspeakable goodness of Christ has wished us to know, what was to be decreed about all mankind in the day of retribution, that, while in this life healing remedies are legitimately offered, while restoration is not denied to the contrite, and those who have been long barren can at length be fruitful, the verdict on which justice has determined may be fore-stalled and the picture of God's coming to judge the world never depart from the mind's eye. For the Lord will come in His glorious Majesty, as He Himself has foretold, and there will be with Him an innumerable host of angel-legions radiant in their splendour. Before the throne of His power will all the nations of the world be gathered; and all the men that in all ages and on all the face of the earth have been born, shall stand in the Judge's sight. Then shall be separated

the just from the unjust, the guiltless from the guilty; and when the sons of piety, their works of mercy reviewed, have received the Kingdom prepared for them, the unjust shall be upbraided for their utter barrenness, and those on the left having naught in common with those on the right, shall by the condemnation of the Almighty Judge be cast into the fire prepared for the torture of the devil and his angels, with him to share the punishment, whose will they choose to do.

2 Who then would not tremble at this doom of eternal torment? Who would not dread evils which are never to be ended? But since this severity is only denounced in order that we may seek for mercy, we too in this present life must show such open-handed mercy that after perilous neglect returning to works of piety it may be possible for us to be set free from this doom. For this is the purpose of the Judge's might and of the Saviour's graciousness, that the unrighteous may forsake his ways and the sinner give up his wicket habits. Let those who wish Christ to spare them, have mercy on the poor; let them give freely to feed the wretched, who desire to attain to the society of the blessed. Let no man consider his fellow vile, nor despise in any one that nature which the Creator of the world made His own. For who that labours can deny that Christ claims that labour as done unto Himself? Your fellow-slave is helped thereby, but it is the Lord who will repay. The feeding of the needy is the purchase money of the heavenly kingdom and the free dispenser of things temporal is made the heir of things eternal. But how has such small expenditure deserved to be valued so highly except because our works are weighed in the balance of love, and when a man loves what God loves, he is deservedly raised into His kingdom, whose attribute of love has in part become his?

Chapter III. We Minister to Christ Himself in the Person of His Poor.

1 To this pious duty of good works, therefore dearly beloved, the day of Apostolic institution invites us, on which the first collection of our holy offerings has been prudently and profitably ordained by the Fathers; in order that, because at this season formerly the Gentiles used superstitiously to serve demons, we might celebrate the most holy offering of our alms in protest against the unholy victims of the wicked. And because this has been most profitable to the growth of the Church, it has been resolved to make it perpetual. We exhort you, therefore, holy brethren throughout the churches of your several regions on Wednesday next to contribute of your goods, accord-

ing to your means and willingness, to purposes of charity, that ye may be able to win that blessedness in which he shall rejoice without end, who "considereth the needy and poor. And if we are to "consider" him, dearly beloved, we must use loving care and watchfulness, in order that we may find him whom modesty conceals and shamefastness keeps back. For there are those who blush openly to ask for what they want and prefer to suffer privation without speaking rather than to be put to shame by a public appeal. These are they whom we ought to "consider" and relieve from their hidden straits in order that they may the more rejoice from the very fact that their modesty as well as poverty has been consulted.

2 And rightly in the needy and poor do we recognize the person of Jesus Christ our Lord Himself, "Who though He was rich," as says the blessed Apostle, "became poor, that He might enrich us by His poverty. And that His presence might never seem to be wanting to us, He so effected the mystic union of His humility and His glory that while we adore Him as King and Lord in the Majesty of the Father, we might also feed Him in His poor, for which we shall be set free in an evil day from perpetual damnation, and for our considerate care of the poor shall be joined with the whole company of heaven.

Chapter IV. To Complete Their Acceptance by God, They Must Not Neglect to Lay All Information Against the Manichees Who are in the City.

1 But in order that your devotion, dearly beloved, may in all things be pleasing to God, we exhort you also to show due zeal in informing your presbyters of Manichees where- ever they be hidden. For it is naught but piety to disclose the hiding-places of the wicked, and in them to overthrow the devil whom they serve. For against them, dearly beloved, it becomes indeed the whole world and the whole Church everywhere to put on the armour of Faith: but your devotion ought to be foremost in this work, who in your progenitors learnt the Gospel of the Cross of Christ from the very mouth of the most blessed Apostles Peter and Paul. Men must not be allowed to lie hid who do not believe that the law given through Moses, in which God is shown to be the Creator of the Universe, ought to be received: who speak against the Prophets and the Holy Ghost, dare in their damnable profanity to reject the Psalms of David which are sung through the universal Church with all reverence, deny the birth of the Lord Christ, according to the flesh, say that His Passion and Resurrection was fictitious, not true, and deprive the

baptism of regeneration of all its power as a means of grace. Nothing with them is holy, nothing entire, nothing true. They are to be shunned, lest they harm any one: they are to be given up, lest they should settle in any part of our city. Yours, dearly. beloved, will be the gain before the Lord's judgment-seat of what we bid, of what we ask. For it is but right that the triumph of this deed also should be joined to the oblation of our alms, the Lord Jesus Christ in all things aiding us, Who lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 5

Chapter I. Our Goods are Given Us Not as Our Own Possessions But for Use in God's Service.

1 Observing the institutions of the Apostles' tradition, dearly beloved, we exhort you, as watchful shepherds, to celebrate with the devotion of religious practice that day which they purged from wicked superstitions and consecrated to deeds of mercy, thus showing that the authority of the Fathers still lives among us, and that we obediently abide by their teaching. Inasmuch as the sacred usefulness of such a practice affects not only time past but also our own age, so that what aided them in the destruction of vanities, might contribute with us to the increase of virtues. And what so suitable to faith, what so much in harmony with godliness as to assist the poverty of the needy, to undertake the care of the weak, to succour the needs of the brethren, and to remember one's own condition in the toils of others. In which work He only who knows what He has given to each, discerns aright how much a man can and how much he cannot do. For not only are spiritual riches and heavenly gifts received from God, but earthly and material possessions also proceed from His bounty, that He may be justified in requiring an account of those things which He has not so much put in our possession as committed to our stewardship. God's gifts, therefore, we must use properly and wisely, lest the material for good work should become an occasion of sin. For wealth, after its kind and regarded as a means, is good and is of the greatest advantage to human society, when it is in the bands of the benevolent and open-handed, and when the luxurious man does not squander nor the miser hoard it; for whether ill-stored or unwisely spent it is equally lost.

Chapter II. The Liberal Use of Riches is Worse Than Vain, If It Be for Selfish Ends Alone.

1 And, however praiseworthy it be to flee from intemperance, and to avoid the waste of base pleasures, and though many in their magnificence disdain to conceal their wealth, and in the abundance of their goods think scorn of mean and sordid parsimony, yet such men's liberality is not happy, nor their thriftiness to be commended, if their riches are of benefit to themselves alone; if no poor folks are helped by their goods, no sick persons nourished; if out of the abundance of their great possessions the captive gets not ransom, nor the stranger comfort, nor the exile relief. Rich men of this kind are needier than all the needy. For they lose those returns which they might have for ever, and while they gloat over the brief and not always free enjoyment of what they possess, they are not fed upon the bread of justice nor the sweets of mercy: outwardly splendid, they have no light within: of things temporal they have abundance, but utter lack of things eternal: for they inflict starvation on their own souls, and bring them to shame and nakedness by spending upon heavenly treasures none of these things which they put into their earthly storehouses.

Chapter III. The Duty of Mercy Outweighs All Other Virtues.

1 But, perhaps there are some rich people, who, although they are not wont to help the Church's poor by bounteous gifts, yet keep other commands of God, and among their many meritorious acts of faith and uprightness think they will be pardoned for the lack of this one virtue. But this is so important that, though the rest exist without it, they can be of no avail. For although a man be full of faith, and chaste, and sober, and adorned with other still greater decorations, yet if he is not merciful, he cannot deserve mercy: for the Lord says, "blessed are the merciful, for God shall have mercy upon them." And when the Son of Man comes in His Majesty and is seated on His glorious throne, and all nations being gathered together, division is made between the good and the bad, for what shall they be praised who stand upon the right except for works of benevolence and deeds of love which Jesus Christ shall reckon as done to Himself? For He who has made man's nature His own, has separated Himself in nothing from man's humility. And what objection shall be made to those on the left except for their neglect of love, their inhuman harshness, their refusal of mercy to the poor? as if those on the right had no other virtues those on the left no other faults. But at the

great and final day of judgment large-hearted liberality and ungodly meanness will be counted of such importance as to outweigh all other virtues and all other shortcomings, so that for the one men shall gain entrance into the Kingdom, for the other they shall be sent into eternal fire.

Chapter IV. And Its Efficacy, as Scripture Proves, is Incalculable.

¹ Let no one therefore, dearly beloved, flatter himself on any merits of a good life, if works of charity be wanting in him, and let him not trust in the purity of his body, if he be not cleansed by the purification of almsgiving. For "almsgiving wipes out sin," kills death, and extinguishes the punishment of perpetual fire. But he who has not been fruitful therein, shall have no indulgence from the great Re-compenser, as Solomon says, "He that closeth his ears lest he should hear the weak, shall himself call upon the Lord, and there shall be none to hear him. And hence Tobias also, while instructing his son in the precepts of godliness, says, "Give alms of thy substance, and turn not thy face from any poor man: so shall it come to pass that the face of God shall not be turned from thee. This virtue makes all virtues profitable; for by its presence it gives life to that very faith, by which "the just lives," and which is said to be "dead without works: because as the reason for works consists in faith, so the strength of faith consists in works. "While we have time therefore," as the Apostle says, "let us do that which is good to all men, and especially to them that are of the household of faith. "But let us not be weary in doing good;

² for in His own time we shall reap." And so the present life is the time for sowing, and the day of retribution is the time of harvest, when every one shall reap the fruit of his seed according to the amount of his sowing. And no one shall be disappointed in the produce of that harvesting, because it is the heart's intentions rather than the sums expended that will be reckoned up. And little sums from little means shall produce as much as great sums from great means. And therefore, dearly beloved, let us carry out this Apostolic institution. And as the first collection will be next Sunday, let all prepare themselves to give willingly, that every one according to his ability may join in this most sacred offering. Your very alms and those who shall be aided by your gifts shall intercede for you, that you may be always ready for every good work in Christ Jesus our Lord, Who lives and reigns for ages without end. Amen.

SERMON 6

Chapter I. restoration to the Divine Image in Which We Were Made is Only Possible by Our Imitation of God's Will.

¹If, dearly beloved, we comprehend faithfully and wisely the beginning of our creation, we shall find that man was made in God's image, to the end that he might imitate his Creator, and that our race attains its highest natural dignity, by the form of the Divine goodness being reflected in us, as in a mirror. And assuredly to this form the Saviour's grace is daily restoring us, so long as that which, in the first Adam fell, is raised up again in the second. And the cause of our restoration is naught else but the mercy of God, Whom we should not have loved, unless He had first loved us, and dispelled the darkness of our ignorance by the light of His truth. And the Lord foretelling this by the holy Isaiah says, "I will bring the blind into a way that they knew not, and will make them walk in paths which they were ignorant of. I will turn darkness into light for them, and the crooked into the straight. These words will I do for them, and not forsake them. And again he says, "I was found by them that sought Me not, and openly appeared to them that asked not for Me. And the Apostle John teaches us how this has been fulfilled, when he says.

²"We know that the Son of God is come, and has given us an understanding, that we may know Him that is true, and may be in Him that is true, even His Son," and again, "let us therefore love God, because He first loved us. Thus it is that God, by loving us, restores us to His image, and, in order that He may find in us the form of His goodness, He gives us that whereby we ourselves too may do the work that He does, kindling that is the lamps of our minds, and inflaming us with the fire of His love, that we may love not only Himself, but also whatever He loves. For if between men that is the lasting friendship which is based upon similarity of character notwithstanding that such identity of wills is often directed to wicked ends, how ought we to yearn and strive to differ in nothing from what is pleasing to God. Of which the prophet speaks, "for wrath is in His indignation, and life in His pleasure," because we shall not otherwise attain the dignity of the Divine Majesty, unless we imitate His will.

Chapter II. We Must Love Both God And Our Neighbour, and "Our Neighbour" Must Be Interpreted in Its Widest Sense.

1 And so, when the Lord says, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, from all thy heart and from all thy mind: and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," let the faithful soul put on the unfading love of its Author and Ruler, and subject itself also entirely to His will in Whose works and judgments true justice and tender-hearted compassion never fail. For although a man be wearied out with labours and many misfortunes, there is good reason for him to endure all in the knowledge that adversity will either prove him good or make him better. But this godly love cannot be perfect unless a man love his neighbour also. Under which name must be included not only those who are connected with us by friendship or neighbourhood, but absolutely all men, with whom we have a common nature, whether they be foes or allies, slaves or free. For the One Maker fashioned us, the One Creator breathed life into us; we all enjoy the same sky and air, the same days and nights, and, though some be good, others bad, some righteous, others unrighteous, yet God is bountiful to all, kind to all, as Paul and Barnabas said to the Lycaonians concerning God's Providence, "who in generations gone by suffered all the nations to walk in their own ways. And yet He left Himself not without witness, doing them good, giving rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, and filling our hearts with food and gladness.

2 But the wide extent of Christian grace has given us yet greater reasons for loving our neighbour, which, reaching to all parts of the whole world, looks down on no one, and teaches that no one is to be neglected. And full rightly does He command us to love our enemies, and to pray to Him for our persecutors, who, daily grafting shoots of the wild olive from among all nations upon the holy branches of His own olive, makes men reconciled instead of enemies, adopted sons instead of strangers, just instead of ungodly, "that every knee may bow of things in heaven, of things on earth, and of things under the earth, and every tongue confess that the Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father."

Chapter III. We Must Be Thankful, and Show, Our Thankfulness for What We Have Received, Whethermuch or Little.

1 Accordingly, as God wishes us to be good, because He is good, none of His judgments ought to displease us. For not to give Him thanks in all things, what else is it but to blame Him in some degree. Man's folly too often dares

to murmur against his Creator, not only in time of want, but also in time of plenty, so that, when something is not supplied, he complains, and when certain things are in abundance he is ungrateful. The Lord of rich harvests thought scorn of his well-filled garners, and groaned over his abundant grape-gathering: he did not give thanks for the size of the crop, but complained of its poorness. And if the ground has been less prolific than its wont in the seed it has reared, and the vines and the olives have failed in their supply of fruit, the year is accused, the elements blamed, neither the air nor the sky is spared, whereas nothing better befits and reassures the faithful and godly disciples of Truth than the persistent and unwearied lifting of praise to God, as says the Apostle, "Rejoice always, pray without ceasing: in all things give thanks. For this is the will of God in Christ Jesus in all things for you. But how shall we be partakers of this devotion, unless vicissitudes of fortune train our minds in constancy, so that the love directed towards God may not be puffed up in prosperity nor faint in adversity. Let that which pleases God, please us too.

² Let us rejoice in whatever measure of gifts He gives. Let him who has used great possessions well, use small ones also well. Plenty and scarcity may be equally for our good, and even in spiritual progress we shall not be cast down at the smallness of the results, if our minds become not dry and barren. Let that spring from the soil of our heart, which the earth gave not. To him that fails not in good will, means to give are ever supplied. Therefore, dearly beloved, in all works of godliness let us use what each year gives us, and let not seasons of difficulty hinder our Christian benevolence. The Lord knows how to replenish the widow's vessels, which her pious deed of hospitality has emptied: He knows how to turn water into wine: He knows how to satisfy 5,000 hungry persons with a few loaves. And He who is fed in His poor, can multiply when He takes what He increased when He gave.

Chapter IV. Prayer, Fasting and Almsgiving are the Three Comprehensive Duties of a Christian.

¹ But there are three things which most belong to religious actions, namely prayer, fasting, and almsgiving, in the exercising of which while every time is accepted, yet that ought to be more zealously observed, which we have received as hallowed by tradition from the apostles: even as this tenth month brings round again to us the opportunity when according to the ancient practice we may give more diligent heed to those three things of which I

have spoken. For by prayer we seek to propitiate God, by fasting we extinguish the lusts of the flesh, by alms we redeem our sins: and at the same time God's image is throughout renewed in us, if we are always ready to praise Him, unfailingly intent on our purification and unceasingly active in cherishing our neighbour. This threefold round of duty, dearly beloved, brings all other virtues into action: it attains to God's image and likeness and unites us inseparably with the Holy Spirit. Because in prayer faith remains steadfast, in fastings life remains innocent, in almsgiving the mind remains kind. On Wednesday and Friday therefore let us fast: and on Saturday let us keep vigil with the most blessed Apostle Peter, who will deign to aid our supplications and fast and alms with his own prayers through our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 7

Chapter I. The Prosperous Must Show Forth Their Thankfulness to God, by Liberality to the Poor and Needy.

1 The transcendent power of God's grace, dearly beloved, is indeed daily effecting in Christian hearts the transference of our every desire from earthly to heavenly things. But this present life also is passed through the Creator's aid and sustained by His providence, because He who promises things eternal is also the Supplier of things temporal. As therefore we ought to give God thanks for the hope of future happiness towards which we run by faith, because He raises us up to a perception of the happiness in store for us, so for those things also which we receive in the course of every year, God should be honoured and praised, who having from the beginning given fertility to the earth and laid down laws of bearing fruit for every germ and seed, will never forsake his own decrees but will as Creator ever continue His kind administration of the things that He has made. Whatever therefore the cornfields, the vineyards and the olive groves have borne for man's purposes, all this God in His bounteous goodness has produced: for under the varying condition of the elements He has mercifully aided the uncertain toils of the husbandmen so that wind, and rain, cold and heat, day and night might serve our needs. For men's methods would not have sufficed to give effect to their works, had not God given the increase to their wonted plantings and waterings.

2 And hence it is but godly and just that we too should help others with that which the Heavenly Father has mercifully bestowed on us. For there are

full many, who have no fields, no vineyards, no olive-groves, whose wants we must provide out of the store which God has given, that they too with us may bless God for the richness of the earth and rejoice at its possessors having received things which they have shared also with the poor and the stranger. That garner is blessed and most worthy that all fruits should increase manifold in it, from which the hunger of the needy and the weak is satisfied from which the wants of the stranger are relieved, from which the desire of the sick is gratified. For these men God has in His justice permitted to be afflicted with divers troubles, that He might both crown the wretched for their patience and the merciful for their loving-kindness.

Chapter II. Almsgiving and Fasting are the Most Essential Aids to Prayer.

1 And while all seasons are opportune for this duty, beloved, yet this present season is specially suitable and appropriate, at which our holy fathers, being Divinely inspired, sanctioned the Fast of the tenth month, that when all the ingathering of the crops was complete, we might dedicate to God our reasonable service of abstinence, and each might remember so to use his abundance as to be more abstinent in himself and more open-handed towards the poor. For forgiveness of sins is most efficaciously prayed for with almsgiving and fasting, and supplications that are winged by such aids mount swiftly to God's ears: since as it is written, "the merciful man doeth good to his own soul," and nothing is so much a man's own as that which he spends on his neighbour. For that part of his material possessions with which he ministers to the needy, is transformed into eternal riches, and such wealth is begotten of this bountifulness as can never be diminished or in any way destroyed, for "blessed are the merciful, for God shall have mercy on them," and He Himself shall be their chief Reward, who is the Model of His own command.

Chapter III. Christians' Pious Activity Has So Enraged Satan that He Has Multiplied Heresies to Wreak Them Harm.

1 But at all these acts of godliness, dearly-beloved, which commend us more and more to God, there is no doubt that our enemy, who is so eager and so skilled in harming us, is aroused with keener stings of hatred, that under a false profession of the Christian name he may corrupt those whom he is not allowed to attack with open and bloody persecutions, and for this work he has heretics in his service whom he has led astray from the catholic Faith, subjected to himself, and forced under divers errors to serve in his camp. And as for the deception of primitive man he used the services of a serpent, so to

mislead the minds of the upright he has armed these men's tongues with the poison of his falsehoods. But these treacherous designs, dearly beloved, with a shepherd's care, and so far as the Lord vouchsafes His aid, we will defeat. And taking heed lest any of the holy flock should perish, we admonish you with fatherly warnings to keep aloof from the "lying lips" and the "deceitful tongue" from which the prophet asks that his soul should be delivered; because "their words," as says the blessed Apostle, "do creep as doth a gangrene. They creep in humbly, they arrest softly, they bind gently, they slay secretly. For they "come," as the Saviour foretold, "in sheeps' clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves; because they could not deceive the true and simple sheep, unless they covered their bestial rage with the name of Christ.

² But in them all he is at work who, though he is really the enemy of enlightenment, "transforms himself into an angel of light. His is the craft which inspires Basilides; his the ingenuity which worked in Marcion; he is the leader under whom Sabellius acted; he the author of Photinus' headlong fall, his the authority and his the spirit which Arius and Eunomius served: in fine under his command and authority the whole herd of such wild beasts has separated from the unity of the Church and severed connexion with the Truth.

Chapter IV. Of All Heresies Manicheism is the Worst and Foullest.

¹ But while he retains this ever-varying supremacy over all the heresies, yet he has built his citadel upon the madness of the Manichees, and found in them the most spacious court in which to strut and boast himself: for there he possesses not one form of misbelief only, but a general compound of all errors and ungodlinesses. For all that is idolatrous in the heathen, all that is blind in carnal Jews, all that is unlawful in the secrets of the magic art, all finally that is profane and blasphemous in all the heresies is gathered together with all manner of filth in these men as if in a cesspool. And hence it is too long a matter to describe all their ungodlinesses: for the number of the charges against them exceeds my supply of words. It will be sufficient to indicate a few instances, that you may, from what you hear, conjecture what from modesty we omit. In the matter of their rites, however, which are as indecent morally as they are religiously, we cannot keep silence about that which the Lord has been pleased to reveal to our inquiries, lest any one should think we have trusted in this thing to vague rumours and uncertain opinions. And so with bishops and presbyters sitting beside me, and Christi-

an nobles assembled in the same place, we ordered their elect men and women to be brought before us.

² And when they had made many disclosures concerning their perverse tenets and their mode of conducting festivals, they revealed this story of utter depravity also, which I blush to describe but which has been so carefully investigated that no grounds for doubt are left for the incredulous or for cavillers. For there were present all the persons by which the unutterable crime had been perpetrated, to wit a girl at most ten years old, and two women who had nursed her and prepared her for this outrage. There was also present the stripling who had outraged her, and the bishop, who had arranged their horrible crime. All these made one and the same confession, and a tale of such foul orgies was disclosed as our ears could scarcely bear. And lest by plainer speaking we offend chaste ears, the account Of the proceedings shall suffice, in which it is most fully shown that in that sect no modesty, no sense of honour, no chastity whatever is found: for their law is falsehood, their religion the devil, their sacrifice immorality.

Chapter V. Every One Should Abjure Such Men, and Give All the Information They Possess About Them to the Authorities.

¹ And so, dearly beloved, renounce all friendship with these men who are utterly abominable and pestilential, and whom disturbances in other districts have brought in great numbers to the city: and you women especially refrain from acquaintance and intercourse with such men, lest while your ears are charmed unawares by their fabulous stories, you fall into the devil's noose, who, knowing that he seduced the first man by the woman's mouth, and drove all men from the bliss of paradise through feminine credulity, still lies in watch for your sex with more confident craft that he may rob both of their faith and of their modesty those whom he has been able to ensnare by the servants of his falseness. This, too, dearly beloved, I entreat and admonish you loyally to inform us if any of you know where they dwell, where they teach, whose houses they frequent, and in whose company they take rest: because it is of little avail to any one that through the Holy Ghost's protection he is not caught by them himself, if he takes no action when he knows that others are being caught. Against common enemies for the common safety all alike should exercise the same vigilance lest from one member's wound other members also be injured, and they that think such men should not be

given up, in Christ's judgment be found guilty for their silence even though they are not contaminated by their approval.

Chapter VI. Zeal in Rooting Out Heresy Will Make Other Pious Duties More Acceptable.

1 Display then a holy zeal of religious vigilance, and let all the faithful rise in one body against these savage enemies of their souls. For the merciful God has delivered a certain portion of our noxious foes into our hands in order that by revelation of the danger theutmost caution might be aroused. Let not what has been done suffice, but let us persevere in searching them out: and by God's aid the result will be not only the continuance in safety of those who still stand, but also the recovery from error of many who have been deceived by the devil's seduction. And the prayers, and alms, and fasts that you offer to the merciful God shall be the holier for this very devotion, when this deed of faith also is added to all your other godly duties. On Wednesday and Friday, therefore, let us fast, and on Saturday let us keep vigil in the presence of the most blessed Apostle Peter; who, as we experience and know, watches unceasingly like a shepherd over the sheep entrusted to him by the Lord, and who will prevail in his entreaties that the Church of God, which was rounded by his preaching, may be free from all error, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

SERMON 8

Chapter I. The Duty of Fasting is Based on Both the Old and New Testaments, and is Closely Connected with the Duties of Prayer and Almsgiving.

1 The teaching of the Law, dearly beloved, imparts great authority to the precepts of the Gospel, seeing that certain things are transferred from the old ordinances to the new, and by the very devotions of the Church it is shown that the Lord Jesus Christ "came not to destroy but to fulfil the Law. For since the cessation of the signs by which our Saviour's coming was announced, and the abolition of the types in the presence of the Very Truth, those things which our religion instituted, whether for the regulation of customs or for the simple worship of God, continue with us in the same form in which they were at the beginning, and what was in harmony with both Testaments has been modified by no change. Among these is also the solemn fast of the tenth month, which is now to be kept by us according to yearly custom, because it is altogether just and godly to give thanks to the

Divine bounty for the crops which the earth has produced for the use of men under the guiding hand of supreme Providence. And to show that we do this with ready mind, we must exercise not only the self-restraint of fasting, but also diligence in almsgiving, that from the ground of our heart also may spring the germ of righteousness and the fruit of love, and that we may deserve God's mercy by showing mercy to His poor.

² For the supplication, which is supported by works of piety, is most efficacious in prevailing with God, since he who turns not his heart away from the poor soon turns himself to hear the Lord, as the Lord says: "be ye merciful as your Father also is merciful.... release and ye shall be released. What is kinder than this justice? what more merciful than this retribution, where the judge's sentence rests in the power of him that is to be judged? "Give," he says, "and it shall be given to you. How soon do the misgivings of distrust and the puttings off of avarice fall to the ground, when humanity may fearlessly spend what the Truth pledges Himself to repay.

Chapter II. He that Lends to the Lord Makes a Better Bargain Than He that Lends to Man.

¹ Be steadfast, Christian giver: give what you may receive, sow what you may reap, scatter what you may gather. Fear not to spend, sigh not over the doubtfulness of the gain. Your substance grows when it is wisely dispensed. Set your heart on the profits due to mercy, and traffic in eternal gains. Your Recompenser wishes you to be munificent, and He who gives that you may have, commands you to spend, saying, "Give, and it shall be given to you. You must thankfully embrace the conditions of this promise. For although you have nothing that you did not receive, yet you cannot fail to have what you give. He therefore that loves money, and wishes to multiply his wealth by immoderate profits, should rather practise this holy usury and grow rich by such money-lending, in order not to catch men hampered with difficulties, and by treacherous assistance entangle them in debts which they can never pay, but to be His creditor and His money-lender, who says, "Give, and it shall be given to you," and "with what measure ye measure, it shall be measured again to you. But he is unfaithful and unfair even to himself, who does not wish to have for ever what he esteems desirable. Let him amass what he may, let him hoard and store what he may, he will leave this world empty and needy, as David the prophet says, "for when he dieth he shall take nothing away, nor shall his glory descend with him.

² Whereas if he were considerate of his own soul, he would trust his good to Him, who is both the proper Surety for the poor and the generous Repayer of loans. But unrighteous and shameless avarice, which promises to do some kind act but eludes it, trusts not God, whose promises never fail, and trusts man, who makes such hasty bargains; and while he reckons the present more certain than the future, often deservedly finds that his greed for unjust gain is the cause of by no means unjust loss.

Chapter III. Money-Lending at High Interest is in All Respects Iniquitous.

¹ And hence, whatever result follow, the money-lender's trade is always bad, for it is sin either to lessen or increase the sum, in that if he lose what he lent he is wretched, and if he takes more than he lent he is more wretched still. The iniquity of money-lending must absolutely be abjured, and the gain which lacks all humanity must be shunned. A man's possessions are indeed multiplied by these unrighteous and sorry means, but the mind's wealth decays because usury of money is the death of the soul. For what God thinks of such men the most holy Prophet David makes clear, for when he asks, "Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle, or who shall rest upon thy holy hill?" he receives the Divine utterance in reply, from which he learns that that man attains to eternal rest who among other rules of holy living "hath not given his money upon usury:" and thus he who gets deceitful gain from lending his money on usury is shown to be both an alien from God's tabernacle and an exile from His holy hill, and in seeking to enrich himself by other's losses, he deserves to be punished with eternal neediness.

Chapter IV. Let Us Avoid Avarice, and Share God's Benefits with Others.

¹ And so, dearly beloved, do ye who with the whole heart have put your trust in the Lord's promises, flee from this unclean leprosy of avarice, and use God's gift piously and wisely. And since you rejoice in His bounty, take heed that you have those who may share in your joys. For many lack what you have in plenty, and some men's needs afford you opportunity for imitating the Divine goodness, so that through you the Divine benefits may be transferred to others also, and that by being wise stewards of your temporal goods, you may acquire eternal riches. On Wednesday and Friday next, therefore, let us fast, and on Saturday keep vigil with the most blessed Apostle Peter, by whose prayers we may in all things obtain the Divine protection through Christ our Lord. Amen.

SERMON 9

Chapter I. Self-Restraint Leads to Higher Enjoyments.

¹ When the Saviour would instruct His disciples about the Advent of God's Kingdom and the end of the world's times, and teach His whole Church, in the person of the Apostles, He said, "Take heed lest haply your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness, and care of this life." And assuredly, dearly beloved, we acknowledge that this precept applies more especially to us, to whom undoubtedly the day denounced is near, even though hidden. For the advent of which it behoves every man to prepare himself, lest it find him given over to gluttony, or entangled in cares of this life. For by daily experience, beloved, it is proved that the mind's edge is blunted by over-indulgence of the flesh, and the heart's vigour is dulled by excess of food, so that the delights of eating are even opposed to the health of the body, unless reasonable moderation withstand the temptation and the consideration of future discomfort keep from the pleasure. For although the flesh desires nothing without the soul, and receives its sensations from the same source as it receives its motions also, yet it is the function of the same soul to deny certain things to the body which is subject to it, and by its inner judgment to restrain the outer parts from things unseasonable, in order that it may be the oftener free from bodily lusts, and have leisure for Divine wisdom in the palace of the mind, where, away from all the noise of earthly cares, it may in silence enjoy holy meditations and eternal delights. And, although this is difficult to maintain in this life, yet the attempt can frequently be renewed, in order that we may the oftener and longer be occupied with spiritual rather than fleshly cares; and by our spending ever greater portions of our time on higher cares, even our temporal actions may end in gaining the incorruptible riches.

Chapter II. The Teaching of the Four Yearly Fasts is that Spiritual Self-Restraint is as Necessary as Corporeal.

¹ This profitable observance, dearly beloved, is especially laid down for the fasts of the Church, which, in accordance with the Holy Spirit's teaching, are so distributed over the whole year that the law of abstinence may be kept before us at all times. Accordingly we keep the spring fast in Lent, the summer fast at Whitsuntide, the autumn fast in the seventh month, and the winter fast in this which is the tenth month, knowing that there is nothing uncon-

nected with the Divine commands, and that all the elements serve the Word of God to our instruction, so that from the very hinges on which the world turns, as if by four gospels we learn unceasingly what to preach and what to do. For, when the prophet says, "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth His handiwork: day unto day uttereth speech, and night showeth knowledge," what is there by which the Truth does not speak to us? By day and by night His voices are heard, and the beauty of the things made by the workmanship of the One God ceases not to instil the teachings of Reason into our hearts' ears, so that "the invisible things of God may be perceived and seen through the things which are made," and men may serve the Creator of all, not His creatures.

2 Since therefore all vices are destroyed by self-restraint, and whatever avarice thirsts for, pride strives for, luxury lusts after, is overcome by the solid force of this virtue, who can fail to understand the aid which is given us by fastings? for therein we are bidden to restrain ourselves, not only in food, but also in all carnal desires. Otherwise it is lost labour to endure hunger and yet not put away wrong wishes; to afflict oneself by curtailing food, and yet not to flee from sinful thoughts. That is a carnal, not a spiritual fast, where the body only is stinted, and those things persisted in, which are more harmful than all delights. What profit is it to the soul to act outwardly as mistress and inwardly to be a captive and a slave, to issue orders to the limbs and to lose the right to her own liberty? That soul for the most part (and deservedly) meets with rebellion in her servant, which does not pay to God the service that is due. When the body therefore fasts from food, let the mind fast from vices, and pass judgment upon all earthly cares and desires according to the law of its King

Chapter III. Thus Fasting in Mind as Well as Body, and Giving Alms Freely, We Shall Win God's Highest Favour.

1 Let us remember that we owe love first to God, secondly to our neighbour, and that all our affections must be so regulated as not to draw us away from the worship of God, or the benefiting our fellow slave. But how shall we worship God unless that which is pleasing to Him is also pleasing to us? For, if our will is His will, our weakness will receive strength from Him, from Whom the very will came; "for it is God," as the Apostle says, "who worketh in us both to will and to do for (His) good pleasure. And so a man will not be puffed up with pride, nor crushed with despair, if he uses the gifts which God

gave to His glory, and withholds his inclinations from those things, which he knows will harm him. For in abstaining from malicious envy, from luxurious and dissolute living, from the perturbations of anger, from the lust after vengeance, he will be made pure and holy by true fasting, and will be fed upon the pleasures of incorruptible delights, and so he will know how, by the spiritual use of his earthly riches, to transform them into heavenly treasures, not by hoarding up for himself what he has received, but by gaining a hundred-fold on what he gives.

2 And hence we warn you, beloved, in fatherly affection, to make this winter fast fruitful to yourselves by bounteous alms, rejoicing that by you the Lord feeds and clothes His poor, to whom assuredly He could have given the possessions which He has bestowed on you, had He not in His unspeakable mercy wished to justify them for their patient labour, and you for your works of love. Let us therefore fast on Wednesday and Friday, and on Saturday keep vigil with the most blessed Apostle Peter, and he will deign to assist with his own prayers our supplications and fastings and alms which our Lord Jesus Christ presents, Who with the Father and the Holy Ghost lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 10

Chapter I. All Share in the Joy of Christmas.

1 Our Saviour, dearly-beloved, was born today: let us be glad. For there is no proper place for sadness, when we keep the birthday of the Life, which destroys the fear of mortality and brings to us the joy of promised eternity. No one is kept from sharing in this happiness. There is for all one common measure of joy, because as our Lord the destroyer of sin and death finds none free from charge, so is He come to free us all. Let the saint exult in that he draws near to victory. Let the sinner be glad in that he is invited to pardon. Let the gentile take courage in that he is called to life. For the Son of God in the fulness of time which the inscrutable depth of the Divine counsel has determined, has taken on him the nature of man, thereby to reconcile it to its Author: in order that the inventor of death, the devil, might be conquered through that (nature) which he had conquered. And in this conflict undertaken for us, the fight was fought on great and wondrous principles of fairness; for the Almighty Lord enters the lists with His savage foe not in His own majesty but in our humility, opposing him with the same form and the

same nature, which shares indeed our mortality, though it is free from all sin.

² Truly foreign to this nativity is that which we read of all others, "no one is clean from stain, not even the infant who has lived but one day upon earth. Nothing therefore of the lust of the flesh has passed into that peerless nativity, nothing of the law of sin has entered. A royal Virgin of the stem of David is chosen, to be impregnated with the sacred seed and to conceive the Divinely-human offspring in mind first and then in body. And lest in ignorance of the heavenly counsel she should tremble at so strange a result she learns from converse with the angel that what is to be wrought in her is of the Holy Ghost. Nor does she believe it loss of honour that she is soon to be the Mother of God. For why should she be in despair over the novelty of such conception, to whom the power of the most High has promised to effect it. Her implicit faith is confirmed also by the attestation of a precursory miracle, and Elizabeth receives unexpected fertility: in order that there might be no doubt that He who had given conception to the barren, would give it even to a virgin.

Chapter II. The Mystery of the Incarnation is a Fitting Theme for Joy Both to Angels and to Men.

¹ Therefore the Word of God, Himself God, the Son of God who "in the beginning was with God," through whom "all things were made" and "without" whom "was nothing made," with the purpose of delivering man from eternal death, became man: so bending Himself to take on Him our humility without decrease in His own majesty, that remaining what He was and assuming what He was not, He might unite the true form of a slave to that form in which He is equal to God the Father, and join both natures together by such a compact that the lower should not be swallowed up in its exaltation nor the higher impaired by its new associate. Without detriment therefore to the properties of either substance which then came together in one person, majesty took on humility, strength weakness, eternity mortality: and for the paying off of the debt, belonging to our condition, inviolable nature was united with possible nature, and true God and true man were combined to form one Lord, SO that, as suited the needs of our case, one and the same Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus, could both die with the one and rise again with the other.

² Rightly therefore did the birth of our Salvation impart no corruption to the Virgin's purity, because the bearing of the Truth was the keeping of honour. Such then beloved was the nativity which became the Power of God and the Wisdom of God even Christ, whereby He might be one with us in manhood and surpass us in Godhead. For unless He were true God, He would not bring us a remedy, unless He were true Man, He would not give us an example. Therefore the exulting angel's song when the Lord was born is this, "Glory to God in the Highest," and their message, "peace on earth to men of good will." For they see that the heavenly Jerusalem is being built up out of all the nations of the world: and over that indescribable work of the Divine love how ought the humbleness of men to rejoice, when the joy of the lofty angels is so great?

Chapter III. Christians Then Must Live Worthily of Christ Their Head.

¹ Let us then, dearly beloved, give thanks to God the Father, through His Son, in the Holy Spirit Who "for His great mercy, wherewith He has loved us," has had pity on us: and "when we were dead in sins, has quickened us together in Christ," that we might be in Him a new creation and a new production. Let us put off then the old man with his deeds: and having obtained a share in the birth of Christ let us renounce the works of the flesh. Christian, acknowledge thy dignity, and becoming a partner in the Divine nature, refuse to return to the old baseness by degenerate conduct. Remember the Head and the Body of which thou art a member. Recollect that thou wert rescued from the power of darkness and brought out into God's light and kingdom. By the mystery of Baptism thou wast made the temple of the Holy Ghost: do not put such a denizen to flight from thee by base acts, and subject thyself once more to the devil's thralldom: because thy purchase money is the blood of Christ, because He shall judge thee in truth Who ransomed thee in mercy, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 11

Chapter I. The Mystery of the Incarnation Demands Our Joy.

¹ Let us be glad in the Lord, dearly-beloved, and rejoice with spiritual joy that there has dawned for us the day of ever-new redemption. of ancient preparation of eternal bliss. For as the year rolls round, there recurs for us the commemoration of our salvation, which promised from the beginning, ac-

complished in the fulness of time will endure for ever; on which we are bound with hearts up-lifted to adore the divine mystery: so that what is the effect of God's great gift may be celebrated by the Church's great rejoicings. For God the almighty and merciful, Whose nature as goodness, Whose will is power, Whose work is mercy: as soon as the devil's malignity killed us by the poison of his hatred, foretold at the very beginning of the world the remedy His piety had prepared for the restoration of us mortals: proclaiming to the serpent that the seed of the woman should come to crush the lifting of his baneful head by its power, signifying no doubt that Christ would come in the flesh, God and man, Who born of a Virgin should by His uncorrupt birth condemn the despoiler of the human stock. Thus in the whole and perfect nature of true man was true God born, complete in what was His own, complete in what was ours. And "ours" we call what the Creator formed in us from the beginning and what He undertook to repair. For what, the deceiver brought in and the deceived admitted had no trace in the Saviour Nor because He partook of man's weaknesses, did He therefore share our faults. He took the form of a slave without stain of sin, increasing the human and not diminishing the Divine: because that "emptying of Himself" whereby the Invisible made Himself visible and Creator and Lord Of all things as He was, wished to be mortal, was the condescension of Pity not the failing of Power.

Chapter II. The New Character of the Birth of Christ Explained.

1 Therefore, when the time came, dearly beloved, which had been fore-ordained for men's redemption there enters these lower parts of the world, the Son of God, descending from His heavenly throne and yet not quitting His Father's glory, begotten in a new order, by a new nativity. In a new order, because being invisible in His own nature He became visible in ours, and He whom nothing could contain, was content to be contained: abiding before all time He began to be in time: the Lord of all things, He obscured His immeasurable majesty and took on Him the form of a servant: being God, that cannot suffer, He did not disdain to be man that can, and immortal as He is, to subject Himself to the laws of death. And by a new nativity He was begotten, conceived by a Virgin, born of a Virgin, without paternal desire, without injury to the mother's chastity: because such a birth as knew no taint of human flesh, became One who was to be the Saviour of men, while it possessed in itself the nature of human substance. For when God was born in the flesh, God Himself was the Father, as the archangel witnessed to the Blessed Virgin

Mary: "because the Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the most High shall overshadow thee: and therefore, that which shall be born of thee shall be called holy, the Son of God. The origin is different but the nature like:

2 not by intercourse with man but by the power of God was it brought about: for a Virgin conceived, a Virgin bare, and a Virgin she remained. Consider here not the condition of her that bare but the will of Him that was born; for He was born Man as He willed and was able. If you inquire into the truth of His nature, you must acknowledge the matter to be human: if you search for the mode of His birth, you must confess the power to be of God. For the Lord Jesus Christ came to do away with not to endure our pollutions: not to succumb to our faults but to heal them. He came that He might cure every weakness of our corruptness and all the sores of our defiled souls: for which reason it behoved Him to be born by a new order, who brought to men's bodies the new gift of unsullied purity. For the uncorrupt nature of Him that was born had to guard the primal virginity of the Mother, and the infused power of the Divine Spirit had to preserve in spotlessness and holiness that sanctuary which He had chosen for Himself: that Spirit (I say) who had determined to raise the fallen, to restore the broken, and by overcoming the allurements of the flesh to bestow on us in abundant measure the power of chastity: in order that the virginity which in others cannot be retained in child-bearing, might be attained by them at their second birth.

Chapter III. Justice Required that Satan Should Be Vanquished by God Made Man.

1 And, dearly beloved, this very fact that Christ chose to be born of a Virgin does it not appear to be part of the deepest design? I mean, that the devil should not be aware that Salvation had been born for the human race, and through the obscurity of that spiritual conception, when he saw Him no different to others, should believe Him born in no different way to others. For when he observed that His nature was like that of all others, he thought that He had the same origin as all had: and did not understand that He was free from the bonds of transgression because he did not find Him a stranger to the weakness of mortality. For though the true mercy of God had infinitely many schemes to hand for the restoration of mankind, it chose that particular design which put in force for destroying the devil's work, not the efficacy of might but the dictates of justice. For the pride of the ancient foe not un-

deservedly made good its despotic rights over all men, and with no unwarrantable supremacy tyrannized over those who had been of their own accord lured away from God's commands to be the slaves of his will. And so there would be no justice in his losing the immemorial slavery of the human race, were he not conquered by that which he had subjugated. And to this end, without male seed Christ was conceived of a Virgin, who was fecundated not by human intercourse but by the Holy Spirit.

² And whereas in all mothers conception does not take place without stain of sin, this one received purification from the Source of her conception. For no taint of sin penetrated, where no intercourse occurred. Her unsullied virginity knew no lust when it ministered the substance. The Lord took from His mother our nature, not our fault. The slave's form is, created without the slave's estate, because the New Man is so commingled with the old, as both to assume the reality of our race and to remove its ancient flaw.

Chapter IV. The Incarnation Deceived the Devil and Caused Him to Break the Bond Under Which He Held Men.

¹ When, therefore, the merciful and almighty Saviour so arranged the commencement of His human course as to hide the power of His Godhead which was inseparable from His manhood under the veil of our weakness, the crafty foe was taken off his guard and he thought that the nativity of the Child, Who was born for the salvation of mankind, was as much subject to himself as all others are at their birth. For he saw Him crying and weeping, he saw Him wrapped in swaddling clothes, subjected to circumcision, offering the sacrifice which the law required. And then he perceived in Him the usual growth of boyhood, and could have had no doubt of His reaching man's estate by natural steps. Meanwhile, he inflicted insults, multiplied injuries, made use of curses, affronts, blasphemies, abuse, in a word, poured upon Him all the force of his fury and exhausted all the varieties of trial: and knowing how he had poisoned man's nature, had no conception that He had no share in the first transgression Whose mortality he had ascertained by so many proofs. The unscrupulous thief and greedy robber persisted in assaulting Him Who had nothing of His own, and in carrying out the general sentence on original sin, went beyond the bond on which he rested and required the punishment of iniquity from Him in Whom he found no fault. And thus the malevolent terms of the deadly compact are annulled, and through the injustice of an overcharge the whole debt is cancelled.

² The strong one is bound by his own chains, and every device of the evil one recoils on his own head. When the prince of the world is bound, all that he held in captivity is released. Our nature cleansed from its old contagion regains its honourable estate, death is destroyed by death, nativity is restored by nativity: since at one and the same time redemption does away with slavery, regeneration changes our origin, and faith justifies the sinner.

Chapter V. The Christian is Exhorted to Share in the Blessings of the Incarnation.

¹ Whoever then thou art that devoutly and faithfully boastest of the Christian name, estimate this atonement at its right worth. For to thee who wast a castaway, banished from the realms of paradise, dying of thy weary exile, reduced to dust and ashes, without further hope of living, by the Incarnation of the Word was given the power to return from afar to thy Maker, to recognize thy parentage, to become free after slavery, to be promoted from being an outcast to sonship: so that, thou who wast born of corruptible flesh, mayest be reborn by the Spirit of God, and obtain through grace what thou hadst not by nature, and, if thou acknowledge thyself the son of God by the spirit of adoption, dare to call God Father. Freed from the accusings of a bad conscience, aspire to the kingdom of heaven, do God's will supported by the Divine help, imitate the angels upon earth, feed on the strength of immortal sustenance, fight fearlessly on the side of piety against hostile temptations, and if thou keep thy allegiance in the heavenly warfare, doubt not that thou wilt be crowned for thy victory in the triumphant camp of the Eternal King, when the resurrection that is prepared for the faithful has raised thee to participate in the heavenly Kingdom.

Chapter VI. The Festival Has Nothing to Do with Sunworship, as Some Maintain.

¹ Having therefore so confident a hope, dearly beloved, abide firm in the Faith in which you are built: lest that same tempter whose tyranny over you Christ has already destroyed, win you back again with any of his wiles, and mar even the joys of the present festival by his deceitful art, misleading simpler souls with the pestilential notion of some to whom this our solemn feast day seems to derive its honour, not so much from the nativity of Christ as, according to them, from the rising of the new sun. Such men's hearts are wrapped in total darkness, and have no growing perception of the true Light: for they are still drawn away by the foolish errors of heathendom, and because they cannot lift the eyes of their mind above that which their carnal

sight beholds, they pay divine honour to the luminaries that minister to the world. Let not Christian souls entertain any such wicked superstition and portentous lie. Beyond all measure are things temporal removed from the Eternal, things corporeal from the Incorporeal, things governed from the Governor. For though they possess a wondrous beauty, yet they have no Godhead to be worshipped. That power then, that wisdom, that majesty is to be adored which created the universe out of nothing, and framed by His almighty methods the substance of the earth and sky into what forms and dimensions He willed. Sun, moon, and stars may be most useful to us, most fair to look upon;

2 but only if we render thanks to their Maker for them and worship God who made them, not the creation which does Him service. Then praise God, dearly beloved, in all His works and judgments. Cherish an undoubting belief in the Virgin's pure conception. Honour the sacred and Divine mystery of man's restoration with holy and sincere service. Embrace Christ born in our flesh, that you may deserve to see Him also as the God of glory reigning in His majesty, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit remains in the unity of the Godhead for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 12

Chapter I. The Truths of the Incarnation Never Suffer from Being Repeated.

1 The things which are connected with the mystery of to-day's solemn feast are well known to you, dearly-beloved, and have frequently been heard: but as yonder visible light affords pleasure to eyes that are unimpaired, so to sound hearts does the Saviour's nativity give eternal joy; and we must not keep silent about it, though we cannot treat of it as we ought. For we believe that what Isaiah says, "who shall declare his generation?" applies not only to that mystery, whereby the Son of God is co-eternal with the Father, but also to this birth whereby "the Word became flesh. And SO God, the Son of God, equal and of the same nature from the Father and with the Father, Creator and Lord of the Universe, Who is completely present everywhere, and completely exceeds all things, in the due course of time, which runs by His own disposal, chose for Himself this day on which to be born of the blessed virgin Mary for the salvation of the world, without loss of the mother's honour. For her virginity was violated neither at the conception nor at the birth: "that it might be fulfilled," as the Evangelist says, "which was spoken by the Lord through Isaiah the prophet, saying, behold the virgin shall conceive in the

womb, and shall bear a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which is interpreted, God with us.

² For this wondrous child-bearing of the holy Virgin produced in her offspring one person which was truly human and truly Divine because neither substance so retained their properties that there could be any division of persons in them; nor was the creature taken into partnership with its Creator in such a way that the One was the in-dweller, and the other the dwelling; but so that the one nature was blended with the other. And although the nature which is taken is one, and that which takes is another, yet these two diverse natures come together into such close union that it is one and the same Son who says both that, as true Man, "He is less than the Father," and that, as true God, "He is equal with the Father."

Chapter II. the Arians Could Not Comprehend the Union of God And Man.

¹ This union, dearly beloved, whereby the Creator is joined to the creature, Arian blindness could not see with the eyes of intelligence, but, not believing that the Only-begotten of God was of the same glory and substance with the Father, spoke of the Son's Godhead as inferior, drawing its arguments from those words which are to be referred to the "form of a slave," in respect of which, in order to show that it belongs to no other or different person in Himself, the same Son of God with the same form, says, "The Father is greater than I," just as He says with the same form, "I and my Father are one. For in "the form of a slave," which He took at the end of the ages for our restoration, He is inferior to the Father: but in the form of God, in which He was before the ages, He is equal to the Father. In His human humiliation He was "made of a woman, made under the Law: in His Divine majesty He abides the Word of God, "through whom all things were made. Accordingly, He Who in the form of God made man, in the form of a slave was made man. For both natures retain their own proper character without loss: and as the form of God did not do away with the form of a slave, so the form of a slave did not impair the form of God.

² And so the mystery of power united to weakness, in respect of the same human nature, allows the Son to be called inferior to the Father: but the Godhead, which is One in the Trinity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, excludes all notion of inequality. For the eternity of the Trinity has nothing temporal, nothing dissimilar in nature: Its will is one, Its substance identical, Its power equal, and yet there are not three Gods, but one God; because it is a

true and inseparable unity, where there can be no diversity. Thus in the whole and perfect nature of true man was true God born, complete in what was His own, complete in what was ours. And by "ours" we mean what the Creator formed in us from the beginning, and what He undertook to repair. For what the deceiver brought in, and man deceived committed, had no trace in the Saviour; nor because He partook of man's weaknesses, did He therefore share our faults. He took the form of a slave without stain of sin, increasing the human and not diminishing the divine: for that "emptying of Himself," whereby the Invisible made Himself visible, was the bending down of pity, not the failing of power.

Chapter III. The Incarnation Was Necessary to the Taking Away of Sin.

1 In order therefore that we might be called to eternal bliss from our original bond and from earthly errors, He came down Himself to us to Whom we could not ascend, because, although there was in many the love of truth, yet the variety of our shifting opinions was deceived by the craft of misleading demons, and man's ignorance was dragged into diverse and conflicting notions by a falsely-called science. But to remove this mockery, whereby men's minds were taken captive to serve the arrogant devil, the teaching of the Law was not sufficient, nor could our nature be restored merely by the Prophets' exhortations; but the reality of redemption had to be added to moral injunctions, and our fundamentally corrupt origin had to be re-born afresh. A Victim had to be offered for our atonement Who should be both a partner of our race and free from our contamination, so that this design of God whereby it pleased Him to take away the sin of the world in the Nativity and Passion of Jesus Christ, might reach to all generations: and that we should not be disturbed but rather strengthened by these mysteries, which vary with the character of the times, since the Faith, whereby we live, has at no time suffered variation.

Chapter IV. the Blessings of the Incarnation Stretch Backwards as Well as Reach Forward.

1 Accordingly let those men cease their complaints who with disloyal murmurs speak against the dispensations of God, and babble about the lateness of the Lord's Nativity as if that, which was fulfilled in the last age of the world, had no bearing upon the times that are past. For the Incarnation of the Word did but contribute to the doing of that which was done: and the mystery of man's salvation was never in the remotest age at a standstill. What

the apostles foretold, that the prophets announced: nor was that fulfilled too late which has always been believed. But the Wisdom and Goodness of God made us more receptive of His call by thus delaying the work which brought salvation: so that what through so many ages had been foretold by many signs, many utterances, and many mysteries, might not be doubtful in these days of the Gospel: and that the Saviour's nativity, which was to exceed all wonders and all the measure of human knowledge, might engender in us a Faith so much the firmer, as the foretelling of it had been ancient and oft-repeated. And so it was no new counsel, no tardy pity whereby God took thought for men: but from the constitution of the world He ordained one and the same Cause of Salvation for all. For the grace of God, by which the whole body of the saints is ever justified, was augmented, not begun, when Christ was born: and this mystery of God's great love, wherewith the whole world is now filled, was so effectively presignified that those who believed that promise obtained no less than they, who were the actual recipients.

Chapter V. The Coming of Christ in Our Flesh Corresponds with Our Becoming Members of His Body.

¹ Wherefore since the loving-kindness is manifest, dearly beloved, wherewith all the riches of Divine goodness are showered on us, whose call to eternal life has been assisted not only by the profitable examples of those who went before, but also by the visible and bodily appearing of the Truth Itself, we are bound to keep the day of the Lord's Nativity with no slothful nor carnal joy. And we shall each keep it worthily and thoroughly, if we remember of what Body we are members, and to what a Head we are joined, lest any one as an ill-fitting joint cohere not with the rest of the sacred building. Consider, dearly beloved and by the illumination of the Holy Spirit thoughtfully bear in mind Who it was that received us into Himself, and that we have received in us: since, as the Lord Jesus became our flesh by being born, so we also became His body by being re-born. Therefore are we both members of Christ, and the temple of the Holy Ghost: and for this reason the blessed Apostle says, "Glorify and carry God in your body: for while suggesting to us the standard of His own gentleness and humility, He fills us with that power whereby He redeemed us, as the Lord Himself promises: "come unto Me all ye who labour and are heavy-laden, and I will refresh you.

² Take My yoke upon you and learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly of heart, and ye shall find rest to your souls " Let us then take the yoke, that is

not heavy nor irksome, of the Truth that rules us, and let us imitate His humility, to Whose glory we wish to be conformed: He Himself helping us and leading us to His promises, Who, according to His great mercy, is powerful to blot out our sins, and to perfect His gifts in us, Jesus Christ our Lord, Who lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 13

Chapter I. The Incarnation Fulfills All Its Types and Promises.

¹ The Divine goodness, dearly beloved, has indeed always taken thought for mankind in divers manners, and in many portions, and of His mercy has imparted many gifts of His providence to the ages of old; but in these last times has exceeded all the abundance of His usual kindness, when in Christ the very Mercy has descended to sinners, the very Truth to those that are astray, the very Life to those that are dead: so that Word, which is co-eternal and co-equal with the Father, might take our humble nature into union with His Godhead, and, being born God of God, might also be born Man of man. Tiffs was indeed promised from the foundation of the world, and had always been prophesied by many intimations of facts and words: but how small a portion of mankind would these types and fore-shadowed mysteries have saved, had not the coming of Christ fulfilled those long and secret promises: and had not that which then benefited but a few believers in the prospect, now benefited myriads of the faithful in its accomplishment. Now no longer then are we led to believe by signs and types, but being confirmed by the gospel story we worship that which we believe to have been done; the prophetic lore assisting our knowledge, so that we have no manner of doubt about that which we know to have been predicted by such sure oracles. For hence it is that the Lord says to Abraham: "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed:

² hence David, in the spirit of prophecy, sings, saying: "The Lord swore truth to David, and He shall not frustrate it: of the fruit of thy loins will I set upon thy seat; hence the Lord again says through Isaiah: "behold a virgin shall conceive in her womb, and shall bear a Son, and His Name shall be called Emmanuel, which is interpreted, God with us," and again, "a rod shall come forth from the root of Jesse, and a flower shall arise from his root. In which rod, no doubt the blessed Virgin Mary is predicted, who sprung from the stock of Jesse and David and fecundated by the Holy Ghost, brought forth a new flower of human flesh, becoming a virgin-mother.

Chapter II. The Incarnation Was the Only Effective Remedy to the Fall.

¹ Let the righteous then rejoice in the Lord, and let the hearts of believers turn to God's praise, and the sons of men confess His wondrous acts; since in this work of God especially our humble estate realizes how highly its Maker values it: in that, after His great gift to mankind in making us after His image, He contributed far more largely to our restoration when the Land Himself took on Him "the form of a slave. For though all that the Creator expends upon His creature is part of one and the same Fatherly love, yet it is less wonderful than man should advance to divine things than that God should descend to humanity. But unless the Almighty God did deign to do this, no kind of righteousness, no form of wisdom could rescue any one from the devil's bondage and from the depths of eternal death. For the condemnation that passes with sin from one upon all would remain, and our nature, corroded by its deadly wound, would discover no remedy, because it could not alter its state in its own strength. For the first man received the substance of flesh from the earth, and was quickened with a rational spirit by the in-breathing of his Creator so that living after the image and likeness of his Maker, he might preserve the form of God's goodness and righteousness as in a bright mirror.

² And, if he had perseveringly maintained this high dignity of his nature by observing the Law that was given him, his uncorrupt mind would have raised the character even Of his earthly body to heavenly glory. But because in unhappy rashness he trusted the envious deceiver, and agreeing to his presumptuous counsels, preferred to forestall rather than to win the increase of honour that was in store for him, not only did that one man, but in him all that came after him also hear the verdict: "earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou go; "as in the earthy," therefore, "such are they also that are earthy," and no one is immortal, because no one is heavenly.

Chapter III. We All Became Partakers in the Birth of Christ, by the Re-Birth of Baptism.

¹ And so to undo this chain of sin and death, the Almighty Son of God, that fills all things and contains, all things, altogether equal to the Father and co-eternal in one essence from Him and with Him, took on Him man's nature, and the Creator and Land of all things deigned to be a mortal: choosing for His mother one whom He had made, one who, without loss of her maiden honour, supplied so much of bodily substance, that without the pollution of

human seed the New Man might be possessed of purity and truth. In Christ, therefore, born of the Virgin's womb, the nature does not differ from ours, because His nativity is wonderful. For He Who is true God, is also true man: and there is no lie in either nature. "The Word became flesh" by exaltation of the flesh, not by failure of the Godhead: which so tempered its power and goodness as to exalt our nature by taking it, and not to lose His own by imparting it. In this nativity of Christ, according to the prophecy of David, "truth sprang out of the earth, and righteousness looked down from heaven." In this nativity also, Isaiah's saying is fulfilled, "let the earth produce and bring forth salvation, and let righteousness spring up together." For the earth of human flesh, which in the first transgressor, was cursed, in this Offspring of the Blessed Virgin only produced a seed that was blessed and free from the fault of its stock. And each one is a partaker of this spiritual origin in regeneration; and to every one when he is re-born, the water of baptism is like the Virgin's womb; for the same Holy Spirit fills the font, Who filled the Virgin, that the sin, which that sacred conception overthrew, may be taken away by this mystical washing.

Chapter IV. The Manichaeans, by Rejecting the Incarnation, Have Fallen into Terrible Iniquities.

1 In this mystery, dear beloved, the mad error of the Manichaeans has no part, nor have they any partnership in the regeneration of Christ, who say that He was corporeally born of the Virgin Mary: so that, as they do not believe in His real nativity, they do not accept His real passion either; and, not acknowledging Him really buried, they reject His genuine resurrection. For, having entered on the perilous path of their abominable dogma, where all is dark and slippery, they rush into the abyss of death over the precipice of falsehood, and find no sure ground on which to rest; because, besides all their other diabolical enormities, on the very chief feast of Christ's worship, as their latest confession has made manifest they revel in bodily as well as mental pollution, losing their own modesty as well as the purity of their Faith; so that they are found to be as filthy in their rites as they are blasphemers in their doctrines.

Chapter V. Other Heresies Contain Some Portion of Truth, But the Manichoeans Contain None Whatever.

1 Other heresies, dearly beloved, although they are all rightly to be condemned in their variety, yet have each in some part of them that which is

true. Arius, in laying down that the Son of God is less than the Father and a creature, and in thinking that the Holy Spirit was like all else made by the same (Father), has lost himself in great blasphemy; but he has not denied the eternal and unchangeable Godhead in the essence of the Father, though he could not see it in the Unity of the Trinity. Macedonius was devoid of the light of the Truth when he did not receive the Godhead of the Holy Spirit, but he did acknowledge one power and the same nature in the Father and the Son. Sabellius was plunged into inextricable error by holding the unity of substance to be inseparable in the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, but granted to a singleness of nature what he should have attributed to an equality of nature and because he could not understand a true Trinity, he believed in one and the same person under a threefold appellation. Photinus, misled by his mental blindness, acknowledged in Christ true man of our substance, but did not believe Him born God of God before all ages, and so losing the entirety of the Faith, believed the Son of God to have taken on Him the true nature of human flesh in such a way as to assert that there was no soul in it, because the Godhead Itself took its place. Thus, if all the errors which the catholic Faith has anathematized are recanted, something is found in one after another which can be separated from its damnable setting. But in the detestable dogma of the Manicheans there is absolutely nothing which can be adjudged tolerable in any degree.

Chapter VI. Christians Must Cling to the One Faith and Not Be Led Astray.

¹ But you, dearly beloved, whom I address in no less earnest terms than those of the blessed Apostle Peter, "a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession," built upon the impregnable rock, Christ, and joined to the Lord our Saviour by His true assumption of our flesh, remain firm in that Faith, which you have professed before many witnesses, and in which you were reborn through water and the Holy Ghost, and received the anointing of salvation, and the seal of eternal life. But "if any one preach to you any thing beside that which you have learnt, let him be anathema: refuse to put wicked fables before the clearest truth, and what you may happen to read or hear contrary to the rule of the catholic and Apostolic creed, judge it altogether deadly and diabolical. Be not carried away by their deceitful keepings of sham and pretended fasts which tend not to the cleansing, but to the destroying of men's souls. They put on indeed a cloke of piety and chastity, but under this deceit they conceal the filthiness of their acts,

and from the recesses of their ungodly heart hurl shafts to wound the simple; that, as the prophet says, "they may shoot in darkness at the upright in heart. A mighty bulwark is a sound faith, a true faith, to which nothing has to be added or taken away:

² because unless it is one, it is no faith, as the Apostle says, "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all. Cling to this unity, dearly beloved, with minds unshaken, and in it "follow after" all "holiness," in it carry out the Lord's commands, because "without faith it is impossible to please God," and without it nothing is holy, nothing is pure, nothing alive: "for the just lives by faith," and he who by the devil's deception loses it, is dead though living, because as righteousness is gained by faith, so too by a true faith is eternal life gained, as says our Lord and Saviour. And this is life eternal, that they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent. May He make you to advance and persevere to the end, Who lives and reigns with the Father and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 14

Chapter I. Christmas Morning is the Most Appropriate Time for Thoughts on the Nativity.

¹ On all days and at all times, dearly beloved, does the birth of our Lord and Saviour from the Virgin-mother occur to the thoughts of the faithful, who meditate on divine things, that the mind may be aroused to the acknowledgment of its Maker, and whether it be occupied in the groans of supplication, or in the shouting of praise, or in the offering of sacrifice, may employ its spiritual insight on nothing more frequently and more trustingly than on the fact that God the Son of God, begotten of the co-eternal Father, was also born by a human birth. But this Nativity which is to be adored in heaven and on earth is suggested to us by no day more than this when, with the early light still shedding its rays on nature there is borne in upon our senses the brightness of this wondrous mystery. For the angel Gabriel's converse with the astonished Mary and her conception by the Holy Ghost as wondrously promised as believed, seem to recur not only to the memory but to the very eyes. For to day the Maker of the world was born of a Virgin's womb, and He, who made all natures, became Son of her, whom He created. To-day the Word of God appeared clothed in flesh, and That which had never been visible to human eyes began to be tangible to our hands as well. Today the

shepherds learnt from angels' voices that the Saviour was born in the substance of our flesh and soul; and to-day the form of the Gospel message was pre-arranged by the leaders of the Lord's flocks so that we too may say with the arm), of the heavenly host: "Glory in the highest to God, and on earth peace to men of good will."

Chapter II. Christians are Essentially Participators in the Nativity of Christ.

¹ Although, therefore, that infancy, which the majesty of God's Son did not disdain, reached mature manhood by the growth of years and, when the triumph of His passion and resurrection was completed, all the actions of humility which were undertaken for us ceased, yet to-day's festival renews for us the holy childhood of Jesus born of the Virgin Mary: and in adoring the birth of our Saviour, we find we are celebrating the commencement of our own life. For the birth of Christ is the source of life for Christian folk, and the birthday of the Head is the birthday of the body. Although every individual that is called has his own order, and all the sons of the Church are separated from one another by intervals of time, yet as the entire body of the faithful being born in the font of baptism is crucified with Christ in His passion, raised again in His resurrection, and placed at the Father's right hand in His ascension, so with Him are they born in this nativity. For any believer in whatever part of the world that is re-born in Christ, quits the old paths of his original nature and passes into a new man by being re-born; and no longer is he reckoned of his earthly father's stock but among the seed of the Saviour, Who became the Son of man in order that we might have the power to be the sons of God.

² For unless He came down to us in this humiliation, no one would reach His presence by any merits of his own. Let not earthly wisdom shroud in darkness the hearts of the called on this point, and let not the frailty of earthly thoughts raise itself against the loftiness of God's grace, for it will soon return to the lowest dust. At the end of the ages is fulfilled that which was ordained from all eternity: and in the presence of realities, when signs and types have ceased, the Law and prophecy have become Truth: and so Abraham is found the father of all nations, and the promised blessing is given to the world in his seed: nor are they only Israelites whom blood and flesh begot, but the whole body of the adopted eater into possession of the heritage prepared for the sons of Faith. Be not disturbed by the cavils of silly questionings, and let not the effects of the Divine word be dissipated by human

calculation; we with Abraham believe in God and "waver not through unbelief " but "know most assuredly that what the Lord promised, He is able to perform."

Chapter III. Peace with God Is His Best Gift to Man.

¹ The Saviour then, dearly beloved, is born not of fleshly seed but of the Holy Spirit, in such wise that the condemnation of the first transgression did not touch Him. And hence the very greatness of the boon conferred demands of us reverence worthy of its splendour. For, as the blessed Apostle teaches, "we have received not the spirit of this world but the Spirit which is of God, that we may know the things which are given us by God: and that Spirit can in no other way be rightly worshipped, except by offering Him that which we received from Him. But in the treasures of the Lord's bounty what can we find so suitable to the honour of the present feast as the peace, which at the Lord's nativity was first proclaimed by the angel-choir? For that it is which brings forth the sons of God, the nurse of love and the mother of unity: the rest of the blessed and our eternal home; whose proper work and special office it is to join to God those whom it removes from the world. Whence the Apostle incites us to this good end, in saying, "being justified therefore by faith let us have peace towards God. In which brief sentence are summed up nearly all the commandments; for where true peace is, there can be no lack of virtue. But what is it, dearly beloved, to have peace towards God, except to wish what He bids, and not to wish what He forbids?

² For if human friendships seek out equality of soul and similarity of desires, and difference of habits can never attain to full harmony, how will he be partaker of divine peace, who is pleased with what displeases God and desires to get delight from what he knows to be offensive to God? That is not the spirit of the sons of God; such wisdom is not acceptable to the noble family of the adopted. That chosen and royal race must live up to the dignity of its regeneration, must love what the Father loves, and in nought disagree with its Maker, lest the Lord should again say: "I have begotten and raised up sons, but they have scorned Me: the ox knoweth his owner and the ass his master's crib: but Israel hath not known Me and My people hath not acknowledged Me."

Chapter IV. We Must Be Worthy of Our Calling as Sons and Friends of God.

¹ The mystery of this boon is great, dearly beloved, and this gift exceeds all gifts that God should call man son, and man should name God Father: for by these terms we perceive and learn the love which reached so great a height. For if in natural progeny and earthly families those who are born of noble parents are lowered by the faults of evil intercourse, and unworthy offspring are put to shame by the very brilliance of their ancestry; to what end will they come who through love of the world do not fear to be outcast from the family of Christ? But if it gains the praise of men that the father's glory should shine again in their descendants, how much more glorious is it for those who are born of God to regain the brightness of their Maker's likeness and display in themselves Him Who begat them, as saith the Lord: "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in heaven?"

² We know indeed, as the Apostle John says that "the whole world lieth in the evil one," and that by the stratagems of the Devil and his angels numberless attempts are made either to frighten man in his struggle upwards by adversity or to spoil him by prosperity, but "greater is He that is in us, than he that is against us," and they who have peace with God and are always saying to the Father with their whole hearts "thy will be done " can be overcome in no battles, can be hurt by no assaults. For accusing ourselves in our confessions and refusing the spirit's consent to our fleshly lusts, we stir up against us the enmity of him who is the author of sin, but secure a peace with God that nothing can destroy, by accepting His gracious service, in order that we may not only surrender ourselves in obedience to our King but also be united to Him by our free-will. For if we are like-minded, if we wish what He wishes, and disapprove what He disapproves, He will finish all our wars for us, He Who gave the will, will also give the power: so that we may be fellow-workers in His works, and with the exultation of Faith may utter that prophetic song: "the Lord is my light and my salvation: whom shall I fear? the Lord is the defender of my life: of whom shall I be afraid?"

Chapter V. The Birth of Christ is the Birth of Peace to the Church.

¹ They then who "are born not of blood nor of the will of the flesh nor of the will of man but of God," must offer to the Father the unanimity of peace-loving sons, and all the members of adoption must meet in the First-begot-

ten of the new creation, Who came to do not His own Will but His that sent Him; inasmuch as the Father in His gracious favour has adopted as His heirs not those that are discordant nor those that are unlike Him, but those that are in feeling and affection one. They that are re-modelled after one pattern must have a spirit like the model. The birthday of the Lord is the birthday of peace: for thus says the Apostle, "He is our peace, who made both one; since whether we be Jew or Gentile, "through Him we have access in one Spirit to the Father. And it was this in particular that He taught His disciples before the day of His passion which He had of His own free-will fore-ordained, saying, "My peace I give unto you, My peace I leave for you; and lest under the general term the character of His peace should escape notice, He added. "not as the world give I unto you. The world, He Says, has its friendships, and brings many that are apart into loving harmony. There are also minds which are equal in vices. and similarity of desires produces equality of affection.

2 And if any are perchance to be found who are not pleased with what is mean and dishonourable, and who exclude from the terms of their connexion unlawful compacts, yet even such if they be either Jews, heretics or heathens belong not to God's friendship but to this world's peace. But the peace of the spiritual and of catholics coming down from above and leading upwards refuses to hold communion with the lovers of the world resists all obstacles and flies from pernicious pleasures to true joys, as the Lord says: "Where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also: that is, if what you love is below you will descend to the lowest depth: if what you love is above, you will reach the topmost height: thither may the Spirit of peace lead and bring us, whose wishes and feeling are at one, and who are of one mind in faith and hope and in charity: since "as many as are led by the Spirit of God these are sons of God " Who reigneth with the Son and Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 15

Chapter I. It is Equally Dangerous to Deny the Godhead or the Manhood in Christ.

1 He is a true and devout worshipper, dearly-beloved, of to-day's festival who thinks nothing that is either false about the Lord's Incarnation or unworthy about His Godhead. For it is an equally dangerous evil to deny in Him the reality of our nature and the equality with the Father in glory. When, therefore, we attempt to understand the mystery of Christ's nativity, wherein He was born of the Virgin-mother, let all the clouds of earthly reasonings be

driven far away and the smoke of worldly wisdom be purged from the eyes of illuminated faith: for the authority on which we trust is divine, the teaching which we follow is divine. Inasmuch as whether it be the testimony of the Law, or the oracles of the prophets, or the trumpet of the gospel to which we apply our inward ear, that is true which the blessed John full of the Holy Spirit uttered with his voice of thunder: "in the beginning was the Word: and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made through Him, and without Him was nothing made. And similarly is it true what the same preacher added: "the Word became flesh and dwelt in us: and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father. Therefore in both natures it is the same Son of God taking what is ours and not losing what is His own;

² renewing man in His manhood, but enduring unchangeable in Himself. For the Godhead which is His in common with the Father underwent no loss of omnipotence, nor did the "form of a slave" do despite to the "form of God," because the supreme and eternal Essence, which lowered Itself for the salvation of mankind, transferred us into Its glory, but did not cease to be what It was. And hence when the Only-begotten of God confesses Himself less than the Father and yet calls Himself equal with Him He demonstrates the reality of both forms in Himself: so that the inequality proves the human nature, and the equality the Divine.

Chapter II. The Incarnation Has Changed All the Possibilities of Man's Existence.

¹ The bodily Nativity therefore of the Son of God took nothing from and added nothing to His Majesty because His unchangeable substance could be neither diminished nor increased. For that "the Word became flesh" does not signify that the nature of God was changed into flesh, but that the Word took the flesh into the unity of His Person: and therein undoubtedly the whole man was received, with which within the Virgin's womb fecundated by the Holy Spirit, whose virginity was destined never to be lost the Son of God was so inseparably united that He who was born without time of the Father's essence was Himself in time born of the Virgin's womb. For we could not otherwise be released from the chains of eternal death but by Him becoming humble in our nature, Who remained Almighty in His own. And so our Lord Jesus Christ, being at birth true man though He never ceased to be true God, made in Himself the beginning of a new creation, and in the "form" of His birth started the spiritual life of mankind afresh, that to abol-

ish the taint of our birth according to the flesh there might be a possibility of regeneration without our sinful seed for those of whom it is said, "Who were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. What mind can grasp this mystery, what tongue can express this gracious act? Sinfulness returns to guiltlessness and the old nature becomes new;

²strangers receive adoption and outsiders enter upon an inheritance. The ungodly begin to be righteous, the miserly benevolent, the incontinent chaste, the earthly heavenly. And whence comes this change, save by the right hand of the Most High? For the Son of God came to "destroy the works of the devil," and has so united Himself with us and us with Him that the descent of God to man's estate became the exaltation of man to God's.

Chapter III. The Devil Knows Exactly What Temptations to Offer to Each Several Person.

¹ But in this mercifulness of God, dearly beloved, the greatness of which towards us we cannot explain, Christians must be extremely careful lest they be caught again in the devil's wiles and once more entangled in the errors which they have renounced. For the old enemy does not cease to "transform himself into an angel of light," and spread everywhere the snares of his deceptions, and make every effort to corrupt the faith of believers. He knows whom to ply with the zest of greed, whom to assail with the allurements of the belly, before whom to set the attractions of self-indulgence, in whom to instil the poison of jealousy: he knows whom to overwhelm with grief, whom to cheat with joy, whom to surprise with fear, whom to bewilder with wonderment: there is no one whose habits he does not sift, whose cares he does not winnow, whose affections he does not pry into: and wherever he sees a man most absorbed in occupation, there he seeks opportunity to injure him. Moreover he has many whom he has bound still more tightly because they are suited for his designs, that he may use their abilities and tongues to deceive others. Through them are guaranteed the healing of sicknesses, the prognosticating of future, events, the appeasing of demons and the driving away of apparitions. They also are to be added who falsely allege that the entire condition of human life depends on the influences of the stars, and that that which is really either the divine will or ours rests with the unchangeable fates. And yet, in order to do still greater harm, they promise that they can be changed if supplication is made to those constellations which are adverse.

And thus their ungodly fabrications destroy themselves; for if their predictions are not reliable, the fates are not to be feared: if they are, the stars are not to be venerated.

Chapter IV. The Foolish Practice of Some Who Turn to the Sun and Bow to It is Reprehensible.

¹ From such a system of teaching proceeds also the ungodly practice of certain foolish folk who worship the sun as it rises at the beginning of daylight from elevated positions: even some Christians think it is so proper to do this that, before entering the blessed Apostle Peter's basilica, which is dedicated to the One Living and true God, when they have mounted the steps which lead to the raised platform they turn round and bow themselves towards the rising sun and with bent neck do homage to its brilliant orb. We are full of grief and vexation that this should happen, which is partly due to the fault of ignorance and partly to the spirit of heathenism: because although some of them do perhaps worship the Creator of that fair light rather than the Light itself, which is His creature, yet we must abstain even from the appearance of this observance: for if one who has abandoned the worship of gods, finds it in our own worship, will he not hark back again to this fragment of his old superstition, as if it were allowable, when he sees it to be common both to Christians and to infidels?

Chapter V. The Sun and Moon Were Created for Use, Not for Worship.

¹ This objectionable practice must be given up therefore by the faithful, and the honour due to God alone must not be mixed up with those men's rites who serve their fellow-creatures. For the divine Scripture says: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve." And the blessed Job, "a man without complaint," as the Lord says, "and one that eschews every evil," said, "Have I seen the sun when it shone or the moon walking brightly, and my heart hath rejoiced in secret, and I have kissed my hand: what is my great iniquity and denial against the most High God?" But what is the sun or what is the moon but elements of visible creation and material light: one of which is of greater brightness and the other of lesser light? For as it is now day time and now night time, so the Creator has constituted divers kinds of luminaries, although even before they were made there had been days without the sun and nights without the moon. But these were fashioned to serve in making man, that he who is an animal endowed with reason might be sure of the distinction of the months, the recurrence of the

year, and the variety of the seasons, since through the unequal length of the various periods, and the clear indications given by the changes in its risings, the sun doses the year and the moon renews the months. For on the fourth day, as we read, God said: "Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven, and let them shine upon the earth, and let them divide between day and night, and let them be for signs and for seasons, and for days and years, and let them be in the firmament of heaven that they may shine upon earth."

Chapter VI. Let Us Awake to the Proper Use of All Our Parts and Facilities.

¹ Awake, O man, and recognize the dignity of thy nature. Recollect thou wast made in the image of God, which although it was corrupted in Adam, was yet re-fashioned in Christ. Use visible creatures as they should be used, as thou usest earth, sea, sky, air, springs, and rivers: and whatever in them is fair and wondrous, ascribe to the praise and glory of the Maker. Be not subject to that light wherein birds and serpents, beasts and cattle, flies and worms delight. Confine the material light to your bodily senses, and with all your mental powers embrace that "true light which lighteth every man that cometh into this world," and of which the prophet says, "Come unto Him and be enlightened, and your faces shall not blush. For if we "are a temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in " us, what every one of the faithful has in his own heart is more than what he wonders at in heaven. And so, dearly beloved, we do not bid or advise you to despise God's works or to think there is anything opposed to your Faith in what the good God has made good, but to use every kind of creature and the whole furniture of this world reasonably and moderately: for as the Apostle says, "the things which are seen are temporal: but the things which are not seen are eternal.

² Hence because we are born for the present and reborn for the future, let us not give ourselves up to temporal goods, but to eternal: and in order that we may behold our hope nearer, let us think on what the Divine Grace has bestowed on our nature on the very occasion when we celebrate the mystery of the Lord's birthday. Let us hear the Apostle, saying: "for ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God. But when Christ, who is your life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory: who lives and reigns with the Father and the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 16

Chapter I. The Incarnation an Unceasing Source a Joy.

1 Though all the divine utterances exhort us, dearly beloved, to "rejoice in the Lord always," yet to-day we are no doubt incited to a full spiritual joy, when the mystery of the Lord's nativity is shining brightly upon us so that we may have recourse to that unutterable condescension of the Divine Mercy, whereby the Creator of men deigned to become man, and be found ourselves in His nature whom we worship in ours. For God the Son of God, the only-begotten of the eternal and not-begotten Father, remaining eternal "in the form of God," and unchangeably and without time possessing the property of being no way different to the Father He received "the form of a slave" without loss of His own majesty, that He might advance us to His state and not lower Himself to ours. Hence both natures abiding in possession of their own properties such unity is the result of the union that whatever of Godhead is there is inseparable from the manhood: and whatever of manhood, is indivisible from the Godhead.

Chapter II. The Virgin's Conception Explained.

1 In celebrating therefore the birthday of our Lord and Saviour, dearly beloved, let us entertain pure thoughts of the blessed Virgin's child-bearing, so as to believe that at no moment of time was the power of the Word wanting to the flesh and soul which she conceived, and that the temple of Christ's body did not previously receive its form and soul that its Inhabitant might come and take possession but through Himself and in Himself was the beginning given to the New Man, so that in the one Son of God and Man there might be Godhead without a mother, and Manhood without a Father. For her virginity fecundated by the Holy Spirit at one and the same time brought forth without trace of corruption both the offspring and the Maker of her race. Hence also the same Lord, as the Evangelist relates, asked of the Jews whose son they had learnt Christ to be on the authority of the Scriptures, and when they replied that the tradition was He would come of David's seed, "How," saith He, "doth David in the Spirit call Him Lord, saying, the Lord said to my Lord: sit thou on My right hand till I place thy enemies as the footstool of thy feet?" And the Jews could not solve the question put, because they did not understand that in the one Christ both the stock of David and the Divine nature were there prophesied.

Chapter III. In Redeeming Man, Justice as Well as Mercy Ad to Be Considered.

¹ But the majesty of the Son of God in which He is equal with the Father in its garb of a slave's humility feared no diminution, required no augmentation: and the very effect of His mercy which He expended on the restitution of man, He was able to bring about solely by the power of His Godhead; so as to rescue the creature that was made in the image of God from the yoke of his cruel oppressor. But because the devil had not shown himself so violent in his attack on the first man as to bring him over to his side without the consent of His free will, man's voluntary sin and hostile desires had to be destroyed in such wise that the standard of justice should not stand in the way of the gift of Grace. And therefore in the general ruin of the entire human race there was but one remedy in the secret of the Divine plan which could succour the fallen, and that was that one of the sons of Adam should be born free and innocent of original transgression, to prevail for the rest both by His example and His merits. Still further, because this was not permitted by natural generation, and because there could be no offspring from our faulty stock without seed, of which the Scripture saith, "Who can make a clean thing conceived of an unclean seed? is it not Thou who art alone?" David's Lord was made David's Son, and from the fruit of the promised branch sprang. One without fault, the twofold nature coining together into one Person, that by one and the same conception and birth might spring our Lord Jesus Christ, in Whom was present both true Godhead for the performance of mighty works and true Manhood for the endurance of sufferings.

Chapter IV. All Heresies Proceed from Failure to Believe the Twofold Nature of Christ.

¹ The catholic Faith then, dearly beloved, may scorn the errors of the heretics that bark against it, who, deceived by the vanity of worldly wisdom, have forsaken the Gospel of Truth, and being unable to understand the Incarnation of the Word, have constructed for themselves out of the source of enlighten-merit occasion of blindness. For after investigating almost all false believers' opinions, even those which presume to deny the Holy Spirit, we come to the conclusion that hardly any one has gone astray, unless he has refused to believe the reality of the two natures in Christ under the confession of one Person. For some have ascribed to the Lord only manhood others only Deity. Some have said that, though there was in the true Godhead, His

flesh was unreal. Others have acknowledged that He took true flesh but say that He had not the nature of God the Father; and by assigning to His Godhead what belonged to His human substance, have made for themselves a greater and a lesser God, although there can be in true Godhead no grades: seeing that whatever is less than God, is not God. Others recognizing that there is no difference between Father and Son, because they could not understand unity of Godhead except in unity of Person, have maintained that the Father is the same as the Son:

2 so that to be born and nursed, to suffer and die, to be buried and rise again, belonged to the same Father who sustained throughout the Person of both Man and the Word. Certain have thought that our Lord Jesus Christ had a body not of our substance but assumed from higher and subtler elements: whereas certain others have considered that in the flesh of Christ there was no human soul, but that the Godhead of the Word Itself fulfilled the part of soul. But their unwise assertion passes into this form that, though they acknowledge the existence of a soul in the Lord, yet they say it was devoid of mind, because the Godhead of Itself was sufficient for all purposes of reason to the Man as well as to the God in Christ. Lastly the same people have dared to assert that a certain portion of the Word was turned into Flesh, so that in the manifold varieties of this one dogma, not only the nature of the flesh and of the soul but also the essence of the Word Itself is dissolved.

Chapter V. nestorianism and Eutychianism are Particularly to Be Avoided at the Present Time.

1 There are many other astounding falsehoods also which we must not weary your ears, beloved, with enumerating. But after all these various impieties, which are closely connected by the relationship that exists between one form of blasphemy and another, we call your devout attention to the avoiding of these two errors in particular: one of which, with Nestorius for its author, some time ago attempted to gain ground, but ineffectually; the other, which is equally damnable, has more recently sprung up with Eutyches as its propounder. The former dared to maintain that the blessed Virgin Mary was the mother of Christ's manhood only, so that in her conception and childbearing no union might be believed to have taken place of the Word and the Flesh: because the Son of God did not Himself become Son of Man, but of His mere condescension linked Himself with created man. This can in no wise be tolerated by catholic ears, which are so imbued with the gospel of

Truth that they know of a surety there is no hope of salvation for mankind unless He were Himself the Son of the Virgin who was His mother's Creator. On the other hand this blasphemous propounder of more recent profanity has confessed the union of the two Natures in Christ, but has maintained that the effect of this very union is that of the two one remained while the substance of the other no longer existed, which of course could not have been brought to an end except by either destruction or separation.

² But this is so opposed to sound faith that it cannot be entertained without loss of one's Christian name. For if the Incarnation of the Word is the uniting of the Divine and human natures, but by the very fact of their coming together that which was twofold became single, it was only the Godhead that was born of the Virgin's womb, and went through the deceptive appearance of receiving nourishment and bodily growth: and to pass over all the changes of the human state, it was only the Godhead that was crucified, dead, and buried: so that according to those who thus think, there is no reason to hope for the resurrection, and Christ is not "the first-begotten from the dead; because He was not One who ought to have been raised again, if He had not been One who could be slain.

Chapter VI. The Deity and the Manhood Were Present in Christ from the Very First.

¹ Keep far from your hearts, dearly beloved, the poisonous lies of the devil's inspirations, and knowing that the eternal Godhead of the Son underwent no growth while with the Father, be wise and consider that to the same nature to which it was said in Adam, "Thou art earth, and unto earth shall thou go," it is said in Christ, "sit Thou on My right hand." According to that Nature, whereby Christ is equal to the Father, the Only-begotten was never inferior to the sublimity of the Father; nor was the glory which He had with the Father a temporal possession; for He is on the very right hand of the Father, of which it is said in Exodus, "Thy right hand, O Lord, is glorified in power;" and in Isaiah, "Lord, who hath believed our report? and the arm of the Lord, to whom is it revealed?" The man, therefore, assumed into the Son of God, was in such wise received into the unity of Christ's Person from His very commencement in the body, that without the Godhead He was not conceived, without the Godhead He was not brought forth, without the Godhead He was not nursed. It was the same Person in the wondrous acts, and in the endurance of insults; through His human weakness crucified, dead and buried: through His Divine power, being raised the third day, He ascen-

ded to the heavens, sat down at the right hand of the Father, and in His nature as man received from the Father that which in His nature as God He Himself also gave.

Chapter VII. The Fulness of the Godhead is Imparted to the Body (the Church) Through the Head, (Christ).

¹ Meditate, dearly beloved on these things with devout hearts, and be always mindful of the apostle's injunction, who admonishes all men, saying, "See lest any one deceive you through philosophy and vain deceit according to the tradition of men, and not according to Christ; for in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and ye have been filled in Him." He said not "spiritually" but "bodily," that we may understand the substance of flesh to be real, where there is the dwelling in the body of the fulness of the Godhead: wherewith, of course, the whole Church is also filled, which, clinging to the Head, is the body of Christ; who liveth and reigneth with the Father and the Holy Ghost, God for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 17

Chapter I. The Epiphany a Necessary Sequel to the Nativity.

¹ After celebrating but lately the day on which immaculate virginity brought forth the Saviour of mankind, the venerable feast of the Epiphany, dearly beloved, gives us continuance of joy, that the force of our exultation and the fervour of our faith may not grow cool, in the midst of neighbouring and kindred mysteries. For it concerns all men's salvation, that the infancy of the Mediator between God and men was already manifested to the whole world, while He was still detained in the tiny town. For although He had chosen the Israelitish nation, and one family out of that nation, from whom to assume the nature of all mankind, yet He was unwilling that the early days of His birth should be concealed within the narrow limits of His mother's home: but desired to be soon recognized by all, seeing that He deigned to be born for all. To three wise men, therefore, appeared a star of new splendour in the region of the East, which, being brighter and fairer than the other stars, might easily attract the eyes and minds of those that looked on it, so that at once that might be observed not to be meaningless, which had so unusual an appearance. He therefore who gave the sign, gave to the beholders understanding of it, and caused inquiry to be made about that,

of which He had thus caused understanding, and after inquiry made, offered Himself to be found.

Chapter II. Herod's Evil Designs Were Fruitless. The Wise Men's Gifts Were Consciously Symbolical.

¹ These three men follow the leading of the light above, and with steadfast gaze obeying the indications of the guiding splendour, are led to the recognition of the Truth by the brilliance of Grace, for they supposed that a king's birth was notified in a human sense and that it must be sought in a royal city. Yet He who had taken a slave's form, and had come not to judge, but to be judged, chose Bethlehem for His nativity, Jerusalem for His passion. But Herod, hearing that a prince of the Jews was born, suspected a successor, and was in great terror: and to compass the death of the Author of Salvation, pledged himself to a false homage. How happy had he been, if he had imitated the wise men's faith, and turned to a pious use what he designed for deceit. What blind wickedness of foolish jealousy, to think thou canst overthrow the Divine plan by thy frenzy. The Lord of the works, who offers an eternal Kingdom, seeks not a temporal. Why dost thou attempt to change the unchangeable order of things ordained, and to forestall others in their crime? The death of Christ belongs not to thy time. The Gospel must be first set on foot, the Kingdom of God first preached, healings first given to the sick, wondrous acts first performed.

² Why dost thou wish thyself to have the blame of what will belong to another's work, and why without being able to effect thy wicked design, dost thou bring on thyself alone the charge of wishing the evil? Thou gainest nothing and cattiest out nothing by this intriguing. He that was born voluntarily shall die of His own free will. The Wise men, therefore, fulfil their desire, and come to the child, the Lord Jesus Christ, the same star going before them. They adore the Word in flesh, the Wisdom in infancy, the Power in weakness, the Lord of majesty in the reality of man: and by their gifts make open acknowledgment of what they believe in their hearts, that they may show forth the mystery of their faith and understanding. The incense they offer to God, the myrrh to Man, the gold to the King, consciously paying honour to the Divine and human Nature in union: because while each substance had its own properties, there was no difference in the power of either.

Chapter III. The Massacre of the Innocents is in Harmony with the Virgin's Conception, Which Again Teaches Us Purity of Life.

¹ And when the wise men had returned to their own land, and Jesus had been carried into Egypt at the Divine suggestion, Herod's madness blazes out into fruitless schemes. He orders all the little ones in Bethlehem to be slain, and since he knows not which infant to fear, extends a general sentence against the age he suspects. But that which the wicked king removes from the world, Christ admits to heaven: and on those for whom He had not yet spent His redeeming blood, He already bestows the dignity of martyrdom. Lift your faithful hearts then, dearly-beloved, to the gracious blaze of eternal light, and in adoration of the mysteries dispensed for man's salvation give your diligent heed to the things which have been wrought on your behalf. Love the purity of a chaste life, because Christ is the Son of a virgin. "Abstain from fleshly lusts which war against the soul," as the blessed Apostle, present in his words as we read, exhorts us, "In malice be ye children," because the Lord of glory conformed Himself to the infancy of mortals. Follow after humility which the Son of God deigned to teach His disciples. Put on the power of patience, in which ye may be able to gain your souls; seeing that He who is the Redemption of all, is also the Strength of all. "Set your minds on the things which are above, not on the things which are on the earth." Walk firmly along the path of truth and life: let not earthly things hinder you for whom are prepared heavenly things through our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. Amen.

S E R M O N 18

Chapter I. When We Were Yet Sinners, Christ Came to Save.

¹ Although I know, dearly-beloved, that you are fully aware of the purpose of to-day's festival, and that the words of the Gospel have according to use unfolded it to you, yet that nothing may be omitted on our part, I shall venture to say on the subject what the Lord has put in my mouth: so that in our common joy the devotion of our hearts may be so much the more sincere as the reason of our keeping the feast is better understood. The providential Mercy of God, having determined to succour the perishing world in these latter times, fore-ordained the salvation of all nations in the Person of Christ; in order that, because all nations had long been turned aside from the worship of the true God by wicked error, and even God's peculiar people Israel had

well-nigh entirely fallen away from the enactments of the Law, now that all were shut up under sin He might have mercy upon all.

² For as justice was everywhere failing and the whole world was given over to vanity and wickedness, if the Divine Power had not deferred its judgment, the whole of mankind would have received the sentence of damnation. But wrath was changed to forgiveness, and, that the greatness of the Grace to be displayed might be the more conspicuous, it pleased God, to apply the mystery of remission to the abolishing of men's sins at a time when. no one could boast of his own merits.

Chapter II. The Wise Men from the East are Typical Fulfilments of God's Promise to Abraham.

¹ Now the manifestation of this unspeakable mercy, dearly-beloved, came to pass when Herod held the royal power in Judea, where the legitimate succession of Kings having failed and the power of the High-priests having been overthrown, an alien-born had gained the sovereignty: that the rising of the true King might be attested by the voice of prophecy, which had said: "a prince shall not fail from Juda, nor a leader from his loins, until He come for whom it is reserved and He shall be the expectation of the nations." Concerning which an innumerable succession was once promised to the most blessed patriarch Abraham to be begotten not by fleshly seed but by fertile faith; and therefore it was compared to the stars in multitude that as father of all the nations he might hope not for an earthly but for a heavenly progeny. And therefore, for the creating of the promised posterity, the heirs designated under the figure of the stars are awakened by the rising of a new star, that the ministrations of the heaven might do service in that wherein the witness of the heaven had been adduced. A star more brilliant than the other stars arouses wise men that dwell in the far East, and from the brightness of the wondrous light these men, not unskilled in observing such things, appreciate the importance of the sign: this doubtless being brought about in their hearts by Divine inspiration, in order that the mystery of so great a sight might not be hid from them, and, what was an unusual appearance to their eyes, might not be obscure to their minds. In a word they scrupulously set about their duty and provide themselves with such gifts that in worshipping the One they may at the same time show their belief in His threefold function: with gold they honour the Person of a King, with myrrh that of Man, with incense that of God.

Chapter III. The Chosen Race is No Longer the Jews, But Believers of Every Nation.

1 And so they enter the chief city of the Kingdom of Judaea, and in the royal city ask that He should be shown them Whom they had learnt was begotten to be King. Herod is perturbed: he fears for his safety, he trembles for his power, he asks of the priests and teachers of the Law what the Scripture has predicted about the birth of Christ, he ascertains what had been prophesied: truth enlightens the wise men, unbelief blinds the experts: carnal Israel understands not what it reads, sees not what it points out; refers to the pages, whose utterances it does not believe. Where is thy boasting, O Jew? where thy noble birth drawn from the stem of Abraham? is not thy circumcision become uncircumcision? Behold thou, the greater servest the less and by the reading of that covenant which thou keepest in the letter only, thou becomest the slave of strangers born, who enter into the lot of thy heritage. Let the fulness of the nations enter into the family of the patriarchs, yea let it enter, and let the sons of promise receive in Abraham's seed the blessing which his sons, according to the flesh, renounce their claim to. In the three Magi let all people worship the Author of the universe: and let God be known not in Judaea alone, but in all the world, so that everywhere "His name" may be "great in Israel." For while the dignity of the chosen race is proved to be degenerate by unbelief in its descendants, it is made common to all alike by our belief.

Chapter IV. The Massacre of the Innocents Through the Consequent Flight of Christ, Brings the Truth into Egypt.

1 Now when the wise men had worshipped the Lord and finished all their devotions, according to the warning of a dream, they return not by the same route by which they had come. For it behoved them now that they believed in Christ not to walk in the paths of their old line of life, but having entered on a new way to keep away from the errors they had left: and it was also to baffle Herod's design, who, under the cloke of homage, was planning a wicked plot against the Infant Jesus. Hence when his crafty hopes were overthrown, the king's wrath rose to a greater fury. For reckoning up the time which the wise men had indicated, he poured out his cruel rage on all the men-children of Bethlehem, and in a general massacre of the whole of that city slew the infants, who thus passed to their eternal glory, thinking that, if every single babe was slain there, Christ too would be slain. But He Who was postponing the shedding of His blood for the world's redemption till another

er time, was carried and brought into Egypt by his parents' aid, and thus sought the ancient cradle of the Hebrew race, and in the power of a greater providence dispensing the princely office of the true Joseph, in that He, the Bread of Life and the Food of reason that came down from heaven, removed that worse than all famines under which the Egyptians' minds were labouring, the lack of truth nor without that sojourn would the symbolism of that One Victim have been complete; for there first by the slaying of the lamb was fore-shadowed the health-bringing sign of the Cross and the Lord's Pasover.

Chapter V. We Must Keep This Festival as Thankful Sons of Light.

¹ Taught then, dearly-beloved, by these mysteries of Divine grace, let us with reasonable joy celebrate the day of our first-fruits and the commencement of the nations' calling: "giving thanks to" the merciful God "who made us worthy," as the Apostle says, "to be partakers of the lot of the saints in light: who delivered us from the power of darkness and translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His love: since as Isaiah prophesied, "the people of the nations that sat in darkness, have seen a great light, and they that dwelt in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined. Of whom he also said to the Lord, "nations which knew not thee, shall call on thee: and peoples which were ignorant of thee, shall run together unto thee. This day "Abraham saw and was glad," when he understood that the sons of his faith would be blessed in his seed that is in Christ, and foresaw that by believing he should be the father of all nations, "giving glory to God and being fully assured that What He had promised, He was able also to perform. This day David sang of in the psalms saying: "all nations that thou hast made shall come and worship before Thee, O Lord: and they shall glorify Thy name; and again: "The Lord hath made known His salvation: His righteousness hath He openly showed in the sight of the nations.

² This in good truth we know to have taken place ever since the three wise men aroused in their far-off land were led by a star to recognize and worship the King of heaven and earth,[which to those who gaze aright ceases not daily to appear. And if it could make Christ known when concealed in infancy, how much more able was it to reveal Him when reigning in majesty]. And surely their worship of Him exhorts us to imitation; that, as far as we can, we should serve our gracious God who invites us all to Christ. For whosoever lives religiously and chastely in the Church and "sets his mind

on the, things which are above, not on the things that are upon the earth," is in some measure like the heavenly light: and whilst he himself keeps the brightness of a holy life, he points out to many the way to the Lord like a star. In which regard, dearly-beloved, ye ought all to help one another in turn, that in the kingdom of God, which is reached by right faith and good works, ye may shine as the sons of light: through our Lord Jesus Christ, Who with God the Father and the Holy Spirit lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 19

Chapter I. The Yearly Observance of the Epiphany is Profitable to Christians.

1 It is the right and reasonable duty of true piety, dearly-beloved, on the days which bear witness to the works of Divine mercy, to rejoice with the whole heart and to celebrate with all honour the things which have been wrought for our salvation: for the very law of recurring seasons calls us to such devout observance, and has now brought before us the feast of the Epiphany, consecrated by the Lord's appearance soon after the day on which the Son of God co-eternal with the Father was born of a Virgin. And herein the providence of God has established a great safeguard to our faith, so that, whilst the worship of the Saviour's earliest infancy is repeated year by year, the production of true man's nature in Him might be proved by the original verifications themselves. For this it is that justifies the ungodly, this it is that makes sinners saints, to wit the belief in the true Godhead and the true Manhood of the one Jesus Christ, our Lord: the Godhead, whereby being before all ages "in the form of God" He is equal with the Father: the Manhood whereby in the last days He is united to Man in the "form of a slave."

2 For the confirmation therefore of this Faith which was to be fore-armed against all errors, it was a wondrous loving provision of the Divine plan that a nation which dwelt in the far-off country of the East and was cunning in the art of reading the stars, should receive the sign of the infant's birth who was to reign over all Israel. For the unwonted splendour of a bright new star appeared to the wise men and filled their mind with such wonder, as they gazed upon its brilliance, that they could not think they ought to neglect what was announced to them with such distinctness. And, as the event showed, the grace of God was the disposing cause of this wondrous thing: who when the whole of Bethlehem itself was still unaware of Christ's birth, brought it to the knowledge of the nations who would be-

lieve, and declared that which human words could not yet explain, through the preaching of the heavens.

Chapter II. Both Herod and the Wise Men Originally Had an Earthly Conception of the Kingdom Signified; But the Latter Learnt the Truth, the Former Did Not.

¹ But although it was the office of the Divine condescension to make the Saviour's Nativity recognizable to the nations, yet for the understanding of the wondrous sign the wise men could have had intimation even from the ancient prophecies of Balaam, knowing that it was predicted of old and by constant repetition spread abroad: "A star shall rise out of Jacob, and a man shall rise out of Israel, and shall rule the nations. And so the three men aroused by God through the shining of a strange star, follow the guidance of its twinkling light, thinking they will find the babe designated at Jerusalem in the royal city. But finding themselves mistaken in this opinion, through the scribes and teachers of the Jews they learnt what the Holy Scripture had foretold of the birth of Christ; so that confirmed by a twofold witness, they sought with still more eager faith Him whom both the brightness of the star and the sure word of prophecy revealed. And when the Divine oracle was proclaimed through the chief priests' answers and the Spirit's voice declared, which says: "And thou, Bethlehem, the land of Judah, art not least among the princes of Judah; for out of thee shall come a leader to rule My people Israel," how easy and how natural it was that the leading men among the Hebrews should believe what they taught! But it appears that they held material notions with Herod, and reckoned Christ's kingdom as on the same level as the powers of this world:

² so that they hoped for a temporal leader while he dreaded an earthly rival. The fear that racks thee, Herod, is wasted; in vain dost thou try to vent thy rage on the infant thou suspectest. Thy realm cannot hold Christ; the Lord of the world is not satisfied with the narrow limits of thy sway. He, whom thou dost not wish to reign in Judaea, reigns everywhere: and thou wouldst rule more happily thyself, if thou wert to submit to His command. Why dost thou not do with sincerity what in treacherous falseness thou dost promise? Come with the wise men, and in suppliant adoration worship the true King. But thou, from too great fondness for Jewish blindness, wilt not imitate the nations' faith, and directest thy stubborn heart to cruel wiles, though thou art doomed neither to stay Him whom thou fearest nor to harm them whom thou slayest.

Chapter III. The Perseverance of the Magi Has Led to the Most Important Results.

¹Led then, dearly beloved, into Bethlehem by obeying the guidance of the star, the wise men "rejoiced with very great joy," as the evangelist has told us: "and entering the house, found the child with Mary, His mother; and falling down they worshipped Him; and opening their treasures they presented to Him gifts, gold, frankincense and myrrh. What wondrous faith of perfect knowledge, which was taught them not by earthly wisdom, but by the instruction of the Holy Spirit! Whence came it that these men, who had quitted their country without having seen Jesus, and had not noticed anything in His looks to enforce such systematic adoration, observed this method in offering their gifts? unless it were that besides the appearance of the star, which attracted their bodily eyes, the more refulgent rays of truth taught their hearts that before they started on their toilsome road, they must understand that He was signified to Whom was owed in gold royal honour, in incense Divine adoration, in myrrh the acknowledgment of mortality. Such a belief and understanding no doubt, as far as the enlightenment of their faith went, might have been sufficient in themselves and have prevented their using their bodily eyes in inquiring into that which they had beheld with their mind's fullest gaze. But their sagacious diligence, persevering till they found the child, did good service for future peoples and for the men of our own time:

²so that, as it profited us all that the apostle Thomas, after the Lord's resurrection, handled the traces of the wounds in His flesh, so it was of advantage to us that His infancy should be attested by the visit of the wise men. And so the wise men saw and adored the Child of the tribe of Judah, "of the seed of David according to the flesh," "made from a woman, made under the law," which He had come "not to destroy but to fulfil. They saw and adored the Child, small in size, powerless to help others incapable of speech, and in nought different to the generality of human children. Because, as the testimonies were trustworthy which asserted in Him the majesty of invisible Godhead, so it ought to be impossible to doubt that "the Word became flesh," and the eternal essence of the Son of God took man's true nature: lest either the inexpressible marvels of his acts which were to follow or the infliction of sufferings which He had to bear should overthrow the mystery of our Faith by their inconsistency: seeing that no one at all can be justified save those who believe the Lord Jesus to be both true God and true Man.

Chapter IV. The Manichoean Heresy Corrupts the Scriptures in Order to Disprove the Truth.

¹ This peerless Faith, dearly-beloved, this Truth proclaimed throughout all ages, is opposed by the devilish blasphemies of the Manichaeans: who to murder the souls of the deceived have woven a deadly tissue of wicked doctrine out of impious and forged lies, and over the ruins of their mad opinions men have fallen headlong to such depths as to imagine a Christ with a fictitious body, who presented nothing solid, nothing real to the eyes and touch of men but displayed an empty shape of fancy-flesh. For they wish it to be thought unworthy of belief that God the Son of God placed Himself within a woman's body and subjected His majesty to such a degradation as to be joined to our fleshly nature and be born in the true body of human substance although this is entirely the outcome of His power, not of His ill-treatment, and it is His glorious condescension, not His being polluted that should be believed in. For if yonder visible light is not marred by any of the uncleannesses with which it is encompassed, and the brightness of the sun's rays, which is doubtless a material creature, is not contaminated by any of the dirty or muddy places to which it penetrates, is there anything whatever its quality which could pollute the essence of that eternal and immaterial Light?

² seeing that by allying Himself to that creature which He had made after His own image He furnished it with purification and received no stain, and healed the wounds of its weakness without suffering loss of power. And because this great and unspeakable mystery of divine Godliness was announced by all the testimonies of the Holy Scriptures, those opponents of the Truth of which we speak have rejected the law that was given through Moses and the divinely inspired utterances of the prophets, and have tampered with the very pages of the gospels and apostles, by removing or inserting certain things: forging for themselves under the Apostles' names and under the words of the Saviour Himself many volumes of falsehood, whereby to fortify their lying errors and instil deadly poison into the minds of those to be deceived. For they saw that everything contradicted and made against them and that not only by the New but also by the Old Testament their blasphemous and treacherous folly was confuted. And yet persisting in their mad lies they cease not to disturb the Church of God with their deceits, persuading those miserable creatures whom they can ensnare to deny that man's nature was truly

taken by the Lord Jesus Christ; to deny that He was truly crucified for the world's salvation: to deny that from His side wounded by the spear flowed the blood of Redemption and the water of baptism: to deny that He was buried and raised again the third day:

3 to deny that in sight of the disciples He was lifted above all the heights of the skies to take His seat on the right hand of the Father; and in order that when all the truth of the Apostles' Creed was destroyed, there may be nothing to frighten the wicked or inspire the saints with hope, to deny that the living and the dead must be judged by Christ; so that those whom they have robbed of the power of these great mysteries may learn to worship Christ in the sun and moon, and under the name of the Holy Spirit to adore Manichaeus himself, the inventor of all these blasphemies.

Chapter V. Avoid All Dealings with the Heretics, But Intercede with God For Them.

1 To confirm your hearts therefore, dearly-beloved, in the Faith and Truth, let to-day's festival help you all, and let the catholic confession be fortified by the testimony of the manifestation of the Saviour's infancy, while we anathematize the blasphemy of those who deny the flesh of our nature in Christ: about which the blessed Apostle John has forewarned us in no doubtful utterance, saying, "every spirit which confesses Christ Jesus to have come in the flesh is of God: and every spirit which destroys Jesus is not of God, and this is Antichrist. Consequently let no Christian have aught in common with men of this kind, let him have no alliance or intercourse with such. Let it advantage the whole Church that many of them in the mercy of God have been discovered, and that their own confession has disclosed how sacrilegious their lives were. Let no one be deceived by their discriminations between food and food, by their soiled raiment, by their pale faces. Fasts are not holy which proceed not on the principle of abstinence but with deceitful design. Let this be the end of their harming the unwary, and deluding the ignorant; henceforth no one's fall shall be excusable: no longer must he be held simple but extremely worthless and perverse who hereafter shall be found entangled in detestable error. A practice countenanced by the Church and Divinely instituted, not only do we not forbid, we even incite you to, that you should supplicate the Lord even for such:

2 since we also with tears and mourning feel pity for the ruins of cheated souls, carrying out the Apostles' example of loving-kindness so as to be weak with those that are weak and to "weep with those that weep. For we hope that

God's mercy can be won by the many tears and due amendment of the fallen: because so long as life remains in the body no man's restoration must be despaired of, but the reform of all desired with the Lord's help, "who raiseth up them that are crushed, looseth them that are chained, giveth light to the blind: to whom is honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 20

Chapter I. The Story of the Magi Not Only a Bygone Fact in History, But of Everyday Application to Ourselves.

¹ The day, dearly-beloved, on which Christ the Saviour of the world first appeared to the nations must be venerated by us with holy worship: and to-day those joys must be entertained in our hearts which existed in the breasts of the three magi, when, aroused by the sign and leading of a new star, which they believed to have been promised, they fell down in presence of the King of heaven and earth. For that day has not so passed away that the mighty work, which was then revealed, has passed away with it, and that nothing but the report of the thing has come down to us for faith to receive and memory to celebrate; seeing that, by the oft-repeated gift of God, our times daily enjoy the fruit of what the first age possessed. And therefore, although the narrative which is read to us from the Gospel properly records those days on which the three men, who had neither been taught by the prophets' predictions nor instructed by the testimony of the law, came to acknowledge God from the furthest parts of the East, yet we behold this same thing more clearly and abundantly carried on now in the enlightenment of all those who are called, since the prophecy of Isaiah is fulfilled when he says, "the Lord has laid bare His holy arm in the sight of all the nations, and all the nations upon earth have seen the salvation which is from the Lord our God;

² and again, "and those to whom it has not been announced about Him shall see, and they who have not heard, shall understand. Hence when we see men devoted to worldly wisdom and far from belief in Jesus Christ brought out of the depth of their error and called to an acknowledgment of the true Light, it is undoubtedly the brightness of the Divine grace that is at work: and whatever of new light illumines the darkness of their hearts, comes from the rays of the same star: so that it should both move with wonder, and going before lead to the adoration of God the minds which it visited with its splendour. But if with careful thought we wish to see how their threefold kind of gift is also offered by all who come to Christ with the foot of faith, is

not the same offering repeated in the hearts of true believers? For he that acknowledges Christ the King of the universe brings gold from the treasure of his heart: he that believes the Only-begotten of God to have united man's true nature to Himself, offers myrrh; and he that confesses Him in no wise inferior to the Father's majesty, worships Him in a manner with incense.

Chapter II. Satan Still Carries on the Wiles of Herod, And, as It Were, Personates Him in His Opposition to Christ.

1 These comparisons, dearly-beloved, being thoughtfully considered, we find Herod's character also not to be wanting, of which the devil himself is now an unwearied imitator, just as he was then a secret instigator. For he is tortured at the calling of all the nations, and racked at the daily destruction of his power, grieving at his being everywhere deserted, and the true King adored in all places. He prepares devices, he hatches plots, he bursts out into murders, and that he may make use of the remnants of those whom he still deceives, is consumed with envy in the persons of the Jews, lies treacherously in wait in the persons of heretics, blazes out into cruelty in the persons of the heathen. For he sees that the power of the eternal King is invincible Whose death has extinguished the power of death itself; and therefore he has armed himself with all his skill of injury against those who serve the true King; hardening some by the pride that knowledge of the law engenders, debasing others by the lies of false belief, and inciting others to the madness of persecution. Yet the madness of this "Herod" is vanquished, and brought to nought by Him who has crowned even infants with the glory of martyrdom, and has endured His faithful ones with so unconquerable a love that in the Apostle's words they dare to say, "who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or want, or persecution, Or hunger, or nakedness, or peril, or the sword? as it is written, For thy sake are we killed all the day long, we are counted as sheep for the slaughter. But in all these things we overcome on account of Him who loved us."

Chapter III. The Cessation of Active Persecution Does Not Do Away with the Need of Continued Vigilance: Satan Has Only Changed His Tactics.

1 Such courage as this, dearly-beloved, we do not believe to have been needful only at those times in which the kings of the world and all the powers of the age were raging against God's people in an outburst of wickedness, thinking it to redound to their greatest glory if they removed the Christian name from the earth, but not knowing that God's Church grows through

the frenzy of their cruelty, since in the tortures and deaths of the martyrs, those whose number was reckoned to be diminished were augmented through the force of example. In fine, so much strength has our Faith gained by the attacks of persecutors that royal principedoms have no greater ornament than that the lords of the world are members of Christ; and their boast is not so much that they were born in the purple as that they have been re-born in baptism. But because the stress of former blasts has lulled, and with a cessation of fightings a measure of tranquillity has long seemed to smile upon us, those divergences are carefully to be guarded against which arise from the very reign of peace. For the adversary having been proved ineffective in open persecutions now exercises a hidden skill in doing cruel hurt, in order to overthrow by the stumbling-block of pleasure those whom he could not strike with the blow of affliction.

² And so seeing the faith of princes opposed to him and the indivisible Trinity of the one Godhead as devoutly worshipped in palaces as in churches, he grieves at the shedding of Christian blood being forbidden, and attacks the mode of life of those whose death he cannot compass. The terror of confiscations he changes into the fire of avarice, and corrupts with covetousness those whose spirit he could not break by losses. For the malicious haughtiness which long use has ingrained into his very nature has not laid aside its hatred, but changed its character in order to subjugate the minds of the faithful by blandishments. He inflames those with covetous desires whom he cannot distress with tortures: he sows strifes, kindles passions, sets tongues a-wagging, and, lest more cautious hearts should draw back from his lawless wiles, facilitates opportunities for accomplishing crimes: because this is the only fruit of all his devices that he who is not worshipped with the sacrifice of cattle and goats, and the burning of incense, should be paid the homage of divers wicked deeds.

Chapter IV. Timely Repentance Gains God's Merciful Consideration.

¹ Our state of peace therefore, dearly-beloved, has its dangers, and it is vain for those who do not withstand vicious desires to feel secure of the liberty which is the privilege of their Faith. Men's hearts are shown by the character of their works, and the fashion of their minds is betrayed by the nature of their actions. For there are some, as the Apostle says, "who profess that they know God, but deny Him by their deeds. For the charge of denial is truly incurred when the good which is heard in the sound of the voice is not present

in the conscience. Indeed, the frailty of man's nature easily glides into faults: and because no sin is without its attractiveness, deceptive pleasure is quickly acquiesced in. But we should run for spiritual succour from the desires of the flesh: and the mind that has knowledge of its God should turn away from the evil suggestion of the enemy. Avail thyself of the long-suffering of God, and persist not in cherishing thy sin, because its punishment is put off. The sinner must not feel secure of his impunity, because if he loses the time for repentance he will find no place for mercy, as the prophet says, "in death no one remembers thee; and in the realms below who will confess to thee?"

2 But let him who experiences the difficulty of self-amendment and restoration betake himself to the mercy of a befriending God, and ask that the chains of evil habit may be broken off by Him "who lifts up those that fall and raises all the crushed. The prayer of one that confesses will not be in vain since the merciful God "will grant the desire of those that fear Him," and will give what is asked, as He gave the Source from Which to ask. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, Who liveth and reigneth with the Father and the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 21

Chapter I. The Benefits of Abstinence Shown by the Example of the Hebrews.

1 In former days, when the people of the Hebrews and all the tribes of Israel were oppressed for their scandalous sins by the grievous tyranny of the Philistines, in order that they might be able to overcome their enemies, as the sacred story declares, they restored their powers of mind and body by the injunction of a fast. For they understood that they had deserved that hard and wretched subjection for their neglect of God's commands, and evil ways, and that it was in vain for them to strive with arms unless they had first withstood their sin. Therefore abstaining from food and drink, they applied the discipline of strict correction to themselves, and in order to conquer their foes, first conquered the allurements of the palate in themselves. And thus it came about that their fierce enemies and cruel taskmasters yielded to them when fasting, whom they had held in subjection when full. And so we too, dearly beloved, who are set in the midst of many oppositions and conflicts, may be cured by a little carefulness, if only we will use the same means. For our case is almost the same as theirs, seeing that, as they were attacked by foes in the flesh so are we chiefly by spiritual enemies. And if we can conquer them by God's grace enabling us to correct our ways, the strength of our

bodily enemies also will give way before us, and by our self-amendment we shall weaken those who were rendered formidable to us, not by their own merits but by our shortcomings.

Chapter II. Use Lent to Vanquish the Enemy, and Be Thus Preparing for Eastertide.

¹ Accordingly, dearly-beloved, that we may be able to overcome all our enemies, let us seek Divine aid by the observance of the heavenly bidding, knowing that we cannot otherwise prevail against our adversaries, unless we prevail against our own selves. For we have many encounters with our own selves: the flesh desires one thing against the spirit, and the spirit another thing against the flesh. And in this disagreement, if the desires of the body be stronger, the mind will disgracefully lose its proper dignity, and it will be most disastrous for that to serve which ought to have ruled. But if the mind, being subject to its Ruler, and delighting in gifts from above, shall have trampled under foot the allurements of earthly pleasure, and shall not have allowed sin to reign in its mortal body reason will maintain a well-ordered supremacy, and its strongholds no strategy of spiritual wickednesses will cast down: because man has then only true peace and true freedom when the flesh is ruled by the judgment of the mind, and the mind is directed by the will of God. And although this state of preparedness, dearly-beloved, should always be maintained that our ever-watchful foes may be overcome by unceasing diligence, yet now it must be the more anxiously sought for and the more zealously cultivated when the designs of our subtle foes themselves are conducted with keener craft than ever. For knowing that the most hollowed days of Lent are now at hand, in the keeping of which all past slothfulnesses are chastised, all negligences alerted for, they direct all the force of their spite on this one thing, that they who intend to celebrate the Lord's holy Passover may be found unclean in some matter, and that cause of offence may arise where propitiation ought to have been obtained.

Chapter III. Fights are Necessary to Prove Our Faith.

¹ As we approach then, dearly-beloved, the beginning of Lent, which is a time for the more careful serving of the Lord, because we are, as it were, entering on a kind of contest in good works, let us prepare our souls for fighting with temptations, and understand that the more zealous we are for our salvation, the more determined must be the assaults of our opponents. But "stronger is He that is in us than He that is against us," and through Him are

we powerful in whose strength we rely: because it was for this that the Lord allowed Himself to be tempted by the tempter, that we might be taught by His example as well as fortified by His aid. For He conquered the adversary, as ye have heard by quotations from the law, not by actual strength, that by this very thing He might do greater honour to man, and inflict a greater punishment on the adversary by conquering the enemy of the human race not now as God but as Man. He fought then, therefore, that we too might fight thereafter: He conquered that we too might likewise conquer. For there are no works of power, dearly-beloved, without the trials of temptations, there is no faith without proof, no contest without a foe, no victory without conflict. This life of ours is in the midst of snares, in the midst of battles; if we do not wish to be deceived, we must watch: if we want to overcome, we must fight. And therefore the most wise Solomon says, "My son in approaching the service of God prepare thy soul for temptation." For He being a man full of the wisdom of God, and knowing that the pursuit of religion involves laborious struggles, foreseeing too the danger of the fight, forewarned the intending combatant; lest haply, if the tempter came upon him in his ignorance, he might find him unready and wound him unawares.

Chapter IV. The Christian's Armour is Both for Defence and for Attack.

¹ So, dearly-beloved, let us who instructed in Divine learning come wittingly to the present contest and strife, hear the Apostle when he says, "for our struggle is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of this dark world, against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things," and let us not forget that these our enemies feel it is against them all is done that we strive to do for our salvation, and that by the very fact of our seeking after some good thing we are challenging our foes. For this is an old-standing quarrel between us and them fostered by the devil's ill-will, so that they are tortured by our being justified, because they have fallen from those good things to which we, God helping us, are advancing. If, therefore, we are raised, they are prostrated: if we are strengthened, they are weakened. Our cures are their blows, because they are wounded by our wounds' cure. "Stand, therefore," dearly-beloved, as the Apostle says, "having the loins of your mind girt in truth, and your feet shod in the preparation of the gospel of peace, in all things taking the shield of faith in which ye may be able to extinguish all the fiery darts of the evil one, and put on the helmet of salvation and the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God.

² See, dearly-beloved, with what mighty weapons, with what impregnable defences we are armed by our Leader, who is famous for His many triumphs, the unconquered Master of the Christian warfare. He has girt our loins with the belt of chastity, He has shod our feet with the bonds of peace: because the unbelted soldier is quickly vanquished by the suggester of immodesty, and he that is unshod is easily bitten by the serpent. He has given the shield of faith for the protection of our whole body; on our head has He set the helmet of salvation; our right hand has He furnished with a sword, that is with the word of Truth: that the spiritual warrior may not only be safe from wounds, but also may have strength to wound his assailant.

Chapter V. Abstinence Not Only from Food But from Other Evil Desires, Especially from Wrath, is Required in Lent.

¹ Relying, therefore, dearly-beloved, on these arms, let us enter actively and fearlessly on the contest set before us: so that in this fasting struggle we may not rest satisfied with only this end, that we should think abstinence from food alone desirable. For it is not enough that the substance of our flesh should be reduced, if the strength of the soul be not also developed. When the outer man is somewhat subdued, let the inner man be somewhat refreshed; and when bodily excess is denied to our flesh, let our mind be invigorated by spiritual delights. Let every Christian scrutinise himself, and earth severely into his inmost heart: let him see that no discord cling there, no wrong desire be harboured. Let chasteness drive incontinence far away; let the light of truth dispel the shades of deception; let the swellings of pride subside; let wrath yield to reason; let the darts of ill-treatment be shattered, and the chidings of the tongue be bridled; let thoughts of revenge fall through, and injuries be given over to oblivion. In fine, let "every plant which the heavenly Father hath not planted be removed by the roots. For then only are the seeds of virtue well nourished in us, when every foreign germ is uprooted from the field of wheat.

² If any one, therefore, has been fired by the desire for vengeance against another, so that he has given him up to prison or bound him with chains, let him make haste to forgive not only the innocent, but also one who seems worthy of punishment, that he may with confidence make use of the clause in the Lord's prayer and say, "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors. Which petition the Lord marks with peculiar emphasis, as if the efficacy of the whole rested on this condition, by saying, "For if ye forgive men

their sins, your Father which is in heaven also will forgive you: but if ye forgive not men, neither will your Father forgive you your Sins."

Chapter VI. The Right Use of Lent Will Lead to a Happy Participation in Easter.

¹ Accordingly, dearly-beloved, being mindful of our weakness, because we easily fall into all kinds of faults, let us by no means neglect this special remedy and most effectual healing of our wounds. Let us remit, that we may have remission: let us grant the pardon which we crave: let us not be eager to be revenged when we pray to be forgiven. Let us not pass over the groans of the poor with deaf ear, but with prompt kindness bestow our mercy on the needy, that we may deserve to find mercy in the judgment. And he that, aided by God's grace, shall strain every nerve after this perfection, will keep this holy fast faithfully; free from the leaven of the old wickedness, in the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth he will reach the blessed Passover, and by newness of life will worthily rejoice in the mystery of man's reformation through Christ our Lord Who with the Father and the Holy Spirit lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 22

Chapter I. Progress and Improvement Always Possible.

¹ Although, dearly-beloved, as the Easter festival approaches, the very recurrence of the season points out to us the Lenten fast, yet our words also must add their exhortations which, the Lord helping us, may be not useless to the active nor irksome to the devout. For since the idea of these days demands the increase of all our religious performances, there is no one, I am sure, that does not feel glad at being incited to good works. For though our nature which, so long as we are mortal, will be changeable, is advancing to the highest pursuits of virtue, yet always has the possibility of filling back, so has it always the possibility of advancing. And this is the true justness of the perfect that they should never assume themselves to be perfect, lest flagging in the purpose of their yet unfinished journey, they should fall into the danger of failure, through giving up the desire for progress.

² And, therefore, because none of us, dearly beloved, is so perfect and holy as not to be able to be more perfect and more holy, let us all together, without difference of rank, without distinction of desert, with pious eagerness pursue our race from what we have attained to what we yet aspire to, and make some needful additions to our regular devotions. For he that is not

more attentive than usual to religion in these days, is shown at other times to be not attentive enough.

Chapter II. Satan Seeks to Subtly His Numerous Lasses by Fresh Gains.

1 Hence the reading of the Apostle's proclamation has sounded opportunely in our ears, saying, "Behold now is the accepted time, behold now is the day of salvation." For what is more accepted than this time, what more suitable to salvation than these days, in which war is proclaimed against vices and progress is made in all virtues? Thou hadst indeed always to keep watch, O Christian soul, against the enemy of thy salvation, lest any spot should be exposed to the tempter's snares: but now greater wariness and keener prudence must be employed by thee when that same foe of thine rages with fiercer hatred. For now in all the world the power of his ancient sway is taken from him, and the countless vessels of captivity are rescued from his grasp. The people of all nations and of all tongues are breaking away from their cruel plunderer, and now no race of men is found that does not struggle against the tyrant's laws, while through all the borders of the earth many thousands of thousands are being prepared to be reborn in Christ: and as the birth of a new creature draws near, spiritual wickedness is being driven out by those who were possessed by it. The blasphemous fury of the despoiled foe frets, therefore, and seeks new gains because it has lost its ancient right. Unwearied and ever wakeful, he snatches at any sheep he finds straying carelessly from the sacred folds, intent on leading them over the steep slopes of treasure and down the slopes of luxury into the abodes of death. And so he inflames their wrath, feeds their hatreds, whets their desires, mocks at their continence, arouses their gluttony.

Chapter III. The Twofold Nature of Christ Shown at the Temptation.

1 For whom would he not dare to try, who did not keep from his treacherous attempts even on our Lord Jesus Christ? For, as the story of the Gospel has disclosed when our Saviour, Who was true God, that He might show Himself true Man also, and banish all wicked and erroneous opinions, after the fast of 40 days and nights, had experienced the hunger of human weakness, the devil, rejoicing at having found in Him a sign of possible and mortal nature, in order to test the power which he feared, said, "If Thou art the Son of God, command that these stones become bread." Doubtless the Almighty could do this, and it was easy that at the Creator's command a creature of any kind

should change into the form that it was commanded: just as when He willed it, in the marriage feast, He changed the water into wine: but here it better agreed with His purposes of salvation that His haughty foe's cunning should be vanquished by the Lord, not in the power of His Godhead, but by the mystery of His humiliation. At length, when the devil had been put to flight and the tempter baffled in all his arts, angels came to the Lord and ministered to Him, that He being true Man and true God, His Manhood might be unsullied by those crafty questions, and His Godhead displayed by those holy ministrations. And so let the sons and disciples of the devil be confounded, who, being filled with the poison of vipers, deceive the simple, denying in Christ the presence of both true natures, whilst they rob either His Godhead of Manhood, or His Manhood of Godhead, although both falsehoods are destroyed by a twofold and simultaneous proof: for by His bodily hunger His perfect Manhood was shown, and by the attendant angels His perfect Godhead.

Chapter IV. The Fast Should Not End with Abstinence From Food, But Lead to Good Deeds.

1 Therefore, dearly-beloved, seeing that, as we are taught by our Redeemer's precept, "man lives not in bread alone, but in every word of God," and it is right that Christian people, whatever the amount of their abstinence, should rather desire to satisfy themselves with the "Word of God" than with bodily food, let us with ready devotion and eager faith enter upon the celebration of the solemn fast, not with barren abstinence from food, which is often imposed on us by weakness of body, or the disease of avarice, but in bountiful benevolence: that in truth we may be of those of whom the very Truth speaks, "blessed are they which hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." Let works of piety, therefore, be our delight, and let us be filled with those kinds of food which feed us for eternity. Let us rejoice in the replenishment of the poor, whom our bounty has satisfied. Let us delight in the clothing of those whose nakedness we have covered with needful raiment. Let our humaneness be felt by the sick in their illnesses, by the weakly in their infirmities, by the exiles in their hardships, by the orphans in their destitution, and by solitary widows in their sadness: in the helping of whom there is no one that cannot carry out some amount of benevolence. For no one's income is small, whose heart is big: and the measure of one's mercy and goodness does not depend on the size of one's means. Wealth of

goodwill is never rightly lacking, even in a slender purse. Doubtless the expenditure of the rich is greater, and that of the poor smaller, but there is no difference in the fruit of their works, where the purpose of the workers is the same.

Chapter V. And Still Further It Should Lead to Personal Amendment and Domestic Harmony.

¹ But, beloved, in this opportunity for the virtues' exercise there are also other notable crowns, to be won by no dispersing abroad of granaries, by no disbursement of money, if wantonness is repelled, if drunkenness is abandoned, and the lusts of the flesh tamed by the laws of chastity: if hatreds pass into affection, if enmities be turned into peace, if meekness extinguishes wrath, if gentleness forgives wrongs, if in fine the conduct of master and of slaves is so well ordered that the rule of the one is milder, and the discipline of the other is more complete. It is by such observances then, dearly-beloved, that God's mercy will be gained, the charge of sin wiped out, and the adorable Easter festival devoutly kept. And this the pious Emperors of the Roman world have long guarded with holy observance; for in honour of the Lord's Passion and Resurrection they bend their lofty power, and relaxing the severity of their decrees set free many of their prisoners: so that on the days when the world is saved by the Divine mercy, their clemency, which is modelled on the Heavenly goodness, may be zealously followed by us. Let Christian peoples then imitate their princes, and be incited to forbearance in their homes by these royal examples. For it is not right that private laws should be severer than public. Let faults be forgiven, let bonds be loosed offences wiped out, designs of vengeance fall through, that the holy festival through the Divine and human grace may find all happy, all innocent: through our Lord Jesus Christ Who with the Father and the Holy Spirit liveth and reigneth God for endless ages of ages. Amen.

SERMON 23

Chapter I. The Lenten Fast an Opportunity for Restoring Our Purity.

¹ In proposing to preach this most holy and important fast to you, dearly beloved, how shall I begin more fitly than by quoting the words of the Apostle, in whom Christ Himself was speaking, and by reminding you of what we have read: "behold, now is the acceptable time, behold now is the day of salvation." For though there are no seasons which are not full of Divine bless-

ings, and though access is ever open to us to God's mercy through His grace, yet now all men's minds should be moved with greater zeal to spiritual progress, and animated by larger confidence, when the return of the day, on which we were redeemed, invites us to all the duties of godliness: that we may keep the super-excellent mystery of the Lord's passion with bodies and hearts purified. These great mysteries do indeed require from us such unflagging devotion and unwearied reverence that we should remain in God's sight always the same, as we ought to be found on the Easter feast itself. But because few have this constancy, and, because so long as the stricter observance is relaxed in consideration of the frailty of the flesh, and so long as one's interests extend over all the various actions of this life, even pious hearts must get some soils from the dust of the world, the Divine Providence has with great beneficence taken care that the discipline of the forty days should heal us and restore the purity of our minds, during which the faults of other times might be redeemed by pious acts and removed by chaste fasting.

Chapter II. Lent Must Be Used Far Removing All Our Defilements, and of Good Works There Must Be No Stint.

¹ As we are therefore, dearly-beloved, about to enter on those mystic days which are dedicated to the benefits of fasting, let us take care to obey the Apostle's precepts, cleansing "ourselves from every defilement of flesh and spirit: that by controlling the struggles that go on between our two natures, the spirit which, if it is under the guidance of God, should be the governor of the body, may uphold the dignity of its rule: so that we may give no offence to any, nor be subject to the chidings of reprovers. For we shall be rightly attacked with rebukes, and through our fault ungodly tongues will arm themselves to do harm to religion, if the conduct of those that fast is at variance with the standard of perfect purity. For our fast does not consist chiefly of mere abstinence from food, nor are dainties withdrawn from our bodily appetites with profit, unless the mind is recalled from wrong-doing and the tongue restrained from slandering. This is a time of gentleness and long-suffering, of peace and tranquillity: when all the pollutions of vice are to be eradicated and continuance of virtue is to be attained by us. Now let godly minds boldly accustom themselves to forgive faults, to pass over insults, and to forgive wrongs.

² Now let the faithful spirit train himself with the armour of righteousness on the fight hand and on the left, that through honour and dishonour,

through ill repute and good repute, the conscience may be undisturbed in unwavering uprightness, not puffed up by praise and not wearied out by re-vilings. The self-restraint of the religious should not be gloomy, but sincere; no murmurs of complaint should be heard from those who are never without the consolation of holy joys. The decrease of worldly means should not be feared in the practice of works of mercy. Christian poverty is always rich, because what it has is more than what it has not. Nor does the poor man fear to labour in this world, to whom it is given to possess all things in the Lord of all things. Therefore those who do the things which are good must have no manner of fear lest the power of doing should fail them; since in the gospel the widow's devotion is extolled in the case of her two mites, and voluntary bounty gets its reward for a cup of cold water. For the measure of our charitableness is fixed by the sincerity of our feelings, and he that shows mercy on others will never want for mercy himself.

3 The holy widow of Sarepta discovered this, who offered the blessed Elias in the time of famine one day's food, which was all she had, and putting the prophet's hunger before her own needs, ungrudgingly gave up a handful of corn and a little oil. But she did not lose what she gave in all faith, and in the vessels emptied by her godly bounty a source of new plenty arose, that the fulness of her substance might not be diminished by the holy purpose to which she had put it, because she had never dreaded being brought to want.

Chapter III. As with the Saviour, So with Us, the Devil Tries to Make Our Very Piety Its Own Snare.

1 But, dearly-beloved, doubt not that the devil, who is the opponent of all virtues, is jealous of these good desires, to which we are confident you are prompted of your own selves, and that to this end he is arming the force of his malice in order to make your very piety its own snare, and endeavouring to overcome by boastfulness those whom he could not defeat by distrustfulness. For the vice of pride is a near neighbour to good deeds, and arrogance ever lies in wait hard by virtue: because it is hard for him that lives praiseworthy not to be caught by man's praise unless, as it is written, "he that glorieth, glorieth in the Lord. Whose intentions would that most naughty enemy not dare to attack? whose fasting would he not seek to break down? seeing that, as has been shown in the reading of the Gospel he did not restrain his wiles even against the Saviour of the world Himself. For being exceedingly afraid of His fast, which lasted 40 days and nights, he wished most

cunningly to discover whether this power of abstinence was given Him or His very own: for he need not fear the defeat of all his treacherous designs, if Christ were throughout subject to the same conditions as He is in body. And so he first craftily examined whether He were Himself the Creator of all things, such that He could change the natures of material things as He pleased:

2 secondly, whether under the form of human flesh the Godhead lay concealed, to Whom it was easy to make the air His chariot, and convey His earthly limbs through space. But when the Lord preferred to resist him by the uprightness of His true Manhood, than to display the power of His Godhead, to this he turns the craftiness of his third design, that he might tempt by the lust of empire Him in Whom the signs of Divine power had failed, and entice Him to the worship of himself by promising the kingdoms of the world. But the devil's cleverness was rendered foolish by God's wisdom, so that the proud foe was bound by that which he had formerly bound, and did not fear to assail Him Whom it behoved to be slain for the world.

Chapter IV. The Perverse Turn Even Their Fasting into Sin.

1 This adversary's wiles then let us beware of, not only in the enticements of the palate, but also in our purpose of abstinence. For he who knew how to bring death upon mankind by means of food, knows also how to harm us through our very fasting, and using the Manichaeans as his tools, as he once drove men to take what was forbidden, so in the opposite direction he prompts them to avoid what is allowed. It is indeed a helpful observance, which accustoms one to scanty diet, and checks the appetite for dainties: but woe to the dogmatizing of those whose very fasting is turned to sin. For they condemn the creature's nature to the Creator's injury, and maintain that they are defiled by eating those things of which they contend the devil, not God, is the author: although absolutely nothing that exists is evil, nor is anything in nature included in the actually bad. For the good Creator made all things good and the Maker of the universe is one, "Who made the heaven and the earth, the sea and all that is in them." Of which whatever is granted to man for food and drink, is holy and clean after its kind. But if it is taken with immoderate greed, it is the excess that disgraces the eaters and drinkers, not the nature of the food or drink that defiles them. "For all things," as the Apostle says, "are clean to the clean. But to the defiled and unbelieving nothing is clean, but their mind and conscience is defiled."

Chapter V. Be Reasonable and Seasonable in Your Fasting.

¹ But ye, dearly-beloved, the holy offspring of the catholic Mother, who have been taught in the school of Truth by God's Spirit, moderate your liberty with due reasonableness, knowing that it is good to abstain even from things lawful, and at seasons of greater strictness to distinguish one food from another with a view to giving up the use of some kinds, not to condemning their nature. And so be not infected with the error of those who are corrupted merely by their own ordinances, "serving the creature rather than the Creator," and offering a foolish abstinence to the service of the lights of heaven: seeing that they have chosen to fast on the first and second days of the week in honour of the sun and moon, proving themselves in this one instance of their perverseness twice disloyal to God, twice blasphemous, by setting up their fast not only in worship of the stars but also in contempt of the Lord's Resurrection. For they reject the mystery of man's salvation and refuse to believe that Christ our Lord in the true flesh of our nature was truly born, truly suffered, was truly buried and was truly raised. And in consequence, condemn the day of our rejoicing by the gloom of their fasting.

² And since to conceal their infidelity they dare to be present at our meetings, at the Communion of the Mysteries they bring themselves sometimes, in order to ensure their concealment, to receive Christ's Body with unworthy lips, though they altogether refuse to drink the Blood of our Redemption. And this we make known to you, holy brethren, that men of this sort may be detected by you by these signs, and that they whose impious pretences have been discovered may be driven from the society of the saints by priestly authority. For of such the blessed Apostle Paul in his foresight warns God's Church, saying: "but we beseech you, brethren, that ye observe those who make discussions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye learnt and turn away from them. For such persons serve not Christ the Lord but their own belly, and by sweet words and fair speeches beguile the hearts of the innocent."

Chapter VI. Make Your Fasting a Reality by Amendment in Your Lives.

¹ Being therefore, dearly-beloved, fully instructed by these admonitions of ours, which we have often repeated in your ears in protest against abominable error, enter upon the holy days of Lent with Godly devoutness, and prepare yourselves to win God's mercy by your own works of mercy. Quench

your anger, wipe out enmities, cherish unity, and vie with one another in the offices of true humility. Rule your slaves and those who are put under you with fairness, let none of them be tortured by imprisonment or chains. Forego vengeance, forgive offences: exchange severity for gentleness, indignation for meekness, discord for peace. Let all men find us self-restrained, peaceable, kind: that our fastings may be acceptable to God. For in a word to Him we offer the sacrifice of true abstinence and true Godliness, when we keep ourselves from all evil: the Almighty God helping us through all, to Whom with the Son and Holy Spirit belongs one Godhead and one Majesty, for ever and ever. Amen:

SERMON 24

Chapter I. Lent Must Be Kept Not Only by Avoiding Bodily Impurity But Also by Avoiding Errors of Thought and Faith.

¹ We know indeed, dearly-beloved, your devotion to be so warm that in the fasting, which is the forerunner of the Lord's Easter, many of you will have forestalled our exhortations. But because the right practice of abstinence is needful not only to the mortification of the flesh but also to the purification of the mind, we desire your observance to be so complete that, as you cut down the pleasures that be long to the lusts of the flesh, so you should banish the errors that proceed from the imaginations of the heart. For he whose heart is polluted with no misbelief prepares himself with true and reasonable purification for the Paschal Feast, in which all the mysteries of our religion meet together. For, as the Apostle says, that "all that is not of faith is sin," the fasting of those will be unprofitable and vain, whom the father of lying deceives with his delusions, and who are not fed by Christ's true flesh. As then we must with the whole heart obey the Divine commands and sound doctrine, so we must use all foresight in abstaining from wicked imaginations. For the mind then only keeps holy and spiritual fast when it rejects the food of error and the poison of falsehood, which our crafty and wily foe plies us with more treacherously now, when by the very return of the venerable Festival, the whole church generally is admonished to understand the mysteries of its salvation.

² For he is the true confessor and worshipper of Christ's resurrection, who is not confused about His passion, nor deceived about His bodily nativity. For some are so ashamed of the Gospel of the Cross of Christ, as to impudently nullify the punishment which He underwent for the world's redemption,

and have denied the very nature of true flesh in the Lord, not understanding how the impossible and unchangeable Deity of God's Word could have so far condescended for man's salvation, as by His power not to lose His own properties, and in His mercy to take on Him ours. And so in Christ, there is a twofold form but one person, and the Son of God, who is at the same time Son of Man, is one Lord, accepting the condition of a slave by the design of loving-kindness, not by the law of necessity, because by His power He became humble, by His power passible, by His power mortal; that for the destruction of the tyranny of sin and death, the weak nature in Him might be capable of punishment, and the strong nature not lose aught of its glory.

Chapter II. All the Actions of Christ Reveal the Presence of the Twofold Nature.

¹ And so, dearly-beloved, when in reading or hearing the Gospel you find certain things in our Lord Jesus Christ subjected to injuries and certain things illumined by miracles, in such a way that in the same Person now the Humanity appears, and now the Divinity shines out, do not put down any of these things to a delusion, as if in Christ there is either Manhood alone or Godhead alone, but believe both faithfully, worship both right humbly; so that in the union of the Word and the Flesh there may be no separation, and the bodily proofs may not seem delusive, because the divine signs were evident in Jesus. The attestations to both natures in Him are true and abundant, and by the depth of the Divine purpose all concur to this end, that the inviolable Word not being separated from the passible flesh, the Godhead may be understood as in all things partaker with the flesh and flesh with the Godhead. And, therefore, must the Christian mind that would eschew lies and be the disciple of truth, use the Gospel-story confidently, and, as if still in company with the Apostles themselves, distinguish what is visibly done by the Lord, now by the spiritual understanding and now by the bodily organs of sight. Assign to the man that He is born a boy of a woman: assign to God that His mother's virginity is not harmed, either by conception or by bearing.

² Recognize "the form of a slave" enwrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger, but acknowledge that it was the Lord's form that was announced by angels, "proclaimed by the elements," adored by the wise men. Understand it of His humanity that he did not avoid the marriage feast confess it Divine that he turned water into wine. Let your own feelings explain to you why He shed tears over a dead friend: let His Divine power be realized,

when that same friend, after mouldering in the grave four days, is brought to life and raised only by the command of His voice. To make clay with spittle and earth was a work of the body: but to anoint therewith and enlighten the eyes of the blind is an undoubted mark of that power which had reserved for the revelation of its glory that which it had not allowed to the early part of His natural life. It is truly human to relieve bodily fatigue with rest in sleep: but it is truly Divine to quell the violence of raging storms by a rebuking command. To set food before the hungry denotes human kindness and a philanthropic spirit: but with five loaves and two fishes to satisfy 5,000 men, besides women and children, who would dare deny that to be the work of Deity? a Deity which, by the co-operation of the functions of true flesh, showed not only itself in Manhood, but also Manhood in itself;

³ for the old, original wounds in man's nature could not be healed, except by the Word of God taking to Himself flesh from the Virgin's womb, whereby in one and the same Person flesh and the Word co-existed.

Chapter III. Hold Fast to the Statements of the Creed.

¹ This belief in the Lord's Incarnation, dearly-beloved, through which the whole Church is Christ's body hold firm with heart unshaken and abstain from all the lies of heretics, and remember that your works of mercy will only then profit you, and your strict continence only then bear fruit, when your minds are unsoiled by any defilement from wrong opinions. Cast away the arguments of this world's wisdom, for God hates them, and none can arrive by them at the knowledge of the Truth, and keep fixed in your mind that which you say in the Creed. Believe the Son of God to be co-eternal with the Father by Whom all things were made and without Whom nothing was made, born also according to the flesh at the end of the times. Believe Him to have been in the body crucified, dead, raised up, and lifted above the heights of heavenly powers, set on the Father's right hand, about to come in the same flesh in which He ascended, to judge the living and the dead. For this is what the Apostle proclaims to all the faithful, saying: "if ye be risen with Christ seek the things which are above, where Christ is sitting on the right hand of God. Set your mind on the things that are above, not on the things that are upon the earth. For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God. For when Christ, our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory."

Chapter IV. Use Lent for General Improvement in the Whole Round of Christian Duties.

1 Relying, therefore, dearly-beloved, on so great a promise, be heavenly not only in hope, but also in conduct And though our minds must at all times be set on holiness of mind and body, yet now during these 40 days of fasting bestir yourselves to yet more active works of piety, not only in the distribution of alms, which are very effectual in attesting reform, but also in forgiving offences, and in being merciful to those accused of wrongdoing, that the condition which God has laid down between Himself and us may not be against us when we pray. For when we say, in accordance with the Lord's teaching, "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors," we ought with the whole heart to carry out what we say. For then only will what we ask in the next clause come to pass, that we be not led into temptation and freed from all evils: through our Lord Jesus Christ, Who with the Father and the Holy Spirit lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 25

Chapter I. The Lenten Fast is Incumbent on All Alike.

1 On all days and seasons, indeed, dearly-beloved, some marks of the Divine goodness are set, and no part of the year is destitute of sacred mysteries, in order that, so long as proofs of our salvation meet us on all sides, we may the more eagerly accept the never-ceasing calls of God's mercy. But all that is bestowed on the restoration of human souls in the divers works and gifts of grace is put before us more clearly and abundantly now, when no isolated portions of the Faith are to be celebrated, but the whole together. For as the Easter festival approaches, the greatest and most binding of fasts is kept, and its observance is imposed on all the faithful without exception; because no one is so holy that he ought not to be holier, nor so devout that he might not be devouter. For who, that is set in the uncertainty of this life, can be found either exempt from temptation, or free from fault? Who is there who would not wish for additions to his virtue, or removal of his vice? seeing that adversity does us harm, and prosperity spoils us, and it is equally dangerous not to have what we want at all, and to have it in the fullest measure. There is a trap in the fulness of riches, a trap in the straits of poverty. The one lifts us up in pride, the other incites us to complaint. Health tries us, sickness tries us, so long as the one fosters carelessness and the other sadness. There is a

snare in security, a snare in fear; and it matters not whether the mind which is given over to earthly thoughts, is taken up with pleasures or with cares; for it is equally unhealthy to languish under empty delights, or to labour under racking anxiety.

Chapter II. The Broad Road is Crowded the Narrow Way of Salvation Nearly Empty.

¹ And thus is perfectly fulfilled that assurance of the Truth, by which we learn that "narrow and steep is the way that leads to life; and whilst the breadth of the way that leads to death is crowded with a large company, the steps are few of those that tread the path of safety. And wherefore is the left road more thronged than the right, save that the multitude is prone to wordly joys and carnal goods? And although that which it desires is short-lived and uncertain, yet men endure toil more willingly for the lust of pleasure than for love of virtue. Thus while those who crave things visible are unnumbered, those who prefer the eternal to the temporal are hardly to be found. And, therefore, seeing that the blessed Apostle Paul says, "the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal," the path of virtue lies hid and in concealment, to a certain extent, since "by hope we were saved," and true faith loves that above all things, which it attains to without any intervention of the flesh. A great work and toil it is then to keep our wayward heart from all sin, and, with the numberless allurements of pleasure to ensnare it on all sides, not to let the vigour of the mind give way to any attack. Who "toucheth pitch, and is not defiled thereby? who is not weakened by the flesh? who is not begrimed by the dust?

² who, lastly, is of such purity as not to be polluted by those things without which one cannot live? For the Divine teaching commands by the Apostle's mouth that "they who have wives" should "be as though they had none: and those that weep as though they wept not; and those that rejoice as though they rejoiced not; and those that buy as though they possessed not; and those that use this world as though they used it not; for the fashion of this world passeth away. Blessed, therefore, is the mind that passes the time of its pilgrimage in chaste sobriety, and loiters not in the things through which it has to walk, so that, as a stranger rather than the possessor of its earthly abode, it may not be wanting in human affections, and yet rest on the Divine promises.

Chapter III. Satan is Incited to Fresh Efforts at This Season of the Year.

1 And, dearly-beloved, no season requires and bestows this fortitude more than the present, when by the observance of a special strictness a habit is acquired which must be persevered in. For it is well known to you that this is the time when throughout the world the devil waxes furious, and the Christian army has to combat him, and any that have grown lukewarm and slothful, or that are absorbed in worldly cares, must now be furnished with spiritual armour and their ardour kindled for the fray by the heavenly trumpet, inasmuch as he, through whose envy death came into the world is now consumed with the strongest jealousy and now tortured with the greatest vexation. For he sees whole tribes of the human race brought in afresh to the adoption of God's sons and the offspring of the New Birth multiplied through the virgin fertility of the Church. He sees himself robbed of all his tyrannic power, and driven from the hearts of those he once possessed, while from either sex thousands of the old, the young, the middle-aged are snatched away from him, and no one is debarred by sin either of his own or original, where justification is not paid for deserts, but simply given as a free gift. He sees, too, those that have lapsed, and have been deceived by his treacherous snares, washed in the tears of penitence and, by the Apostle's key unlocking the gates of mercy, admitted to the benefit of reconciliation. He feels, moreover, that the day of the Lord's Passion is at hand, and that he is crushed by the power of that cross which in Christ, Who was free from all debt of sin, was the world's ransom and not the penalty of sin.

Chapter IV. self-Examination by the Standard of God's Commands the Right Occupation in Lent.

1 And so, tha the malice of the fretting foe may effect nothing by its rage, a keener devotion must be awaked to the performance of the Divine commands, in order that we may enter on the season, when all the mysteries of the Divine mercy meet together, with preparedness both of mind and body, invoking the guidance and help of God, that we may be strong to fulfil all things through Him, without Whom we can do nothing. For the injunction is laid on us, in order that we may seek the aid of Him Who lays it Nor must any one excuse himself by reason of his weakness, since He Who has granted the will, also gives the power, as the blessed Apostle James says, "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, Who giveth to all liberally and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him. Which of the faithful does not know what

virtues he ought to cultivate, and what vices to fight against? Who is so partial or so unskilled a judge of his own conscience as not to know what ought to be removed, and what ought to be developed? Surely no one is so devoid of reason as not to understand the character of his mode of life, or not to know the secrets of his heart.

² Let him not then please himself in everything, nor judge himself according to the delights of the flesh, but place his every habit in the scale of the Divine commands, where, some things being ordered to be done and others forbidden, he can examine himself in a true balance by weighing the actions of his life according to this standard. For the designing mercy of God has set up the brightest mirror in His commandments, wherein a man may see his mind's face and realize its conformity or dissimilarity to God's image: with the specific purpose that, at least, during the days of our Redemption and Restoration, we may throw off awhile our carnal cares and restless occupations, and betake ourselves from earthly matters to heavenly.

Chapter V. Forgiveness of Our Own Sins Requires that We Should Forgive Others.

¹ But because, as it is written, "in many things we all stumble," let the feeling of mercy be first aroused and the faults of others against us be forgotten; that we may not violate by any love of revenge that most holy compact, to which we bind ourselves in the Lord's prayer, and when we say "forgive us our debts as we also forgive our debtors," let us not be hard in forgiving, because we must be possessed either with the desire for revenge, or with the leniency of gentleness, and for man, who is ever exposed to the dangers of temptations, it is more to be desired that his own faults should not need punishment than that he should get the faults of others punished. And what is more suitable to the Christian faith than that not only in the Church, but also in all men's homes, there should be forgiveness of sins? Let threats be laid aside; let bonds be loosed, for he who will not loose them will bind himself with them much more disastrously. For whatsoever one man resolves upon against another, he decrees against himself by his own terms. Whereas "blessed are the merciful, for God shall have mercy on them:" and He is just and kind in His judgments, allowing some to be in the power of others to this end, that under fair government may be preserved both the profitableness of discipline and the kindness of clemency, and that no one should dare to refuse that pardon to another's shortcomings, which he wishes to receive for his own.

Chapter VI. Reconciliation Between Enemies and Alms-Giving are Also Lenten Duties.

1 Furthermore, as the Lord says, that "the peacemakers are blessed, because they shall be called sons of God," let all discords and enmities be laid aside, and let no one think to have a share in the Paschal feast that has neglected to restore brotherly peace. For with the Father on high, he that is not in charity with the brethren, will not be reckoned in the number of His sons. Furthermore, in the distribution of alms and care of the poor, let our Christian fast-times be fat and abound; and let each bestow on the weak and destitute those dainties which he denies himself. Let pains be taken that all may bless God with one mouth, and let him that gives some portion of substance understand that he is a minister of the Divine mercy; for God has placed the cause of the poor in the hand of the liberal man; that the sins which are washed away either by the waters of baptism, or the tears of repentance, may be also blotted out by alms-giving; for the Scripture says, "As water extinguisheth fire, so alms extinguisheth sin." Through our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.

SERMON 26

Chapter I. Peter's Confession Shown to Lead Up to the Transfiguration.

1 The Gospel lesson, dearly-beloved, which has reached the inner hearing of our minds through our bodily ears, calls us to the understanding of a great mystery, to which we shall by the help of God's grace the better attain, if we turn our attention to what is narrated just before. 2 The Saviour of mankind, Jesus Christ, in founding that faith, which recalls the wicked to righteousness and the dead to life, used to instruct His disciples by admonitory teaching and by miraculous acts to the end that He, the Christ, might be believed to be at once the Only-begotten of God and the Son of Man. For the one without the other was of no avail to salvation, and it was equally dangerous to have believed the Lord Jesus Christ to be either only God without manhood, or only man without Godhead since both had equally to be confessed, because just as true manhood existed in His Godhead, so true Godhead existed in His Manhood. To strengthen, therefore, their most wholesome knowledge of this belief, the Lord had asked His disciples, among the various opinions of others, what they themselves believed, or thought about Him: whereat the Apostle Peter, by the revelation of the most High Father passing beyond things corporeal and surmounting things human by the eyes of his

mind, saw Him to be Son of the living God, and acknowledged the glory of the Godhead, because he looked not at the substance of His flesh and blood alone; and with this lofty faith Christ was so well pleased that he received the fulness of blessing, and was endued with the holy firmness of the inviolable Rock on which the Church should be built and conquer the gates of hell and the laws of death, so that, in loosing or binding the petitions of any whatsoever, only that should be ratified in heaven which had been settled by the judgment of Peter.

Chapter II. The Same Continued.

¹ But this exalted and highly-praised understanding, dearly-beloved, had also to be instructed on the mystery of Christ's lower substance, lest the Apostle's faith, being raised to the glory of confessing the Deity in Christ, should deem the reception of our weakness unworthy of the impassible God, and incongruous, and should believe the human nature to be so glorified in Him as to be incapable of suffering punishment, or being dissolved in death. And, therefore, when the Lord said that He must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many things from the elders and scribes and chief of the priests, and the third day rise again, the blessed Peter who, being illumined with light from above, was burning with the heat of his confession, rejected their mocking insults and the disgrace of the most cruel death, with, as he thought, a loyal and outspoken contempt, but was checked by a kindly rebuke from Jesus and animated with the desire to share His suffering. For the Saviour's exhortation that followed, instilled and taught this, that they who wished to follow Him should deny themselves. and count the loss of temporal things as light in the hope of things eternal; because he alone could save his soul that did not fear to lose it for Christ.

² In order, therefore, that the Apostles might entertain this happy, constant courage with their whole heart, and have no tremblings about the harshness of taking up the cross, and that they might not be ashamed of the punishment of Christ, nor think what He endured disgraceful for themselves (for the bitterness of suffering was to be displayed without despite to His; glorious power), Jesus took Peter and James and his brother John, and ascending a very high mountain with them apart, showed them the brightness of His glory; because, although they had recognised the majesty of God in Him, yet the power of His body, wherein His Deity was contained, they did not know. And, therefore, rightly and significantly, had He promised

that certain of the disciples standing by should not taste death till they saw "the Son of Man coming in His Kingdom," that is, in the kingly brilliance which, as specially belonging to the nature of His assumed Manhood, He wished to be conspicuous to these three men. For the unspeakable and unapproachable vision of the Godhead Itself which is reserved till eternal life for the pure in heart, they could in no wise look upon and see while still surrounded with mortal flesh. The Lord displays His glory, therefore, before chosen witnesses, and invests that bodily shape which He shared with others with such splendour, that His face was like the sun's brightness and His garments equalled the whiteness of snow.

Chapter III. the Object and the Meaning of the Transfiguration.

1 And in this Transfiguration the foremost object was to remove the offence of the cross from the disciple's heart, and to prevent their faith being disturbed by the humiliation of His voluntary Passion by revealing to them the excellence of His hidden dignity. But with no less foresight, the foundation was laid of the Holy Church's hope, that the whole body of Christ might realize the character of the change which it would have to receive, and that the members might promise themselves a share in that honour which had already shone forth in their Head. About which the Lord had Himself said, when He spoke of the majesty of His coming, "Then shall the righteous shine as the sun in their Father's Kingdom," whilst the blessed Apostle Paul bears witness to the self-same thing, and says: "for I reckon that the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the future glory which shall be revealed in us:" and again, "for ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God. For when Christ our life shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory." But to confirm the Apostles and assist them to all knowledge, still further instruction was conveyed by that miracle.

Chapter IV. The Significance of the Appearance of Moses and Elias.

1 For Moses and Elias, that is the Law and the Prophets, appeared talking with the Lord; that in the presence of those five men might most truly be fulfilled what was said: "In two or three witnesses stands every word." What more stable, what more steadfast than this word, in the proclamation of which the trumpet of the Old and of the New Testament joins, and the documentary evidence of the ancient witnesses combine with the teaching of the Gospel? For the pages of both covenants corroborate each other, and He

Whom under the veil of mysteries the types that went before had promised, is displayed clearly and conspicuously by the splendour of the present glory. Because, as says the blessed John, "the law was given through Moses: but grace and truth came through Jesus Christ," in Whom is fulfilled both the promise of prophetic figures and the purpose of the legal ordinances: for He both teaches the truth of prophecy by His presence, and renders the commands possible through grace.

Chapter V. S Peter's Suggestion Contrary to the Divine Order.

¹ The Apostle Peter, therefore, being excited by the revelation of these mysteries, despising things mundane and scorning things earthly, was seized with a sort of frenzied craving for the things eternal, and being filled with rapture at the whole vision, desired to make his abode with Jesus in the place where he had been blessed with the manifestation of His glory. Whence also he says, "Lord, it is good for us to be here: if thou wilt let us make three tabernacles one for Thee, one for Moses, and one for Elias." But to this proposal the Lord made no answer, signifying that what he wanted was not indeed; wicked, but contrary to the Divine order: since the world could not be saved, except; by Christ's death, and by the Lord's example the faithful were called upon to believe that, although there ought not to be any doubt about the promises of happiness, yet we should understand that amidst the trials of this life we must ask for the power of endurance rather than the glory, because the joyousness of reigning cannot precede the times of suffering.

Chapter VI. The Import of the Father's Voice from the Cloud.

¹ And so while He was yet speaking, behold a bright cloud overshadowed them, and behold a voice out of the cloud, saying, "This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye Him. The Father was indeed present in the Son, and in the Lord's brightness, which He had tempered to the disciples' sight, the Father's Essence was not separated from the Only-begotten: but, in order to emphasize the two-fold personality, as the effulgence of the Son's body displayed the Son to their sight, so the Father's voice from out the cloud announced the Father to their hearing. And when this voice was heard, "the disciples fell upon their faces, and were sore afraid," trembling at the majesty, not only of the Father, but also of the Son: for they now had a deeper insight into the undivided Deity of Both: and in their fear they did not separate the One from the Other, because they doubted not in their

faith. That was a wide and manifold testimony, therefore, and contained a fuller meaning than struck the ear. For when the Father said, "This is My beloved Son, in Whom, &c.," was it not clearly meant, "This is My Son," Whose it is to be eternally from Me and with Me? because the Begetter is not anterior to the Begotten, nor the Begotten posterior to the Begetter. "This is My Son," Who is separated from Me, neither by Godhead, nor by power, nor by eternity.

² "This is My Son," not adopted, but true-born, not created from another source, but begotten of Me: nor yet made like Me from another nature, but born equal to Me of My nature. "This is My Son," "through Whom all things were made, and without Whom was nothing made " because all things that I do He doth in like manner: and whatever I perform, He performs with Me inseparably and without difference: for the Son is in the Father and the Father in the Son and Our Unity is never divided: and though I am One Who begot, and He the Other Whom I begot, yet is it wrong for you to think anything of Him which is not possible of Me. "This is My Son," Who sought not by grasping, and seized not in greediness that equality with Me which He has, but remaining in the form of My glory, that He might carry out Our common plan for the restoration of mankind, He lowered the unchangeable Godhead even to the form of a slave.

Chapter VII. Who It is We Have to Hear.

¹ "Here ye Him," therefore, unhesitatingly, in Whom I am throughout well pleased, and by Whose preaching I am manifested, by Whose humiliation I am glorified; because He is "the Truth and the Life," He is My "Power and Wisdom." "Hear ye Him," Whom the mysteries of the Law have foretold, Whom the mouths of prophets have sung. "Hear ye Him," Who redeems the world by His blood, Who binds the devil, and carries off his chattels, Who destroys the bond of sin, and the compact of the transgression. Hear ye Him, Who opens the way to heaven, and by the punishment of the cross prepares for you the steps of ascent to the Kingdom? Why tremble ye at being redeemed? why fear ye to be healed of your wounds? Let that happen which Christ wills and I will. Cast away all fleshly fear, and arm yourselves with faithful constancy; for it is unworthy that ye should fear in the Saviour's Passion what by His good gift ye shall not have to fear even at your own end.

Chapter VIII. The Father's Words Have a Universal Application to the Whole Church.

¹ These things, dearly-beloved, were said not for their profit only, who heard them with their own ears, but in these three Apostles the whole Church has learnt all that their eyes saw and their ears heard. Let all men's faith then be established, according to the preaching of the most holy Gospel, and let no one be ashamed of Christ's cross, through which the world was redeemed. And let not any one fear to suffer for righteousness' sake, or doubt of the fulfilment of the promises, for this reason, that through toil we pass to rest and through death to life; since all the weakness of our humility was assumed by Him, in Whom, if we abide in the acknowledgment and love of Him, we conquer as He conquered, and receive what he promised, because, whether to the performance of His commands or to the endurance of adversities, I the Father's fore-announcing voice should always be sounding in our ears, saying, "This is My beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased; hear ye Him:" Who liveth and reigneth, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 27

Chapter I. The Two-Fold Nature of Christ Set Forth.

¹ Among all the works of God's mercy, dearly-beloved, which from the beginning have been bestowed upon men's salvation, none is more wondrous, and none more sublime, than that Christ was crucified for the world. For to this mystery all the mysteries of the ages preceding led up, and every variation which the will of God ordained in sacrifices, in prophetic signs, and in the observances of the Law, foretold that this was fixed, and promised its fulfilment: so that now types and figures are at an end, and we find our profit in believing that accomplished which before we found our profit in looking forward to. In all things, therefore, dearly-beloved, which pertain to the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Catholic Faith maintains and demands that we acknowledge the two Natures to have met in our Redeemer, and while their properties remained, such a union of both Natures to have been effected that, from the time when, as the cause of mankind required, in the blessed Virgin's womb, "the Word became flesh," we may not think of Him as God without that which is man, nor as man without that which is God. Each Nature does indeed express its real existence by actions that distinguish

it, but neither separates itself from connexion with the other. Nothing is wanting there on either side; in the majesty the humility is complete, in the humility the majesty is complete: and the unity does not introduce confusion, nor does the distinctiveness destroy the unity. The one is passible, the other inviolable; and yet the degradation belongs to the same Person, as does the glory. He is present at once in weakness and in power; at once capable of death and the vanquisher of it. Therefore, God took on Him whole Manhood, and so blended the two Natures together by means of His mercy and power, that each Nature was present in the other, and neither passed out of its own properties into the other.

Chapter II. The Two Natures Acted Conjointly, and the Human Sufferings Were Not Compulsory, But in Accordance with the Divine Will.

1 But because the design of that mystery which was ordained for our restoration before the eternal ages, was not to be carried out without human weakness and without Divine power both "form" does that which is proper to it in common with the other, the Word, that is, performing that which is the Word's and the flesh that which is of the flesh. One of them gleams bright with miracles, the other i succumbs to injuries. The one departs not from equality with the Father's glory, the other leaves not the nature of our race. But nevertheless even His very endurance of sufferings does not so far expose Him to a participation in our humility as to separate Him from the power of the Godhead. All the mockery and insults, all the persecution and pain which the madness of the wicked inflicted on the Lord, was not endured of necessity, but undertaken of free-will: "for the Son of Man came to seek and to save that which had perished:" and He used the wickedness of His persecutors for the redemption of all men in such a way that in the mystery of His Death and Resurrection even His murderers could have been saved, if they had believed.

III Judas' Infamy Has Never Been Exceeded.

2 And hence, Judas, thou art proved more criminal and unhappier than all; for when repentance should have called thee back to the Lord, despair dragged thee to the halter. Thou shouldest have awaited the completion of thy crime, and have put off thy ghastly death by hanging, until Christ's Blood was shed for all sinners. And among the many miracles and gifts of the Lords which might have aroused thy conscience, those holy mysteries, at least, might have rescued thee from thy headlong fall, which at the Paschal

supper thou hadst received, being even then detected in thy treachery by the sign of Divine knowledge. Why dost thou distrust the goodness of Him, Who did not repel thee from the communion of His body and blood, Who did not deny thee the kiss of peace when thou camest with crowds and a band of armed men to seize Him. But O man that nothing could convert, O "spirit going and not returning," thou didst follow thy heart's rage, and, the devil standing at thy right hand, didst turn the wickedness, which thou hadst prepared against the life of all the saints, to thine own destruction, so that, because thy crime had exceeded all measure of punishment, thy wickedness might make thee thine own judge, thy punishment allow thee to be thine own hangman.

Chapter IV. Christ Voluntarily Bartered His Glory for Our Weakness.

¹ When, therefore, "God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself," and the Creator Himself was wearing the creature which was to be restored to the image of its Creator; and after the Divinely-miraculous works had been performed, the performance of which the spirit of prophecy had once predicted, "then shall the eyes of the blind be opened and the ears of the deaf shall hear; then shall the lame man leap as a hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall be plain;" Jesus knowing that the thee was now come for the fulfilment of His glorious Passion, said, "My soul is sorrowful even unto death;" and again, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me." And these words, expressing a certain fear, show His desire to heal the affection of our weakness by sharing them, and to check our fear of enduring pain by undergoing it. In our Nature, therefore, the Lord trembled with our fear, that He might fully clothe our weakness and our frailty with the completeness of His own strength. For He had come into this world a rich and merciful Merchant from the skies, and by a wondrous exchange had entered into a bargain of salvation with us, receiving ours and giving His, honour for insults, salvation for pain, life for death: and He Whom more than 12,000 of the angel-hosts might have served for the annihilation of His persecutors, preferred to entertain our fears, rather than employ His own power.

Chapter V. S. Peter Was the First To' Benefit by His Master's Humiliation.

¹ And how much this humiliation conferred upon all the faithful, the most blessed Apostle Peter was the first to prove, who, after the fierce blast of threatening cruelty had dismayed him, quickly changed, and was restored to

vigour, finding remedy from the great Pattern, so that the suddenly-shaken member returned to the firmness of the Head. For the bond-servant could not be "greater than the Lord, nor the disciple greater than the master," and he could not have vanquished the trembling of human frailty had not the Vanquisher of Death first feared. The Lord, therefore, "looked back upon Peter," and amid the calumnies of priests, the falsehoods of witnesses, the injuries of those that scourged and spat upon Him, met His dismayed disciple with those eyes wherewith He had foreseen his dismay: and the gaze of the Truth entered into him, on whose heart correction must be wrought, as if the Lord's voice were making itself heard there, and saying, Whither goest thou, Peter? why retirest thou upon thyself? turn thou to Me, put thy trust in Me, follow Me: this is the thee of My Passion, the hour of thy suffering is not yet come. Why dost thou fear what thou, too, shalt overcome? Let not the weakness, in which I share, confound thee. I was fearful for thee; do thou be confident of Me.

Chapter VI. The Mad Counsel of the Jews Was Turned to Their Own Destruction.

1 "And when morning was come all the chief priests and elders of the people took counsel against Jesus to put him to death." This morning, O ye Jews, was for you not the rising, but the setting of the sun, nor did the wonted daylight visit your eyes, but a night of blackest darkness brooded on your naughty hearts. This morning overthrew for you the temple and its altars, did away with the Law and the Prophets, destroyed the Kingdom and the priesthood, turned all your feasts into eternal mourning. For ye resolved on a mad and bloody counsel, ye "fat bulls," ye "many oxen," ye "roaring" wild beasts, ye rabid "dogs," to give up to death the Author of life and the Lord of glory; and, as if the enormity of your fury could be palliated by employing the verdict of him, who ruled your province, you lead Jesus bound to Pilate's judgment, that the terror-stricken judge being overcome by your persistent shouts, you might choose a man that was a murderer for pardon, and demand the crucifixion of the Saviour of the world. After this condemnation of Christ, brought about more by the cowardice than the power of Pilate, who with washed hands but polluted mouth sent Jesus to the cross with the very lips that had pronounced Him innocent, the licence of the people, obedient to the looks of the priests, heaped many insults on the Lord, and the frenzied mob wreaked its rage on Him, Who meekly and voluntarily endured it all. But because, dearly-beloved, the whole story is too long to go

through to-day, let us put off the rest till Wednesday, when the reading of the Lord's Passion will be repeated. For the Lord will grant to your prayers, that of His own free gift we may fulfil our promise: through our Lord Jesus Christ, Who liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 28

Chapter I. The Difference Between the Penitence and Blasphemy of the Two Robbers is a Type of the Human Race.

1 That which we owe to your expectations, dearly-beloved, must be paid through the Lord's bountiful answer to your prayers that He Who has made you eager in the demanding would make us fit for the performing. In speaking but lately of the Lord's Passion we reached the point in the Gospel story, where Pilate is said to have yielded to the Jews' wicked shouts that Jesus should be crucified. And so when all things had been accomplished, which the Godhead veiled in frail flesh permitted, Jesus Christ the Son of God was fixed to the cross which He had also been carrying, two robbers being similarly crucified, one on His right hand, and the other on the left: so that even in the incidents of the cross might be displayed that difference which in His judgment must be made in the case of all men; for the believing robber's faith was a type of those who are to be saved, and the blasphemer's wickedness prefigured those who are to be damned. Christ's Passion, therefore, contains the mystery of our salvation, and of the instrument which the iniquity of the Jews prepared for His punishment, the Redeemer's power has made for us the stepping-stone to glory: and that Passion the Lord Jesus so underwent for the salvation of all men that, while hanging there nailed to the wood, He entreated the Father's mercy for His murderers, and said, "Father, forgive them, for they know' not what they do."

Chapter II. The Chief Priests Showed Utter Ignorance of Scripture in Their Taunts.

1 But the chief priests, for whom the Saviour sought forgiveness, rendered the torture of the cross yet worse by the barbs of railery; and at Him, on Whom they could vent no more fury with their hands, they hurled the weapons of their tongues, saying, "He saved others; Himself he cannot save. If He is the King of Israel, let Him now come down from the cross, and we believe Him." From what spring of error, from what pool of hatred, O ye Jews, do ye drink such poisonous blasphemies? What master informed you, what teaching convinced you that you ought to believe Him to be King of

Israel and Son Of God, who should either not allow Himself to be crucified, or should shake Himself free from the binding nails. The mysteries of the Law, the sacred observances of the Passover, the mouths of the Prophets never told you this: whereas you did find truly and oft-times written that which applies to your abominable wicked-doing and to the Lord's voluntary suffering. For He Himself says by Isaiah, "I gave My back to the scourges, My cheeks to the palms of the hand, I turned not My face from the shame of spitting." He Himself says by David, "They gave Me gall for My food, and in My thirst they supplied Me with vinegar." and again, "Many dogs came about Me, the council of evil-doers beset Me. They pierced My hands and My feet, they counted all My bones. But they themselves watched and gazed on Me, they parted My raiment among them, and for My robe they cast lots." And lest the course of your own evil doings should seem to have been foretold, and no power in the Crucified predicted, ye read not, indeed, that the Lord descended from the cross, but ye did read, "The Lord reigned on the tree."

Chapter III. The Triumph of the Cross is Immediate and Effective.

¹ The Cross of Christ, therefore, symbolizes the true altar of prophecy, on which the oblation of man's nature should be celebrated by means of a salvation-bringing Victim. There the blood of the spotless Lamb blotted out the consequences of the ancient trespass: there the whole tyranny of the devil's hatred was crushed, and humiliation triumphed gloriously over the lifting up of pride: for so swift was the effect of Faith that of the robbers crucified with Christ, the one who believed in Christ as the Son of God entered paradise justified. Who can unfold the mystery of so great a boon? who can state the power of so wondrous a change? In a moment of thee the guilt of long evil-doing is done away; clinging to the cross, amid the cruel tortures of his struggling soul, he passes over to Christ; and to him, on whom his own wickedness had brought punishment, Christ's grace now gives a crown.

Chapter IV. When the Last Act in the Tragedy Was Over How Must the Jews Have Felt?

¹ And then, having now tasted the vinegar, the produce of that vineyard which had degenerated in spite of its Divine Planter, and had turned to the sourness of a foreign vine the Lord says, "it is finished;" that is, the Scriptures are fulfilled: there is no more for Me to abide from the fury of the raging people: I have endured all that I foretold I should suffer. The mysteries of weakness are completed, let the proofs of power be produced. And so He

bowed the head and yielded up His Spirit and gave that Body, Which should be raised again on the third day, the rest of peaceful slumber. And when the Author of Life was undergoing this mysterious phase, and at so great a condescension of God's Majesty, the foundations of the whole world were shaken, when all creation condemned their wicked crime by its upheaval, and the very elements of the world delivered a plain verdict against the criminals, what thoughts, what heart-searchings had ye, O Jews, when the judgment of the universe went against you, and your wickedness could not be recalled, the crime having been done? what confusion covered you? what torment seized your hearts?

Chapter V. Chastity, and Charity are the Two Things Most Needful in Preparing for Easter Communion.

¹ Seeing therefore, dearly-beloved, that God's Mercy is so great, that He has deigned to justify. by faith many even from among such a nation, and had adopted into the company of the patriarchs and into the number of the chosen people us who were once perishing in the deep darkness of our old ignorance, let us mount to the summit of our hopes not sluggishly nor in sloth; but prudently and faithfully reflecting from what captivity and from how miserable a bondage, with what ransom we were purchased, by how strong an arm led out, let us glorify God in our body: that we may show Him dwelling in us, even by the uprightness of our manner of life: And because no virtues are worthier or more excellent than merciful loving-kindness and unblemished chastity, let us more especially equip ourselves with these weapons, so that, raised from the earth, as it were on the two wings of active charity and shining purity, we may win a place in heaven. And whosoever, aided by God's grace, is filled with this desire and glories not in himself, but in the Lord, over his progress, pays due honour to the Easter mystery. His threshold the angel of destruction does not cross, for it is marked with the Lamb's blood and the sign of the cross. He fears not the plagues of Egypt, and leaves his foes overwhelmed by the same waters by which he himself was saved.

² And so, dearly-beloved, with minds and bodies purified let us embrace the wondrous mystery of our salvation, and, cleansed from all "the leaven of our old wickedness, let us keep " the Lord's Passover with due observance: so that, the Holy Spirit guiding us, we may be "separated" by no temptations "from the love of Christ," Who bringing peace by His blood to all things,

has returned to the loftiness of the Father's glory, and yet not forsaken the lowliness of those who serve Him to Whom is the honour and the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 29

Chapter I. The Reason of Christ Suffering at the Paschal Feast.

¹ I know indeed, dearly-beloved, that the Easter festival partakes of so sublime a mystery as to surpass not only the slender perceptions of my humility, but even the powers of great intellects. But I must not consider the greatness of the Divine work in such a way as to distrust or to feel ashamed of the service which I owe; for we may not hold our peace upon the mystery of man's salvation, even if it cannot be explained. But, your prayers aiding us, we believe God's Grace will be granted, to sprinkle the barrenness of our heart with the dew of His inspiration: that by the pastor's mouth things may be proclaimed which are useful to the ears of his holy flock. For when the Lord, the Giver of all good things, says: "open thy mouth, and I will fill it," we dare likewise to reply in the prophet's words: "Lord, Thou shalt open my lips, and my mouth shall shew forth Thy praise. Therefore beginning, dearly-beloved, to handle once more the Gospel-story of the Lord's Passion, we understand it was part of the Divine plan that the profane chiefs of the Jews and the unholy priests, who had often sought occasion of venting their rage on Christ, should receive the power of exercising their fury at no other time than the Paschal festival. For the things which had long been promised under mysterious figures had to be fulfilled in all clearness;

² for instance, the True Sheep had to supersede the sheep which was its antitype, and the One Sacrifice to bring to an end the multitude of different sacrifices. For all those things which had been divinely ordained through Moses about the sacrifice of the lamb had prophesied of Christ and truly announced the slaying of Christ. In order, therefore, that the shadows should yield to the substance and types cease in the presence of the Reality, the ancient observance is removed by a new Sacrament, victim passes into Victim, blood is wiped away by Blood, and the law-ordained Feast is fulfilled by being changed.

Chapter II. The Leading Jews Broke Their Own Law, as Well as Failed to Apprehend the New Dispensation in Destroying Christ.

1 And hence, when the chief priests gathered the scribes and elders of the people together to their council, and the minds of all the priests were occupied with the purpose of doing wrong to Jesus, the teachers of the law put themselves without the law, and by their own voluntary failure in duty abolished their ancestral ceremonies. For when the Paschal feast began, those who ought to have adorned the temple, cleansed the vessels, provided the victims, and employed a holier zeal in the purifications that the law enjoined, seized with the fury of traitorous hate, give themselves up to one work, and with uniform cruelty conspire for one crime, though they were doomed to gain nothing by the punishment of innocence and the condemnation of righteousness, except the failure to apprehend the new mysteries and the violation of the old. The chiefs, therefore, in providing against a tumult arising on a holy day showed zeal not for the festival, but for a heinous crime; and their anxiety served not the cause of religion, but their own incrimination. For these careful pontiffs and anxious priests feared the occurrence of seditious riots on the principal feast-day, not lest the people should do wrong, but lest Christ should escape.

Chapter III. Jesus Instituting the Blessed Sacrament Showed Mercy to The traitor Judas to the Last.

1 But Jesus, sure of His purpose and undaunted in carrying out His Father's will, fulfilled the New Testament and founded a new Passover. For while the disciples were lying down with Him at the mystic Supper, and when discussion was proceeding in the hall of Caiaphas how Christ might be put to death, He, ordaining the Sacrament of His Body and Blood, was teaching them what kind of Victim must be offered up to God, and not even from this mystery was the betrayer kept away, in order to show that he was exasperated by no personal wrong, but had determined beforehand of his own free-will upon his treachery. For he was his own source of ruin and cause of perfidy, following the guidance of the devil and refusing to have Christ as director. And so when the Lord said, "Verily I say to you that one of you is about to betray Me," He showed that His betrayer's conscience was well known to Him, not confounding the traitor by harsh or open rebukes, but meeting him with mild and silent warnings that he who had never been sent astray by rejection, might the easier be set right by repentance. Why, un-

happy Judas, dost thou not make use of so great long-suffering? Behold, the Lord spares thy wicked attempts; Christ betrays thee to none save thyself. Neither thy name nor thy person is discovered, but only the secrets of thy heart are touched by the word of truth and mercy.

² The honour of the apostolic rank is not denied thee, nor yet a share in the Sacraments. Return to thy right mind; lay aside thy madness and be wise. Mercy invites thee, Salvation knocks at the door, Life recalls thee to life. Lo, thy stainless and guiltless fellow-disciples shudder at the hint of thy crime, and all tremble for themselves till the author of the treachery is declared. For they are saddened not by the accusations of conscience, but by the uncertainty of man's changeableness; fearing lest what each knew against himself be less true than what the Truth Himself foresaw. But thou abusest the Lord's patience in this panic of the saints, and believest that thy bold front hides thee. Thou addest impudence to guilt, and art not frightened by so clear a test. And when the others refrain from the food in which the Lord had set His judgment, thou dost not withdraw thy band from the dish, because thy mind is not turned aside from the crime.

Chapter IV. Various Incidents of the Passion.further Explained and the Reality of Christ's Sufferings Asserted.

¹ And thus it followed, dearly-beloved, that as John the Evangelist has narrated, when the Lord offered the bread which He had dipped to His betrayer, more clearly to point him out, the devil entirely seized Judas, and now, by his veritable act of wickedness, took possession of one whom he had already bound down by his evil designs. For only in body was he lying there with those at meat: in mind he was arming the hatred of the priests, the falseness of the witnesses, and the fury of the ignorant mob, At last the Lord, seeing on what a gross crime bent says, "What thou doest do Judas was quickly. This is the voice not of command but of permission, and not of fear but of readiness: He, that has power over all times, shows that He puts no hindrance in the way of the traitor, and carries out the Father's will for the redemption of the world in such a way as neither to promote nor to fear the crime which His persecutors were preparing. When Judas, therefore, at the devil's persuasion, departed from Christ, and cut himself off from the unity of the Apostolic body, the Lord, without being disturbed by any fear, but anxious only for the salvation of those He came to redeem, spent all the time that

was free from His persecutors' attack on mystic conversation and holy teaching, as is declared in St. John's gospel:

² raising His eyes to heaven and beseeching the Father for the whole Church that all whom the Father had and would give the Son might become one and remain undivided to the Redeemer's glory, and adding lastly that prayer in which He says, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me. Wherein it is not to be thought that the Lord Jesus wished to escape the Passion and the Death, the sacraments of which He had already committed to His disciples' keeping, seeing that He Himself forbids Peter, when he was burning with devoted faith and love, to use the sword, saying, "The cup which the Father hath given Me, shall I not drink it? and seeing that that is certain which the Lord also says, according to John's Gospel, "For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that everyone who believes in Him may not perish, but have eternal life; as also what the Apostle Paul says, "Christ loved us and gave Himself for us, a victim to God for a sweet-smelling savour. For the saving of all through the Cross of Christ was the common will and the common plan of the Father and the Son; nor could that by any means be disturbed which before eternal ages had been mercifully determined and unchangeably fore-ordained. Therefore in assuming true and entire manhood He took the true sensations of the body and the true feelings of the mind.

³ And it does not follow because everything in Him was full of sacraments, full of miracles, that therefore He either shed false tears or took food from pretended hunger or reigned slumber. It was in our humility that He was despised, with our grief that He was saddened, with our pain that He was racked on the cross. For His compassion underwent the sufferings of our mortality with the purpose of healing them, and His power encountered them with the purpose of conquering them. And this Isaiah has most plainly prophesied, saying, "He carries our sins and is pained for us, and we thought Him to be in pain and in stripes and in vexation. But He was wounded for our sins, and was stricken for our offences, and with His bruises we are healed."

Chapter V. The Resignation of Christ is an Undying Lesson to the Church

¹ And so, dearly beloved, when the Son of God says, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me," He uses the outcry of our nature, and pleads the cause of human frailty and trembling: that our patience may be strengthened and our fears driven away in the things which we have to bear.

At length, ceasing even to ask this now that He had in a measure palliated our weak fears, though it is not expedient for us to retain them, He passes into another mood, and says, "Nevertheless, not as I will but as Thou;" and again, "If this cup can not pass from Me, except I drink it, Thy will be done." These words of the Head are the salvation of the whole Body: these words have instructed all the faithful, kindled the zeal of all the confessors, crowned all the martyrs. For who could overcome the world's hatred, the blasts of temptations, the terr onsf persecutors, had not Christ, in the name of all and for all, said, to the Father, "Thy will be done?" Then let the words be learnt by all the Church's sons who have been purchased at so great a price, so freely justified: and when the shock of some violent temptation has fallen on them, let them use the aid of this potent prayer, that they may conquer their fear and trembling, and learn to suffer patiently. From this point, dearly-beloved, our sermon must pass to the consideration of the details of the Lord's Passion, and lest we should burden you with prolixity, we will divide our common task, and put off the rest till the fourth day of the week. God's grace will be vouchsafed to you if you pray Him to give me the power of carrying out my duty: through our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.

SERMON 30

Chapter I. Christ's Arrest Fulfils His Own Eternal Purpose.

1 Having discoursed, dearly beloved, in our last sermon, on the events which preceded the Lord's arrest, it now remains, by the help of God's grace, to discuss, as we promised, the details of the Passion itself. When the Lord had made it clear by the words of His sacred prayer that the Divine and the Human Nature was most truly and fully present in Him, showing that the unwillingness to suffer proceeded from the one, and from the other the determination to suffer by the expulsion of all frail fears and the strengthening of His lofty power, then did He return to His eternal purpose, and "in the form of a" sinless "slave" encounter the devil who was savagely attacking Him by the hands of the Jews: that He in Whom alone was all men's nature without fault, might undertake the cause of all. The sins of darkness, therefore, assailed the true Light, and, for all their torches and lanterns could not escape the night of their own unbelief, because they did not recognize the Fount of Light. They arrest Him, and He is ready to be seized; they lead Him away, and He is willing to be led; for though, if He had willed to resist, their wicked hands could have done Him no harm, yet thereby the world's re-

demption would have been impeded, and He, who was to die for all men's salvation, would have saved none at all.

Chapter II. How Great Was Pilate's Crime in Allowing Himself to Be Led Astray & the Jews.

¹ Accordingly, permitting the infliction on Himself of all that the people's fury inflamed by the priests dared do, He is brought to Annas, father-in-law to Caiaphas, and thence Annas passes Him on to Caiaphas: and after the calumniators' mad accusations, after the lying falsehoods of suborned witnesses, He is transferred to Pilate's hearing by the delegation of the two high-priests, who in neglecting the Divine law, and exclaiming that they had "no king but Caesar," as if they were devoted to the Roman laws, and had left the whole judgment in the hands of the governor, really sought for an accomplicher of their cruelty rather than an umpire of the case. For they gave up Jesus, bound in hard bonds, bruised by many buffets and blows, spat upon, already condemned by their shouts: so that amidst so many signs of their own verdict Pilate might not dare to acquit One Whom all desired to perish. In fact, the very inquiry shows both that he found in the Accused no fault and that in his judgment he did not adhere to his purpose: for as judge he condemns One Whom he pronounces guiltless, invoking on the unrighteous people the blood of the Righteous Man with Whom he felt by his own conviction, and knew from his wife's dream he must have nothing to do. That stained soul is not cleansed by the washing of hands, there is no expiation in water-besprinkled fingers for the crime abetted by that wicked mind. Pilate's fault is indeed, less than the Jews' crime; for it was they that terrified him with Caesar's name, chode him with hateful words, and drove him to perpetrate his wickedness. But he also did not escape incrimination for playing into the hands of those that made the uproar, for abandoning his own judgment, and for acquiescing in the charges of others.

Chapter III. Yet the Jews' Guilt Was Infinitely Greater.

¹ In bowing, therefore, dearly-beloved, to the madness of the impacable people, in permitting Jesus to be dishonoured by much mocking, and harassed with excessive insults, and in displaying Him to the eyes of His persecutors lacerated with scourges, crowned with thorns, and clothed in a robe of scorn, Pilate doubtless thought to appease the enemies' minds, so that when they had glutted their cruel hate, they might cease further to persecute One Whom they beheld subjected to such a variety of afflictions. But their wrath

was still in full blaze, and they cried out to him to release Barabbas and thus, Jesus bear the penalty of the cross, and thus, when with consenting murmur the crowd said "His blood be on us and on our sons," those wicked folk gained, to their own damnation what they had persistently demanded, "whose teeth," as the prophet bore witness, "were arms and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword." For in vain did they keep their own hands from crucifying the Lord of glory when they had hurled at Him the tongue's deadly darts and the poisoned weapons of words. On you, on you, false Jews and unholy leaders of the people, falls the full weight of that crime: and although the enormity of the guilt involves the governor and the soldiers also, yet you are the primary and chief offenders. And in Christ's condemnation, whatsoever wrong was done either by Pilate's judgment or by the cohorts carrying out of his commands, makes you only the more deserving of the hatred of mankind, because the impulse of your fury would not let even those be free from guilt who were displeased at your unrighteous acts.

Chapter IV. Christ Bearing His Own Cross is an Eternal Lesson to the Church.

¹ And so the Lord was handed over to their savage wishes, and in mockery of His kingly state, ordered to be the bearer of His own instrument of death, that what Isaiah the prophet foresaw might be fulfilled, saying, "Behold a Child is born, and a Son is given to us whose government is upon His shoulders." When, therefore, the Lord carried the wood of the cross which should turn for Him into the sceptre of power, it was indeed in the eyes of the wicked a mighty mockery, but to the faithful a mighty mystery was set forth, seeing that He, the glorious vanquisher of the Devil, and the strong defeater of the powers that were against Him, was carrying in noble sort the trophy of His triumph, and on the shoulders of His unconquered patience bore into all realms the adorable sign of salvation: as if even then to confirm all His followers by this mere symbol of His work, and say, "He that taketh not his cross and followeth Me, is not worthy of Me."

Chapter V. The Transference of the Cross from the Lord To Simon of Cyrene Signifies the Participation of the Gentiles in His Sufferings.

¹ But as the multitudes went with Jesus to the place of punishment, a certain Simon of Cyrene was found on whom to lay the wood of the cross instead of the Lord; that even by this act might be pre-signified the Gentiles' faith, to whom the cross of Christ was to be not shame but glory. It was not accidental, therefore, but symbolical and mystical, that while the Jews were raging

against Christ, a foreigner was found to share His sufferings, as the Apostle says, "if we suffer with Him, we shall also reign with Him "; so that no Hebrew nor Israelite, but a stranger, was substituted for the Saviour in His most holy degradation. For by this transference the propitiation of the spotless Lamb and the fulfilment of all mysteries passed from the circumcision to the uncircumcision, from the sons according to the flesh to the sons according to the spirit: since as the Apostle says, "Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us," Who offering Himself to the Father a new and true sacrifice of reconciliation, was crucified not in the temple, whose worship was now at an end, and not within the confines of the city which for its sin was doomed to be destroyed, but outside, "without the camp," that, on the cessation of the old symbolic victims, a new Victim might be placed on a new altar, and the cross of Christ might be the altar not of the temple but of the world.

Chapter VI. We are to See Not Only the Cross But the Meaning of It.

¹ Accordingly, dearly-beloved, Christ being lifted up upon the cross, let the eyes of your mind not dwell only on that sight which those wicked sinners saw, to whom it was said by the mouth of Moses, "And thy life shall be hanging before thine eyes, and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt not be assured of thy life." For in the crucified Lord they could think of nothing but their wicked deed, having not the fear, by which true faith is justified, but that by which an evil conscience is racked. But let our understandings, illumined by the Spirit of Truth, foster with pure and free heart the glory of the cross which irradiates heaven and earth, and see with the inner sight what the Lord meant when He spoke of His coming Passion: "The hour is come that the Son of man may be glorified:" and below He says, "Now is My spirit troubled. And what shall I say? Father, save Me from this hour, but for this cause came I unto this hour. Father, glorify Thy Son." And when the Father's voice came from heaven, saying, "I have both glorified it and will glorify it again," Jesus in reply said to those that stood by, "This voice came not for Me but for you. Now is the world's judgment, now shall the prince of this world be cast out. And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all things unto Me."

Chapter VII. The Power of the Cross is Universally Attractive.

¹ O wondrous power of the Cross! O in effable glory of the Passion, in which is contained the Lord's tribunal, the world's judgment, and the power of the

Crucified! For thou didst draw all things unto Thee, Lord and when Thou hadst stretched out Thy hands all the day, long to an unbelieving people that gainsaid Thee the whole world at last was brought to confess Thy majesty. Thou didst draw all things unto Thee, Lord, when all the elements combined to pronounce judgment in execration of the Jews' crime, when the lights of heaven were darkened, and the day turned into night, and the earth also was shaken with unwonted shocks, and all creation refused to serve those wicked men. Thou didst draw all things unto Thee, Lord. for the veil of the temple was rent, and the Holy of Holies existed no more for those unworthy high-priests: so that type was turned into Truth, prophecy into Revelation law into Gospel. Thou didst draw all things unto Thee, Lord, so that what before was done in the one temple of the Jews in dark signs, was now to be celebrated everywhere by the piety of all the nations in full and open rite. For now there is a nobler rank of Levites, there are elders of greater dignity and priests of holier anointing: because Thy cross is the fount of all blessings, the source of all graces, and through it the believers receive strength for weakness, glory for shame, life for death. Now, too, the variety of fleshly sacrifices has ceased, and the one offering of Thy Body and Blood fulfils all those different victims: for Thou art the true "Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world," and in Thyself so accomplishest all mysteries, that as there is but one sacrifice instead of many victims, so there is but one kingdom instead of many nations.

Chapter VIII. We Must Live Not for Ourselves But for Christ, Who Died for Us.

¹ Let us, then, dearly-beloved, confess what the blessed teacher of the nations, the Apostle Paul, confessed, saying, "Faithful is the saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. For God's mercy towards us is the more wonderful that Christ died not for the righteous nor for the holy, but for the unrighteous and wicked; and though the nature of the Godhead could not sustain the sting of death, yet at His birth He took from us that which He might offer for us. For of old He threatened our death with the power of His death, saying. by the mouth of Hosea the prophet, "O death, I will be thy death, and I will be thy destruction, O hell. For by dying He underwent the laws of hell, but by rising again He broke them, and so destroyed the continuity of death as to make it temporal instead of eternal. "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. And so, dearly-beloved, let that come to pass of which S. Paul

speaks, "that they that live, should henceforth not live to themselves but to Him who died for all and rose again. And because the old things have passed away and all things are become new, let none remain in his old carnal life, but let us all be renewed by daily progress and growth in piety.

² For however much a man be justified, yet so long as he remains in this life, he can always be more approved and better. And he that is not advancing is going back, and he that is gaining nothing is losing something. Let us run, then, with the steps of faith, by the works of mercy, in the love of righteousness, that keeping the day of our redemption spiritually, "not in the old leaven of malice and wickedness, but in the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth," we may deserve to be partakers of Christ's resurrection, Who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 31

Chapter I. The Mystery of the Passion Passes Man's Comprehension.

¹ The Feast of the Lord's Passion that we have longed for and that the whole world may well desire, has come, and suffers us not to keep silence in the tumult of our spiritual joys: because though it is difficult to speak often on the same thing worthily and appropriately, yet the priest is not free to withhold from the people's ears instruction by sermon on this great mystery of God's mercy, inasmuch as the subject itself, being unspeakable, gives him ease of utterance, and what is said cannot altogether fail where what is said can never be enough. Let human frailty, then, succumb to God's glory, and ever acknowledge itself unequal to the unfolding of His works of mercy. Let us toil in thought, fail in insight, falter in utterance: it is good that even our right thoughts about the Lord's Majesty should be insufficient. For, remembering what the prophet says, "Seek ye the Lord and be strengthened: seek His face always," no one must assume that he has found all he seeks, lest he fail of coming near, if he cease his endeavours. And amidst all the works of God which weary out man's wondering contemplation, what so delights and so baffles our mind's gaze as the Saviour's Passion? Ponder as we may upon His omnipotence, which is of one and equal substance with the Father, the humility in God is more stupendous than the power, and it is harder to grasp the complete emptying of the Divine Majesty than the infinite uplifting of the "slave's form" in Him. But we are much aided in our understanding of it by the remembrance that though the Creator and the creature, the Inviol-

able God and the possible flesh, are absolutely different, yet the properties of both substances meet together in Christ's one Person in such a way that alike in His acts of weakness and of power the degradation belongs to the same Person as the glory.

Chapter II. The Creed Takes Up S. Peter's Confession as the Fundamental Doctrine of the Church.

¹In that rule of Faith, dearly-beloved, which we have received in the very beginning of the Creed, on the authority of apostolic teaching, we acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we call the only Son of God the Father Almighty, to be also born of the Virgin Mary by the Holy Ghost. Nor do we reject His Majesty when we express our belief in His crucifixion, death, and resurrection on the third day. For all that is God's and all that is Man's are simultaneously fulfilled by His Manhood and His Godhead, so that in virtue of the union of the Possible with the Impossible, His power cannot be affected by His weakness, nor His weakness overcome by His power. And rightly was the blessed Apostle Peter praised for confessing this union, who when the Lord was inquiring what the disciples knew of Him, quickly anticipated the rest and said, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. And this assuredly he saw, not by the revelation of flesh or blood, which might have hindered his inner sight, but by the very Spirit of the Father working in his believing heart, that in preparation for ruling the whole Church he might first learn what he would have to teach, and for the solidification of the Faith, which he was destined to preach, might receive the assurance, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

²The strength, therefore, of the Christian Faith, which, built upon an impregnable rock, fears not the gates of death, acknowledges the one Lord Jesus Christ to be both true God and true Man, believing Him likewise to be the Virgin's Son, Who is His Mother's Creator: born also at the end of the ages, though He is the Creator of time: Lord of all power, and yet one of mortal stock: ignorant of sin, and yet sacrificed for sinners after the likeness of sinful flesh.

Chapter III. The Devil's Devices Were Turned Against Himself.

¹And in order that He might set the human race free from the bonds of deadly transgression, He hid the power of His majesty from the raging devil, and opposed him with our frail and humble nature. For if the cruel and

proud foe could have known the counsel of God's mercy, he would have aimed at soothing the Jews' minds into gentleness rather than at firing them with unrighteous hatred, lest he should lose the thralldom of all his captives in assailing the liberty of One Who owed him nought. Thus he was foiled by his malice: he inflicted a punishment on the Son of God, which was turned to the healing of all the sons of men. He shed righteous Blood, which became the ransom and the drink for the world's atonement. The Lord undertook that which He chose according to the purpose of His own will. He permitted madmen to lay their wicked hands upon Him: hands which, in ministering to their own doom, were of service to the Redeemer's work. And yet so great was His loving compassion for even His murderers, that He prayed to the Father on the cross, and begged not for His own vengeance but for their forgiveness, saying, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." And such was the power of that prayer, that the hearts of many of those who had said, "His blood be on us and on our sons," were turned to penitence by the Apostle Peter's preaching, and on one day there were baptized about 3,000 Jews: and they all were "of one heart and of one soul," being ready now to die for Him, Whose crucifixion they had demanded.

Chapter IV. Why Judas Could Not Obtain Forgiveness Through Christ.

1 To this forgiveness the traitor Judas could not attain: for he, the son of perdition, at whose right the devil stood gave himself up to despair before Christ accomplished the mystery of universal redemption. For in that the Lord died for sinners, perchance even he might have found salvation if he had not hastened to hang himself. But that evil heart, which was now given up to thievish frauds, and now busied with treacherous designs, had never entertained aught of the proofs of the Saviour's mercy. Those wicked ears had heard the Lord's words, when He said, "I came not to call the righteous but sinners," and "The Son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost," but they conveyed not to his understanding the clemency of Christ, which not only healed bodily infirmities, but also cured the wounds of sick souls, saying to the paralytic man, "Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee;" saying also to the adulteress that was brought to Him, "neither will I condemn thee; go and sin no more," to show in all His works that He had come as the Saviour, not the Judge of the world. But the wicked traitor refused to understand this, and took measures against himself, not in the self-condemnation of repentance, but in the madness of perdition, and thus he

who had sold the Author of life to His murderers, even in dying increased the amount of sin which condemned him.

Chapter V. The Cruelty of Christ's Crucifixion is Lost in Its Wondrous Power.

1 Accordingly that which false witnesses, cruel leaders of the people, wicked priests did against the Lord Jesus Christ, through the agency of a coward governor and an ignorant band of soldiers, has been at once the abhorrence and the rejoicing of all ages. For though the Lord's cross was part of the cruel purpose of the Jews, yet is it of wondrous power through Him they crucified. The people's fury was directed against One, and the mercy of Christ is for all mankind. That which their cruelty inflicts He voluntarily undergoes. in order that the work of His eternal will may be carried out through their unhindered crime. And hence the whole order of events which is most fully narrated in the Gospels must be received by the faithful in such a way that by implicit belief in the occurrences which happened at the time of the Lord's Passion, we should understand that not only was the remission of sins accomplished by Christ, but also the standard of justice satisfied. But that this may be more thoroughly discussed by the Lord's help, let us reserve this portion of the subject till the fourth day of the week God's grace, we hope, will be vouchsafed at your entreaties to help us to fulfil our promise: through Jesus Christ our Lord, &c. Amen.

SERMON 32

Chapter I. God Those to Save Man by Strength Made Perfect in Weakness.

1 The glory, dearly-beloved, of the Lord's Passion, on which we promised to speak again to-day, is chiefly wonderful for its mystery of humility, which has both ransomed and instructed us all, that He, Who paid the price, might also impart His righteousness to us. For the Omnipotence of the Son of God, whereby He is by the same Essence equal to the Father, might have rescued mankind from the dominion of the devil by the mere exercise of Its will, had it not better suited the Divine working to conquer the opposition of the foe's wickedness by that which had been conquered, and to restore our nature's liberty by that very nature by which bondage had come upon the whole race. But, when the evangelist says, "The Word became flesh and dwelt in us," and the Apostle, "God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself," it was shown that the Only-begotten of the Most High Father entered on such a union with human humility, that, when He took the substance of

our flesh and soul, He remained one and the same Son of God by exalting our properties, not His own: because it was the weakness, not the power that had to be reinforced, so that upon the union of the creature with the Creator there should be nothing wanting of the Divine to the assumed, nor of the human to the Assuming.

Chapter II. God's Plan Was Always Partially Understood, and is Now of Universal Application.

¹ This plan of God's mercy and justice, though in the ages past it was in a measure enshrouded in darkness, was yet not so completely hidden that the saints, who have most merited praise from the beginning till the coming of the Lord, were precluded from understanding it: seeing that the salvation, which was to come through Christ, was promised both by the words of prophecy and by the significance of events, and this salvation not only they attained who foretold it, but all they also who believed their predictions. For the one Faith justifies the saints of all ages, and to the self-same hope of the faithful pertains all that by Jesus Christ, the Mediator between God and man, we acknowledge done, or our fathers reverently accepted as to be done. And between Jew and Gentile there is no distinction, since, as the Apostle says, "Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of God's commands," and if they be kept in entirety of faith, they make Christians the true sons of Abraham, that is perfect, for the same Apostle says, "For whosoever of you were baptized in Christ Jesus, have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek: there is neither slave nor free: there is neither male nor female. For ye are all one in Christ. But if ye are Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, heirs according to promise."

Chapter III. The Union of the Divine Head with Its Members Inseparable.

¹ There is no doubt therefore, dearly-beloved, that man's nature has been received by the Son of God into such a union that not only in that Man Who is the first-begotten of all creatures, but also in all His saints there is one and the self-same Christ, and as the Head cannot be separated from the members, so the members cannot be separated from the Head. For although it is not in this life, but in eternity that God is to be "all in all," yet even now He is the inseparable Inhabitant of His temple, which is the Church, according as He Himself promised, saying, "Lo! I am with you all the days till the end of the age." And agreeably therewith the Apostle says, "He is the head of the body, the Church, which is the beginning, the first-begotten from the dead,

that in all things He may have the pre-eminence, because in Him it was pleasing that all fulness (of the Godhead) should dwell, and that through Him all things should be reconciled in Himself."

Chapter IV. Christ's Passion Provided a Saving Mystery and an Example for Us to Follow.

1 And what is suggested to our hearts by these and many other references, save that we should in all things be renewed in His image Who, remaining "in the form of God," deigned to "take the form" of sinful flesh? For all our weaknesses, which come from sin, He took on Him without sharing in sin, so that He felt the sensation of hunger and thirst and sleep and fatigue, and grief and weeping, and suffered the fiercest pangs up to the extremity of death, because no one could be loosed from the snares of death, unless He in Whom alone all men's nature was guileless allowed Himself to be slain by the hands of wicked men. And hence our Saviour the Son of God provided for all that believe in Him both a mystery and an example that they might apprehend the one by being born again, and follow the other by imitation. For the blessed Apostle Peter teaches this, saying, "Christ suffered for us, leaving you an example that ye should follow His steps. Who did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth. Who when He was reviled, reviled not: when He suffered, threatened not, but gave Himself up to His unjust judge. Who Himself bare our sins in His body on the tree, that being dead to sins, we may live to righteousness."

Chapter V. Christ Not Destroyed, But Fulfilled and Elevated the Law.

1 As therefore there is no believer, dearly-beloved, to whom the gifts of grace are denied, so there is no one who is not a debtor in the matter of Christian discipline; because, although the severity of the mystic Law is done away, yet the benefits of its voluntary observance have increased, as the evangelist John says, "Because the Law was given through Moses, but grace and truth came through Jesus Christ." For all things that, according to the Law, went before, whether in the circumcision of the flesh, or in the multitude of victims, or in the keeping of the Sabbath, testified of Christ, and foretold the grace of Christ. And He is "the end of the Law," not by annulling, but by fulfilling its meanings. For although He is at once the Author of the old and of the new, yet He changed the symbolic rites connected with the promises, because He accomplished the promises and put an end to the announcement by the coming of the Announced. But in the matter of moral precepts, no decrees of

the earlier Testament are rejected, but many of them are amplified by the Gospel teaching: so that the things which give salvation are more perfect and clearer than those which promise a Saviour.

Chapter VI. The Present Effect of Christ's Passion is Daily Realized by Christians, Especially in Hall, Baptism.

¹ All therefore that the Son of God did and taught for the world's reconciliation, we not only know as a matter of past history, but appreciate in the power of its present effect. It is He Who, born of the Virgin Mother by the Holy Ghost, fertilizes His unpolluted Church with the same blessed Spirit, that the birth of Baptism an innumerable multitude of sons may be born to God, of Whom it is said, "who were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. It is He, in Whom the seed of Abraham is blessed by the adoption of the whole world and the patriarch becomes the father of nations by the birth. through faith not flesh, of the sons of promise. It is He Who, without excluding any nation, makes one flock of holy sheep from every nation under heaven, and daily fulfils what He promised, saying, "Other sheep also I have which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear My: voice, and there shall be one flock and one shepherd. For though to the blessed Peter first and foremost He says, "Feed My sheep;

² yet the one Lord directs the charge of all the shepherds, and feeds those that come to the rock with such glad and well-watered pastures, that countless sheep are nourished by the richness of His love, and hesitate not to perish for the Shepherd's sake, even as the good Shepherd Himself was content to lay down His life for His sheep. It is He whose sufferings are shared not only by the martyrs' glorious courage, but also in the very act of regeneration by the faith of all the new-born. For the renunciation of the devil and belief in God the passing from the old state into newness of life, the casting off of the earthly image, and the putting on of the heavenly form—all this is a sort of dying and rising again, whereby he that is received by Christ and receives Christ is not the same after as he was before he came to the font, for the body of the regenerate becomes the flesh of the Crucified.

Chapter VII. The Good Works of Christians are Only Part of Christ's Good Works.

¹ This change, dearly-beloved, is the handiwork of the Most High Who "worketh all things in all," so that by the good manner of life observed in each one of the faithful, we know Him to be the Author of all just works,

and give thanks to God's mercy, Who so adorns the whole body of the Church with countless gracious gifts, that through the many rays of the one Light the same brightness is everywhere diffused, and that which is well done by any Christian whatsoever cannot but be part the glory of Christ. This is that true which justifies and enlightens every man. This it is that rescues from the power of darkness and transfers us into the Kingdom of the Son of God. This it is that by newness of life exalts the desires of the mind and quenches the lusts of the flesh. This it is whereby the Lord's Passover is duly kept "With the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth" by the casting away of "the old leaven of wickedness " and the inebriating and feeding of the new creature with the very Lord. For naught else is brought about by the partaking of the and Blood of Christ than that we pass into that which we then take and both in spirit and in body carry everywhere Him, in and with Whom we were dead, buried, and rose again, as the Apostle says, "For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God. For when Christ, your life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory." Who with the Father, &c.

SERMON 33

Chapter I. The Contemplation of the Prophecies of Christ's Suffering are a Great Source of Pious Delight.

1 The minds of the faithful, beloved, ought indeed always to be occupied with wonder at God's works and their reasoning faculties devoted particularly to those reflexions by which they may gain increase of faith. For so long as the pious heart's attention is directed either to the benefits which all enjoy, or to special gifts of His grace, it keeps aloof from many vanities and retires from bodily cares into a spiritual seclusion. But this must be the more eagerly and thoroughly done at the season of the Lord Passion, that what is then read in the sacred lections may surely be received with the ears of understanding, and that the themes which are great in word may be seen to be yet greater from the mysterious realities which underlie them. For the first reason for our lifting up our hearts is that the voices of the prophets have sung of the things which the truth of the Gospel has also narrated, not as destined to happen, but as having happened, and that what man's ears had not yet learnt was to be accomplished, was already being proclaimed as fulfilled by the (Holy) Spirit. For King David, whose seed according to the flesh is Christ, completed his lifetime more than 1,100 years before the day of the Lord's

Crucifixion, and endured none of those punishments which he relates as inflicted upon himself. But because by his mouth One spoke Who was to take suffering flesh of his stock, the story of the cross is tightly anticipated in the person of him who was the bodily ancestor of the Saviour. For David truly suffered in Christ, because Jesus was truly crucified in the flesh which He had from David.

Chapter II. The Divine Foreknowledge Does Not Account for the Jews' wickedness So as to Excuse Them.

¹Since then all things which Jewish ungodliness committed against the Lord of Majesty were foretold so long before and the language of the prophets is concerned not so much with things to come as with things last, what else is thereby revealed to us but the unchangeable order of God's eternal decrees, with Whom the things which are to be decided are already determined, and what will be is already accomplished? For since both the character of our actions and the fulfilment of all our wishes are fore-known to God, how much better known to Him are His own works? And He was rightly pleased that things should be recorded as if done which nothing could hinder from being done. And hence when the Apostles also, being full of the Holy Ghost, suffered the threats and cruelty of Christ's enemies, they said to God with one consent, "For truly in this city against Thy holy Servant Jesus, Whom Thou hast anointed, Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel were gathered together to do what Thy hand and Thy counsel ordained to come to pass." Did then the wickedness of Christ's persecutors spring from God's plan, and was that unsurpassable crime prefaced and set in motion by the hand of God? Clearly we must not think this of the highest Justice: that which was fore-known in respect of the Jews' malice is far different, indeed quite contrary to what was ordained in respect of Christ's Passion. Their desire to slay Him did not proceed from the same source as His to die: nor were their atrocious crime and the Redeemer's endurance the offspring of One Spirit. The Lord did not incite but permit those madmen's naughty hands: nor in His foreknowledge of what must be accomplished did He compel its accomplishment, even though it was in order to its accomplishment that He had taken flesh.

Chapter III. Christ Was in No Sense the Author of His Murderer's Guilt.

¹In fact, the case of the Crucified is so different from that of His crucifiers that what Christ undertook could not be reversed, while what they did could

be wiped out. For He Who came to save sinners did not refuse mercy even to His murderers, but changed the evil of the wicked into the goodness of the believing, that God's grace might be the more wonderful, being mercifully put in force, not according to men's merits, but according to the multitude of the riches of God's wisdom anti knowledge, seeing that they also who had shed the Saviour's blood were received into the baptismal flood. For, as says the Scripture, which contains the Apostles' acts when the preaching of the blessed Apostle Peter pierced the hearts of the Jews, and they acknowledged the iniquity of their crime, saying, "what shall we do, brethren? the same Apostle said, "Repent and be baptized, each one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of your sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For to you is the promise, and to your sons, and to all that are afar off, whomsoever our Lord God has called," and soon after the Scripture goes on to say: "they therefore that received his word were baptized, and there were added on that day about 3,000 souls. And so, in being willing to suffer their furious rage, the Lord Jesus Christ was in no way the Author of their crimes;

² nor did He force them to desire this, but permitted them to be able, and used the madness of the blinded people just as He did also the treachery of His betrayer, whom by kindly acts and words He vouchsafed to recall from the awful crime he had conceived, by taking him for a disciple, by promoting him to be an apostle, by warning him with signs, by admitting him to the revelation of holy mysteries that one who had lacked no degree of kindness to correct him, might have no pretext for his crime at all.

Chapter IV. The Enormity Of Judas' Crime is Set Forth.

¹ But O ungodliest of men, "thou seed of Chanaan and not of Juda," and no longer "a vessel of election," but "a son of perdition" and death, thou didst think the devil's instigations would profit thee better, so that, inflamed with the torch of greed, thou wert ablaze to gain 30 pieces of silver and sawest not what riches thou wouldst lose. For even if thou didst not think the Lord's promises were to be believed, what reason was there for preferring so small a sum of money to what thou hadst already received? Thou wast wont to command the evil spirits, to heal the sick, to receive honour with the rest of the apostles, and that thou mightest satisfy thy thirst for gain, it was open to thee to steal from the box that was in thy charge. But thy mind, which lusted after forbidden things, was more strongly stimulated by that which was less allowed: and the amount of the price pleased thee not so much as the enorm-

ity of the sin. Wherefore thy wicked bargain is not so detestable merely because thou countedst the Lord so cheap, but because thou didst sell Him Who was the Redeemer, yea, even thief, and badst no pity on thyself. And justly was thy punishment put into thine own hands because none could be found more cruelly bent on thy destruction than thyself.

Chapter V. Christ's Passion Was for Our Redemption by Mystery and Example.

¹ The fact, therefore, that at the time appointed, according to the purpose of His will, Jesus Christ was crucified, dead, and buried was not the doom necessary to His own condition, but the method of redeeming us from captivity. For "the Word became flesh" in order that from the Virgin's womb He might take our suffering nature, and that what could not be inflicted on the Son of God might be inflicted on the Son of Man. For although at His very birth the signs of Godhead shone forth in Him, and the whole course of His bodily growth was full of wonders, yet had He truly assumed our weaknesses, and without share in sin had spared Himself no human frailty, that He might impart what was His to us and heal what was ours in Himself. For He, the Almighty Physician, had prepared a two-fold remedy for us in our misery, of which the one part consists of mystery and the other of example that by the one Divine powers may be bestowed, by the other human weaknesses driven out. Because as God is the Author of our justification, so man is a debtor to pay Him devotion.

Chapter VI. we Can Only Attain to Christ's Perfection by Following in His Steps.

¹ Therefore, dearly-beloved, by this unspeakable restoration of our health no place is left us for pride or for idleness: because we have nothing which we did not receive and we are expressly warned not to treat the gifts of God's grace with negligence. For He that comes so timely to our aid justly urges us with precept, and He that leads us to glory mercifully incites us to obedience. Wherefore the Lord Himself is rightly made our way, because save through Christ there is no coming to Christ. But through Him and to Him does he take his way who treads the path of His endurance and humiliation, and on that road you may be sure there are not wanting the heats of toil, the clouds of sadness, the storms of fear. The snares of the wicked, the persecutions of the unbelieving, the threats of the powerful, the insults of the proud are I there; and all these things the Lord of hosts and King of glory passed through in the form of our weakness and in the likeness of sinful flesh, to

the end that amid the danger of this present life we might desire not so much to avoid and escape them as to endure and overcome them.

Chapter VII. Christ Cry of "Forsaken" On the Cross Was to Teach Us the Insufficiency of the Human Nature Without the Divine.

¹ Hence it is that the Lord Jesus Christ, our Head, representing all the members of His body in Himself, and speaking for those whom He was redeeming in the punishment of the cross, uttered that cry which He had once uttered in the psalm, "O God, My God, look upon Me: why hast Thou forsaken Me? That cry, dearly-beloved, is a lesson, not a complaint. For since in Christ there is oneperson of God and man, and He could not have been forsaken by Him, from Whom He could not be separated, it is on behalf of us, trembling and weak ones, that He asks why the flesh that is afraid to suffer has not been heard. For when the Passion was beginning, to cure anti correct our weak fear He had said, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me: nevertheless not as I will but as Thou; and again, "Father, if this cup cannot pass except I drink it, Thy will be done.

² As therefore He had conquered the tremblings of the flesh, and had now accepted the Father's will, and trampling all dread of death under foot, was then carrying out the work of His design, wily at the very time of His triumph over such a victory does He seek the cause and reason of His being forsaken, that is, not heard, save to show that the feeling which He entertained in excuse of His human fears is quite different from the deliberate choice which, in accordance with the Father's eternal decree, He had made for the reconciliation of the world? And thus the very cry of "Unheard" is the exposition of a mighty Mystery, because the Redeemer's power would have conferred nothing on mankind if our weakness in Him had obtained what it sought. Let these words dearly-beloved, suffice to-day, lest we burden you by the length of our discourse: let us put off the rest till Wednesday. The Lord shall hear you if you pray that we may keep our promise through the bounty of Him Who lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 34

Chapter I. Christ's Godhead Never Forsook Him in His Passion.

¹ The last discourse, dearly-beloved, of which we desire now to give the promised portion, had reached that point in the argument where we were speaking of that cry which the crucified Lord uttered to the Father: we bade

the simple and unthinking hearer not take the words "My Con, &c.," in a sense as if, when Jesus was fixed upon the wood of the cross, the Omnipotence of the Father's Deity had gone away from Him; seeing that God's and Man's Nature were so completely joined in Him that the union could not be destroyed by punishment nor by death. For while each substance retained its own properties, God neither held aloof from the suffering of His body nor was made passible by the flesh, because the Godhead which was in the Sufferer did not actually suffer. And hence, in accordance with the Nature of the Word made Man, He Who was made in the midst of all is the same as He through Whom all things were made. He Who is arrested by the hands of wicked men is the same as He Who is bound by no limits. He Who is pierced with nails is the same as He Whom no wound can affect. Finally, He Who underwent death is the same as He Who never ceased to be eternal, so that both facts are established by indubitable signs, namely, the truth of the humiliation in Christ and the truth of the majesty;

² because Divine power joined itself to human frailty to this end, that God, while making what was ours His, might at the same time make what was His ours. The Son, therefore, was not separated from the Father, nor the Father from the Son; and the unchangeable Godhead and the inseparable Trinity did not admit of any division. For although the task of undergoing Incarnation belonged peculiarly to the Only-begotten Son of God, yet the Father was not separated from the Son any more than the flesh was separated from the Word.

Chapter II. Christ's Death Was Voluntary an His Part, and Yet in Saving Others He Could Not Save Himself.

¹ Jesus, therefore, cried with a loud voice, saying, "Why hast Thou forsaken Me? in order to notify to all how it behoved Him not to be rescued, not to be defended, but to be given up into the hands of cruel men, that is to become the Saviour of the world and the Redeemer of all men, not by misery but by mercy; and not by the failure of succour but by the determination to die. But what must we feel to be the intercessory power of His life Who died and rose again by His own inherent power For the blessed Apostle saysthe Father "spared not His own Son, but gave Him up for us all; and again, he says, "For Christ loved the Church, and gave Himself up for her, that He might sanctify it. And hence the giving up of the Lord to His Passion was as much of the Father's as of His own will, so that not only did the Father "forsake" Him,

but He also abandoned Himself in a certain sense, not in hasty flight, but in voluntary withdrawal. For the might of the Crucified restrained itself from those wicked men, and in order to avail Himself of a secret design, He refused to avail Himself of His open power. For how would He who had come to destroy death and the author of death by His Passion have saved sinners, if he had resisted His persecutors?

2 This, then, had been the Jews' belief, that Jesus had been forsaken by God, against Whom they had been able to commit such unholy cruelty; for not understanding the mystery of His wondrous endurance, they said in blasphemous mockery: "He saved others, Himself He cannot save. If He be the King of Israel, let Him now come down from the cross, and we believe Him. Not at your blind will, O foolish scribes and wicked priests, was the Saviour's power to be displayed, nor in obedience to blasphemers' evil tongues was the Redemption of mankind to be delayed; for if you had wished to recognize the Godhead of the Son of God, you would have observed His numberless works, and they must have confirmed you in that faith, which you so deceitfully promise. But if, as you yourselves acknowledge, it is true that He saved others, why have those many, great miracles, which have been done under the public gaze, done nothing to soften the hardness of your hearts, unless it be because you have always so resisted the Holy Ghost as to turn all God's benefits towards you into your destruction? For even though Christ should descend from the cross, you would yet remain in your crime.

Chapter III. A Transition Was Then Being Effect from the Old to the New Dispensation.

1 Therefore the insults of empty exultation were scorned, and the Lord's mercy in restoring the lost and the fallen was not turned from the path of its purpose by contumely or reviling. For a peerless victim was being offered to God for the world's salvation, and the slaying of Christ the true Lamb, predicted through so many, ages, was transferring the sons of promise into the liberty of the Faith. The New Testament also was being ratified, and in the blood of Christ the heirs of the eternal Kingdom were being enrolled; the High Pontiff was entering the Holy of Holies, and to intercede with God the spotless Priest was passing in through the veil of His flesh. In fine, so evident a transition was being effected from the Law to the Gospel, from the synagogue to the Church, from many sacrifices to the One Victim that, when the Lord gave up the ghost, that mystic veil which hung before

and shut out the inner part of the Temple and its holy recess was by sudden force torn from top to bottom for the reason that Truth was displacing figures, and forerunners were needless in the presence of Him they announced. To this was added a terrible confusion of all the elements, and nature herself withdrew her support from Christ's crucifiers. And although the centurion in charge of the crucifixion, in fright at what he had seen, said "truly this man was the Son of God," yet the wicked hearts of the Jews, which were harder than all tombs and rocks, is not reported to have been pierced by any compunction: so that it seems the Roman soldiers were then readier to recognize the Son of God than the priests of Israel.

Chapter IV. Let Us Profit by Fasting and Good Works at This Sacred Season of the Year.

¹ Because, then, the Jews, deprived of all the sanctification imparted by these mysteries, turned their light into darkness and their "feasts into mourning," let us, dearly-beloved, prostrate our bodies and our souls and worship God's Grace, which has been poured out upon all nations, beseeching the merciful Father and the rich Redeemer from day to day to give us His aid and enable us to escape all the dangers of this life. For the crafty tempter is present everywhere, and leaves nothing free from his snares. Whom, God's mercy helping us, which is stretched out to us amid all dangers, we must ever with stedfast faith resist so that, though he never ceases to assail, he may never succeed in carrying the assault. Let all, dearly-beloved, religiously keep and profit by the fast, and let no excesses mar the benefits of such self-restraint as we have proved convenient both for soul and body. For the things which pertain to sobriety and temperance must be the more diligently observed at this season, that a lasting habit may be contracted from a brief zeal; and whether in works of mercy or in strict self-denial, no hours may be left idle by the faithful, seeing that, as years increase and time glides by, we are bound to increase our store of works, and not squander our opportunities. And to devout wills and religious souls God's Mercy will be granted, that He may enable us to obtain that which He enabled us to desire, Who liveth and reigneth with our Lord Jesus Christ His Son, and with the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 35

Chapter I. We Must All Be Partakers in Christ's Resurrection Life.

¹ In my last sermon dearly-beloved, not in- appropriately, as I think, we explained to you our participation in the cross of Christ, whereby the life of believers contains in itself the mystery of Easter, and thus what is honoured at the feast is celebrated by our practice. And how useful this is you yourselves have proved, and by your devotion have learnt, how greatly benefited souls and bodies are by longer fasts, more frequent prayers, and more liberal alms. For there can be hardly any one who has not profited by this exercise, and who has not stored up in the recesses of his conscience something over which he may rightly rejoice. But these advantages must be retained with persistent care, lest our efforts fall away into idleness, and the devil's malice steal what God's grace gave. Since, therefore, by our forty days' observance we have wished to bring about this effect, that we should feel something of the Cross at the time of the Lord's Passion, we must strive to be found partakers also of Christ's Resurrection, and "pass from death unto life," while we are in this body. For when a man is changed by some process from one thing into another, not to be what he was is to him an ending, and to be what he was not is a beginning. But the question is, to what a man either dies or lives:

² because there is a death, which is the cause of living, and there is a life, which is the cause of dying. And nowhere else but in this transitory world are both sought after, so that upon the character of our temporal actions depend the differences of the eternal retributions. We must die, therefore, to the devil and live to God: we must perish to iniquity that we may rise to righteousness. Let the old sink, that the new may rise; and since, as says the Truth, "no one can serve two masters," let not him be Lord who has caused the overthrow of those that stood, but Him Who has raised the fallen to victory.

Chapter II. God Did Not Leave His Soul in Hell, Nor Suffer His Flesh to See Corruption.

¹ Accordingly, since the Apostle says, "the first man is of the earth earthy, the second man is from heaven heavenly. As is the earthy, such also are they that are earthy; and as is the heavenly, such also are they that are heavenly. As we have borne the image of the earthy, so let us also bear the image of Him Who is from heaven," we must greatly rejoice over this change, whereby we are translated from earthly degradation to heavenly dignity through His un-

speakable mercy, Who descended into our estate that He might promote us to His, by assuming not only the substance but also the conditions of sinful nature, and by allowing the impossibility of Godhead to be affected by all the miseries which are the lot of mortal manhood. And hence that the disturbed minds of the disciples might not be racked by prolonged grief, He with such wondrous speed shortened the three days' delay which He had announced, that by joining the last part of the first and the first part of the third day to the whole of the second, He cut off a considerable portion of the period, and yet did not lessen the number of days. The Saviour's Resurrection therefore did not long keep His soul in Hades, nor His flesh in the tomb; and so speedy was the quickening of His uncorrupted flesh that it bore a closer resemblance to slumber than to death, seeing that the Godhead, Which quitted not either part of the Human Nature which He had assumed, reunited by Its power that which Its power had separated.

Chapter III. Christ's Manifestation After the Resurrection Showed that His Person Was Essentially the Same as Before.

1 And then there followed many proofs, whereon the authority of the Faith to be preached through the whole world might be based. And although the rolling away of the stone, the empty tomb, the arrangement of the linen cloths, and the angels who narrated the whole deed by themselves fully built up the truth of the Lord's Resurrection, yet did He often appear plainly to the eyes both of the women and of the Apostles not only talking with them, but also remaining and eating with them, and allowing Himself to be handled by the eager and curious hands of those whom doubt assailed. For to this end He entered when the doors were closed upon the disciples, and gave them the Holy Spirit by breathing on them, and after giving them the light of understanding opened the secrets of the Holy Scriptures, and again Himself showed them the wound in the side, the prints of the nails, and all the marks of His most recent Passion, whereby it might be acknowledged that in Him the properties of the Divine and Human Nature remained undivided, and we might in such sort know that the Word was not what the flesh is, as to confess God's only Son to be both Word and Flesh.

Chapter IV. But Though It is the Same, It is Also Glorified.

1 The Apostle of the Gentiles, Paul, dearly. beloved, does not disagree with this belief, when he says, "even though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now we know Him so no more." For the Lord's Resurrection was not the

ending, but the changing of the flesh, and His substance was not destroyed by His increase of power. The quality altered, but the nature did not cease to exist: the body was made impassible, which it had been possible to crucify: it was made incorruptible, though it had been possible to wound it. And properly is Christ's flesh said not to be known in that state in which it had been known, because nothing remained passible in it, nothing weak, so that it was both the same in essence and not the same in glory. But what wonder if S. Paul maintains this about Christ's body, when he says of all spiritual Christians "wherefore henceforth we know no one after the flesh." Henceforth, he says, we begin to experience the resurrection in Christ, since the time when in Him, Who died for all, all our hopes were guaranteed to us. We do not hesitate in diffidence, we are not under the suspense of uncertainty, but having received an earnest of the promise, we now with the eye of faith see the things which will be, and rejoicing in the uplifting of our nature, we already possess what we believe.

Chapter V. Being Saved by Hope, We Must Not Fulfil the Lasts of the Flesh.

1 Let us not then be taken up with the appearances of temporal matters, neither let our contemplations be diverted from heavenly to earthly things. Things which as yet have for the most part not come to pass must be reckoned as accomplished: and the mind intent on what is permanent must fix its desires there, where what is offered is eternal. For although "by hope we were saved," and still bear about with us a flesh that is corruptible and mortal, yet we are rightly said not to be in the flesh, if the fleshly affections do not dominate us, and are justified in ceasing to be named after that, the will of which we do not follow. And so, when the Apostle says, "make not provision for the flesh in the lusts thereof," we understand that those things are not forbidden us, which conduce to health and which human weakness demands, but because we may not satisfy all our desires nor indulge in all that the flesh lusts after, we recognizethat we are warned to exercise such self-restraint as not to permit what is excessive nor refuse what is necessary to the flesh, which is placed under the mind's control. And hence the same Apostle says in another place, "For no one ever hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it;" in so far, of course, as it must be nourished and cherished not in vices and luxury, but with a view to its proper functions, so that nature may recover herself and maintain due order, the lower parts not prevailing wrongfully and debasingly over the higher, nor the higher yield-

ing to the lower, lest if vices overpower the mind, slavery ensues where there should be supremacy.

Chapter VI. Our Godly Resolutions Must Continue All the Year Round, Not Be Confined to Easier Only.

1 Let God's people then recognize that they are a new creation in Christ, and with all vigilance understand by Whom they have been adopted and Whom they have adopted. let not the things, which have been made new, return to their ancient instability; and let not him who has "put his hand to the plough " forsake his work, but rather attend to that which he sows than look back to that which he has left behind. Let no one fall back into that from which he has risen, but, even though from bodily weakness he still languishes under certain maladies, let him urgently desire to be healed and raised up. For this is the path of health through imitation of the Resurrection begun in Christ, whereby, notwithstanding the many accidents and falls to which in this slippery life the traveller is liable, his feet may be guided from the quagmire on to solid ground, for, as it is written, "the steps of a man are directed by the Lord, and He will delight in his way. When the just man falls he shall not be overthrown, because the Lord will stretch out His hand." These thoughts, dearly-beloved, must be kept in mind not only for the Easter festival, but also for the sanctification of the whole life, and to this our present exercise ought to be directed, that what has delighted the souls of the faithful by the experience of a short observance may pass into a habit and remain unalterably, and if any fault creep in, it may be destroyed by speedy repentance. And because the cure of old-standing diseases is slow and difficult, remedies should be applied early, when the wounds are fresh, so that rising ever anew from all downfalls, we may deserve to attain to the incorruptible Resurrection of our glorified flesh in Christ Jesus our Lord, Who lives and reigns with the Father and the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 36

Chapter I. The Cross is Not Only the Mystery of Salvation, But an Example to Follow.

1 The whole of the Easter mystery, dearly-beloved, has been brought before us in the Gospel narrative, and the ears of the mind have been so reached through the ear of flesh that none of you can fail to have a picture of the events: for the text of the Divinely-inspired story has clearly shown the

treachery of the Lord Jesus Christ's betrayal, the judgment by which He was condemned, the barbarity of His crucifixion, and glory of His resurrection. But a sermon is still required of us, that the priests' exhortation may be added to the solemn reading of Holy Writ, as I am sure you are with pious expectation demanding of us as your accustomed due. Because therefore there is no place for ignorance in faithful ears, the seed of the Word which consists of the preaching of the Gospel, ought to grow in the soil of your heart, so that, when choking thorns and thistles have been removed, the plants of holy thoughts and the buds of right desires may spring up freely into fruit. For the cross of Christ, which was set up for the salvation of mortals, is both a mystery and an example: a sacrament where by the Divine power takes effect, an example whereby man's devotion is excited: for to those who are rescued from the prisoner's yoke Redemption further procures the power of following the way of the cross by imitation. For if the world's wisdom so prides itself in its error that every one follows the opinions and habits and whole manner of life of him whom he has chosen as his leader, how shall we share in the name of Christ save by being inseparably united to Him, Who is, as He Himself asserted, "the Way, the Truth, and the Life:" the Way that is of holy living, the Truth of Divine doctrine, and the Life of eternal happiness.

Chapter II. Christ Look Our Nature Upon Him for Our Salvation.

¹ For when the whole body of mankind had fallen in our first parents, the merciful God purposed so to succour, through His only-begotten Jesus Christ, His creatures made after His image, that the restoration of our nature should not be effected apart from it, and that our new estate should be an advance upon our original position. Happy, if we had not fallen from that which God made us; but happier, if we remain that which He has re-made us. It was much to have received form from Christ; it is more to have a substance in Christ. For we were taken up into its own proper self by that Nature (which condescended to those limitations which loving-kindness dictated and which yet incurred no sort of change. We were taken up by that Nature which destroyed not what was His in what was ours, nor what was ours in what was His; which made the person of the Godhead and of the Manhood so one in Itself that by co-ordination of weakness and power, the flesh could not be rendered inviolable through the Godhead, nor the Godhead passible through the flesh. We were taken up by that Nature, which did not break off

the Branch from the common stock of our race, and yet excluded all taint of the sin which has passed upon all men.

² That is to say, weakness and mortality, which were not sin, but the penalty of sin, were undergone by the Redeemer of the World in the way of punishment, that they might be reckoned as the price of redemption. What therefore in all of us is the heritage of condemnation, is in Christ "the mystery of godliness. For being free from debt, He gave Himself up to that most cruel creditor, and suffered the hands of Jews to be the devil's agents in torturing His spotless flesh. Which flesh He willed to be subject to death, even up to His(speedy) resurrection, to this end, that believers in Him might find neither persecution intolerable, nor death terrible, by the remembrance that there was no more doubt about their sharing His glory than there was about His sharing their nature.

Chapter III. The Presence of the Risen and Ascended Lord Is Still with Us.

¹ And so, dearly-beloved, if we unhesitatingly believe with the heart what we profess with the mouth, in Christ we are crucified, we are dead, we are buried; on the very third day, too, we are raised. Hence the Apostle says, "If ye have risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ is, sitting on God's right hand: set your affections on things above, not on things on the earth For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God. For when Christ, your life, shall have appeared, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory." But that the hearts of the faithful may know that they have that whereby to spurn the lusts of the world and be lifted to the wisdom that is above, the Lord promises us His presence, saying, "Lo! I am with you all the days, even till the end of the age." For not in vain had the Holy Ghost said by Isaiah: "Behold! a virgin shall conceive and shall bear a Son, and they shall call His name Emmanuel, which is, being interpreted, God with us." Jesus, therefore, fulfils the proper meaning of His name, and in ascending into the heavens does not forsake His adopted brethren, though "He sitteth at the right hand of the Father," yet dwells in the whole body, and Himself from above strengthens them for patient waiting while He summons them upwards to His glory.

Chapter IV. We Must Have the Same Mind as Was in Christ Jesus.

¹ We must not, therefore, indulge in folly amid vain pursuits, nor give way to fear in the midst of adversities. On the one side, no doubt, we are flattered by

deceits, and on the other weighed down by troubles; but because "the earth is full of the mercy of the Lord," Christ's victory is assuredly ours, that what He says may be fulfilled, "Fear not, for I have overcome the world. Whether, then, we fight against the ambition of the world, or against the lusts of the flesh, or against the darts of heresy, let us arm ourselves always with the Lord's Cross. For our Paschal feast will never end, if we abstain from the leaven of the old wickedness (in the sincerity of truth. For amid all the changes of this life which is full of various afflictions, we ought to remember the Apostle's exhortation; whereby he instructs us, saying, "Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus: Who being in the form of God counted it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a bond-servant, being made in the likeness of men and found in fashion as a man.

2 Wherefore God also exalted Him, and gave Him a name which is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow of things in heaven, of things on earth, and of things below, and that every tongue should confess that the Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father. If, he says, you understand "the mystery of great godliness," and remember what the Only-begotten Son of God did for the salvation of mankind, "have that mind in you which was also in Christ Jesus," Whose humility is not to be scorned by any of the rich, not to be thought shame of by any of the high-born. For no human happiness whatever can reach so great a height as to reckon it a source of shame to himself that God, abiding in the form of Coy, thought it not unworthy of Himself to take the form of a slave.

Chapter V. Only He Who Holds T/re Truth on the Incarnation Can Keep Easter Properly.

1 Imitate what He wrought: love what He loved, and finding in you the Grace of God, love in Him your nature in return, since as He was not dispossessed of riches in poverty, lessened not glory in humility, lost not eternity in death, so do ye, too, treading in His footsteps, despise earthly things that ye may gain heavenly: for the taking up of the cross means the slaying of lusts, the killing of vices, the turning away from vanity, and the renunciation of all error. For, though the Lord's Passover can be kept by no immodest, self-indulgent, proud, or miserly person, yet none are held so far aloof from this festival as heretics, and especially those who have wrong views on the Incarnation of the Word, either disparaging what belongs to the Godhead or treat-

ing what is of the flesh as unreal. For the Son of God is true God, having from the Father all that the Father is, with no beginning in time, subject to no sort of change, undivided from the One God, not different from the Almighty, the eternal Only-begotten of the eternal Father; so that the faithful intellect believing in the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost in the same essence of the one Godhead, neither divides the Unity by suggesting degrees of dignity, nor confounds the Trinity by merging the Persons in one.

² But it is not enough to know the Son of God in the Father's nature only, unless we acknowledge Him in what is ours without withdrawal of what is His own. For that self-emptying, which He underwent for man's restoration, was the dispensation of compassion, not the loss of power. For, though by the eternal purpose of God there was "no other name under heaven given to men whereby they must be saved," the Invisible made His substance visible. the Intemporal temporal, the Impassible passible: not that power might sink into weakness, but that weakness might pass into indestructible power.

Chapter VI. A Mystical Application of the Term "Passover" Is Given.

¹ For which reason the very feast which by us is named Pascha, among the Hebrews is called Phase, that is Pass-over as the evangelist attests, saying, "Before the feast of Pascha, Jesus knowing that His hour was come that He should pass out of this world unto the Father." But what was the nature in which He thus passed out unless it was ours, since the Father was in the Son and the Son in the Father inseparably? But because the Word and the Flesh is one Person, the Assumed is not separated from the Assuming nature, and the honour of being promoted is spoken of as accruing to Him that promotes, as the Apostle says in a passage we have already quoted, "Wherefore also God exalted Him and gave Him a name which is above every name." Where the exaltation of His assumed Manhood is no doubt spoken of, so that He in Whose sufferings the Godhead remains indivisible is likewise coeternal in the glory of the Godhead. And to share in this unspeakable gift the Lord Himself was preparing a blessed "passing over" for His faithful ones, when on the very threshold of His Passion he interceded not only for His Apostles and disciples but also for the whole Church, saying, "But not for these only I pray, but for those also who shall believe on Me through their word, that they all may be one, as Thou also, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us."

Chapter VII. Only True Believers Can Keep the Easter Festival.

¹In this union they can have no share who deny that in the Son of God, Himself true God, man's nature abides, assailing the health-giving mystery and shutting themselves out from the Easter festival. For, as they dissent from the Gospel and gainsay the creed, they cannot keep it with us, because although they dare to take to themselves the Christian name, yet they are repelled by every creature who has Christ for his Head: for you rightly exult and devoutly rejoice in this sacred season as those who, admitting no falsehood into the Truth, have no doubt about Christ's Birth according to the flesh, His Passion and Death, and the Resurrection of His body: inasmuch as without any separation of the Godhead you acknowledge a Christ, Who was truly born of a Virgin's womb, truly hung on the wood of the cross, truly laid in an earthly tomb, truly raised in glory, truly set on the right hand of the Father's majesty; "whence also," as the Apostle says, "we look for a Saviour our Lord Jesus Christ. Who shall refashion the body of our humility to become conformed to the body of His glory." Who liveth and reigneth, &c.

SERMON 37

Chapter I. the Events Recorded as Happening After the Resurrection Were Intended to Convince Its Truth.

¹Since the blessed and glorious Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby the Divine power in three days raised the true Temple of God, which the wickedness of the Jews had overthrown, the sacred forty days, dearly-beloved are to-day ended, which by most holy appointment were devoted to our most profitable instruction, so that, during the period that the Lord thus protracted the lingering of His bodily presence, our faith in the Resurrection might be fortified by needful proofs. For Christ's Death had much disturbed the disciples' hearts, and a kind of torpor of distrust had crept over their grief-laden minds at His torture on the cross, at His giving up the ghost, at His lifeless body's burial. For, when the holy women, as the Gospel-story has revealed, brought word of the stone rolled away from the tomb, the sepulchre emptied of the body, and the angels bearing witness to the living Lord, their words seemed like ravings to the Apostles and other disciples. Which doubtfulness, the result of human weakness, the Spirit of Truth would most assuredly not have permitted to exist in His own preacher's breasts, had not their trembling anxiety and careful hesitation laid the

foundations of our faith. It was our perplexities and our dangers that were provided for in the Apostles: it was ourselves who in these men were taught how to meet the cavillings of the ungodly and the arguments of earthly wisdom. We are instructed by their lookings, we are taught by their hearings, we are convinced by their handlings. Let us give thanks to the Divine management and the holy Fathers' necessary slowness of belief. Others doubted, that we might not doubt.

Chapter II. And Therefore They are in the Highest Degree Instructive.

1 Those days, therefore, dearly-beloved, which intervened between the Lord's Resurrection and Ascension did not pass by in uneventful leisure, but great mysteries were ratified in them, deep truths revealed. In them the fear of awful death was removed, and the immortality not only of the soul but also of the flesh established. In them, through the Lord's breathing upon them, the Holy Ghost is poured upon all the Apostles, and to the blessed Apostle Peter beyond the rest the care of the Lord's flock is entrusted, in addition to the keys of the kingdom. Then it was that the Lord joined the two disciples as a companion on the way, and, to the sweeping away of all the clouds of our uncertainty, upbraided them with the slowness of their timorous hearts. Their enlightened hearts catch the flame of faith, and lukewarm as they have been, are made to burn while the Lord unfolds the Scriptures. In the breaking of bread also their eyes are opened as they eat with Him: how far more blessed is the opening of their eyes, to whom the glorification of their nature is revealed than that of our first parents, on whom fell the disastrous consequences of their transgression.

Chapter III. The Prove the Resurrection of the Flesh.

1 And in the course of these and other miracles, when the disciples were harassed by bewildering thoughts, and the Lord had appeared in their midst and said, "Peace be unto you," that what was passing through their hearts might not be their fixed opinion (for they thought they saw a spirit not flesh), He refutes their thoughts so discordant with the Truth, offers to the doubters' eyes the marks of the cross that remained in His hands and feet, and invites them to handle Him with careful scrutiny, because the traces of the nails and spear had been retained to heal the wounds of unbelieving hearts, so that not with wavering faith, but with most steadfast knowledge they might compre-

hend that the Nature which had been lain in the sepulchre was to sit on God the Father's throne.

Chapter IV. Christ's Ascension Has Given Us Greater Privileges and Joys Than the Devil Had Taken from Us.

¹ Accordingly, dearly-beloved, throughout this time which elapsed between the Lord's Resurrection and Ascension, God's Providence had this in view, to teach and impress upon both the eyes and hearts of His own people that the Lord Jesus Christ might be acknowledged to have as truly risen, as He was truly born, suffered, and died. And hence the most blessed Apostles and all the disciples, who had been both bewildered at His death on the cross and backward in believing His Resurrection, were so strengthened by the clearness of the truth that when the Lord entered the heights of heaven, not only were they affected with no sadness, but were even filled with great joy. And truly great and unspeakable was their cause for joy, when in the sight of the holy multitude, above the dignity of all heavenly creatures, the Nature of mankind went up, to pass above the angels' ranks and to rise beyond the archangels' heights, and to have Its uplifting limited by no elevation until, received to sit with the Eternal Father, It should be associated on the throne with His glory, to Whose Nature It was united in the Son. Since then Christ's Ascension is our uplifting, and the hope of the Body is raised, whither the glory of the Head has gone before, let us exult, dearly-beloved, with worthy joy and delight in the loyal paying of thanks. For to-day not only are we confirmed as possessors of paradise, but have also in Christ penetrated the heights of heaven, and have gained still greater things through Christ's unspeakable grace than we had lost through the devil's malice. For us, whom our virulent enemy had driven out from the bliss of our first abode, the Son of God has made members of Himself and placed at the right hand of the Father, with Whom He lives and reigns in the unity of the Holy Spirit, God for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 38

Chapter I. The Ascension Completes Our Faith in Him, Who Was God As Well as Man.

¹ The mystery of our salvation, dearly-beloved, which the Creator of the universe valued at the price of His blood, has now been carried out under conditions of humiliation from the day of His bodily birth to the end of His

Passion. And although even in "the form of a slave" many signs of Divinity have beamed out, yet the events of all that period served particularly to show the reality of His assumed Manhood. But after the Passion, when the chains of death were broken, which had exposed its own strength by attacking Him, Who was ignorant of sin, weakness was turned into power, mortality into eternity, contumely into glory, which the Lord Jesus Christ showed by many clear proofs in the sight of many, until He carried even into heaven the triumphant victory which He had won over the dead. As therefore at the Easter commemoration, the Lord's Resurrection was the cause of our rejoicing; so the subject of our present gladness is His Ascension, as we commemorate and duly venerate that day on which the Nature of our humility in Christ was raised above all the host of heaven, over all the ranks of angels, beyond the height of all powers, to sit with God the Father. On which Providential order of events we are founded and built up, that God's Grace might become more wondrous, when, notwithstanding the removal from men's sight of what was rightly felt to command their awe, faith did not fail, hope did not waver, love did not grow cold.

²For it is the strength of great minds and the light of firmly-faithful souls, unhesitatingly to believe what is not seen with the bodily sight, and there to fix one's affections whither you cannot direct your gaze. And whence should this Godliness spring up in our hearts, or how should a man be justified by faith, if our salvation rested on those things only which lie beneath our eyes? Hence our Lord said to him who seemed to doubt of Christ's Resurrection, until he had tested by sight and touch the traces of His Passion in His very Flesh, "because thou hast seen Me, thou hast believed: blessed are, they who have not seen and yet have believed."

Chapter II. The Ascension Renders Our Faith More Excellent and Stronger.

¹In order, therefore, dearly-beloved, that we may be capable of this blessedness, when all things were fulfilled which concerned the Gospel preaching and the mysteries of the New Testament, our Lord Jesus Christ, on the fortieth day after the Resurrection in the presence of the disciples, was raised into heaven, and terminated His presence with us in the body, to abide on the Father's right hand until the times Divinely fore-ordained for multiplying the sons of the Church are accomplished, and He comes to judge the living and the dead in the same flesh in which He ascended. And so that which till then was visible of our Redeemer was changed into a sacramental presence

and that faith might be more excellent and stronger, sight gave way to doctrine, the authority of which was to be accepted by believing hearts enlightened with rays from above.

Chapter III. The Marvellous Effects of This Faith on All.

1 This Faith, increased by the Lord's Ascension and established by the gift of the Holy Ghost, was not terrified by bonds, imprisonments, banishments, hunger, fire, attacks by wild beasts, refined torments of cruel persecutors. For this Faith throughout the world not only men, but even women, not only beardless boys, but even tender maids, fought to the shedding of their blood. This Faith cast out spirits, drove off sicknesses, raised the dead: and through it the blessed Apostles themselves also, who after being confirmed by so many miracles and instructed by so many discourses, had yet been panic-stricken by the horrors of the Lord's Passion and had not accepted the truth of His resurrection without hesitation, made such progress after the Lord's Ascension that everything which had previously filled them with fear was turned into joy. For they had lifted the whole contemplation of their mind to the Godhead of Him that sat at the Father's right hand, and were no longer hindered by the barrier of corporeal sight from directing their minds' gaze to That Which had never quitted the Father's side in descending to earth, and had not forsaken the disciples in ascending to heaven.

Chapter IV. His Ascension Refines Our Faith: the Ministering of Angels to Him Shows the Extent of His Authority.

1 The Son of Man and Son of God, therefore, dearly-beloved, then attained a more excellent and holier fame, when He betook Himself back to the glory of the Father's Majesty, and in an ineffable manner began to be nearer to the Father in respect of His Godhead, after having become farther away in respect of His manhood. A better instructed faith then began to draw closer to a conception of the Son's equality with the Father without the necessity of handling the corporeal substance in Christ, whereby He is less than the Father, since, while the Nature of the glorified Body still remained the faith of believers was called upon to touch not with the hand of flesh, but with the spiritual understanding the Only-begotten, Who was equal with the Father. Hence comes that which the Lord said after His Resurrection, when Mary Magdalene, representing the Church, hastened to approach and touch Him: "Touch Me not, for I have not yet ascended to My Father: that is, I would not have you come to Me as to a human body, nor yet recognize Me by fleshly

perceptions: I put thee off for higher things, I prepare greater things for thee: when I have ascended to My Father, then thou shall handle Me more perfectly and truly, for thou shall grasp what thou canst not touch and believe what thou canst not see.

² But when the disciples' eyes followed the ascending Lord tO heaven with upward gaze of earnest wonder, two angels stood by them in raiment shining with wondrous brightness, who also said, "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing into heaven? This Jesus Who was taken up from you into heaven shall so come as ye saw Him going into heaven. By which words all the sons of the Church were taught to believe that Jesus Christ will come visibly in the same Flesh wherewith He ascended, and not to doubt that all things are subjected to Him on Whom the ministry of angels had waited from the first beginning of His Birth. For, as an angel announced to the blessed Virgin that Christ should be conceived by the Holy Ghost, so the voice of heavenly beings sang of His being born of the Virgin also to the shepherds. As messengers from above were the first to attest His having risen from the dead, so the service of angels was employed to foretell His coming in very Flesh to judge the world, that we might understand what great powers will come with Him as Judge, when such great ones ministered to Him even in being judged.

Chapter V. We Must Despise Earthly Things and Rise to Things Above, Especially by Active Works of Mercy and Love.

¹ And so, dearly-beloved, let us rejoice with spiritual joy, and let us with gladness pay God worthy thanks and raise our hearts' eyes unimpeded to those heights where Christ is. Minds that have heard the call to be uplifted must not be pressed down by earthly affections they that are fore-ordained to things eternal must not be taken up with the things that perish; they that have entered on the way of Truth must not be entangled in treacherous snares, and the faithful must so take their course through these temporal things as to remember that they are sojourning in the vale of this world, in which, even though they meet with some attractions, they must not sinfully embrace them, but bravely pass through them. For to this devotion the blessed Apostle Peter arouses us, and entreating us with that loving eagerness which he conceived for feeding Christ's sheep by the threefold profession of love for the Lord, says, "dearly-beloved, I beseech you, as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts which war against the soul. But for whom

do fleshly pleasures wage war, if not for the devil, whose delight it is to fetter souls that strive after things above, with the enticements of corruptible good things, and to draw them away from those abodes from which he himself has been banished? Against his plots every believer must keep careful watch that he may crush his foe on the side whence the attack is made.

² And there is no more powerful weapon, dearly-beloved, against the devil's wiles than kindly mercy and bounteous charity, by which every sin is either escaped or vanquished. But this lofty power is not attained until that which is opposed to it be overthrown. And what so hostile to mercy and works of charity as avarice from the root of which spring all evils? And unless it be destroyed by lack of nourishment, there must needs grow in the ground of that heart in which this evil weed has taken root, the thorns and briars of vices rather than any seed of true goodness. Let us then, dearly-beloved, resist this pestilential evil and "follow after charity," without which no virtue can flourish, that by this path of love whereby Christ came down to us, we too may mount up to Him, to Whom with God the Father and the Holy Spirit is honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 39

Chapter I. The Giving of the Law by Moses Prepared the Way for the Outpouring of the Holy Ghost.

¹ The hearts of all catholics, beloved, realize that to-day's solemnity is to be honoured as one of the chief feasts, nor is there any doubt that great respect is due to this day, which the Holy Spirit has hallowed by the miracle of His most excellent gift. For from the day on which the Lord ascended up above all heavenly heights to sit down at God the Father's right hand, this is the tenth which has shone, and the fiftieth from His Resurrection, being the very day on which it began and containing in itself great revelations of mysteries both new and old, by which it is most manifestly revealed that Grace was fore-announced through the Law and the Law fulfilled through Grace. For as of old, when the Hebrew nation were released from the Egyptians, on the fiftieth day after the sacrificing of the lamb the Law was given on Mount Sinai, so after the suffering of Christ, wherein the true Lamb of God was slain on the fiftieth day from His Resurrection, the Holy Ghost came down upon the Apostles and the multitude of believers, so that the earnest Christian may easily perceive that the beginnings of the Old Testament were pre-

paratory to the beginnings of the Gospel, and that the second covenant was rounded by the same Spirit that had instituted the first.

Chapter II. How Marvellous Was the Gift of "Divers Tongues."

1 For as the Apostles' story testifies: "while the days of Pentecost were fulfilled and all the disciples were together in the same place, there occurred suddenly from heaven a sound as of a violent wind coming, and filled the whole house where they were sitting. And there appeared to them divided tongues as of fire and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Holy Spirit gave them utterance." Oh! how swift are the words of wisdom. and where God is the Master, how quickly is what is taught, learnt. No interpretation is required for understanding, no practice for using, no time for studying, but the Spirit of Truth blowing where He wills the languages peculiar to each nation become common property in the mouth of the Church. And therefore from that day the trumpet of the Gospel-preaching has sounded loud: from that day the showers of gracious gifts, the rivers of blessings, have watered every desert and all the dry land, since to renew the face of the earth the Spirit of God "moved over the waters," and to drive away the old darkness flashes of new light shone forth, when by the blaze of those busy tongues was kindled the Lord's bright Word and fervent eloquence, in which to arouse the understanding, and to consume sin there lay both a capacity of enlightenment and a power of burning.

Chapter III. The Three Persons in the Trinity are Perfectly Equal in All Things.

1 But although, dearly-beloved, the actual form of the thing done was exceeding wonderful, and undoubtedly in that exultant chorus of all human languages the Majesty of the Holy Spirit was present, yet no one must think that His Divine substance appeared in what was seen with bodily eyes. For His Nature, which is invisible and shared in common with the Father and the Son, showed the character of His gift and work by the outward sign that pleased Him, but kept His essential property within His own Godhead: because human sight can no more perceive the Holy Ghost than it can the Father or the Son. For in the Divine Trinity nothing is unlike or unequal, and all that can be thought concerning Its substance admits of no diversity either in power or glory or eternity. And while in the property of each Person the Father is one, the Son is another, and the Holy Ghost is another, yet

the Godhead is not distinct and different; for whilst the Son is the Only begotten of the Father, the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Father and the Son, not in the way that every creature is the creature of the Father and the Son, but as living and having power with Both, and eternally subsisting of That Which is the Father and the Son.

² And hence when the Lord before the day of His Passion promised the coming of the Holy Spirit to His disciples, He said, "I have yet many things to say to you, but ye cannot bear them now. But when He, the Spirit of Truth shall have come, He shall guide you into all the Truth. For He shall not speak from Himself, but whatsoever He shall have heard, He shall speak and shall announce things to come unto you. All things that the Father hath are Mine: therefore said I that He shall take of Mine, and shall announce it to you. Accordingly, there are not some things that are the Father's, and other the Son's, and other the Holy Spirit's: but all things whatsoever the Father has, the Son also has, and the Holy Spirit also has: nor was there ever a time when this communion did not exist, because with Them to have all things is to always exist. In them let no times, no grades, no differences be imagined and, if no one can explain that which is true concerning God, let no one dare to assert what is not true. For it is more excusable not to make a full statement concerning His ineffable Nature than to frame an actually wrong definition. And so whatever loyal hearts can conceive of the Father's eternal and unchangeable Glory, let them at the same time understand it of the Son and of the Holy Ghost without any separation or difference.

³ For we confess this blessed Trinity to be One God for this reason, because in these three Persons there is no diversity either of substance, or of power, or of will, or of operation.

Chapter IV. The Macedonian Heresy is as Blasphemous as the Arian.

¹ As therefore we abhor the Arians, who maintain a difference between the Father and the Son, so also we abhor the Macedonians who, although they ascribe equality to the Father and the Son, yet think the Holy Ghost to be of a lower nature, not considering that they thus fall into that blasphemy, which is not to be forgiven either in the present age or in the judgment to come, as the Lord says: "whosoever shall have spoken a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him, but he that shall have spoken against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him either in this age or in the age to come." And so to persist in this impiety is unpardonable, because it cuts him

off from Him, by Whom he could confess: nor will he ever attain to healing pardon, who has no Advocate to plead for him. For from Him comes the invocation of the Father, from Him come the tears of penitents, from Him come the groans of suppliants, and "no one can call Jesus the Lord save in the Holy Ghost," Whose Omnipotence as equal and Whose Godhead as one, with the Father and the Son, the Apostle most clearly proclaims, saying, "there are divisions of graces but the same Spirit; and the divisions of ministrations but the same Lord; and there are divisions of operations but the same God, Who worketh all things in all."

Chapter V. The Spirit's Work is Still Continued in Thechurch.

1 By these and other numberless proofs, dearly-beloved, with which the authority of the Divine utterances is ablaze, let us with one mind be incited to pay reverence to Whitsuntide, exulting in honour of the Holy Ghost, through Whom the whole catholic Church is sanctified, and every rational soul quickened; Who is the Inspirer of the Faith, the Teacher of Knowledge, the Fount of Love, the Seal of Chastity, and the Cause of all Power. Let the minds of the faithful rejoice, that throughout the world One God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is praised by the confession of all tongues, and that that sign of His Presence, which appeared in the likeness of fire, is still perpetuated in His work and gift. For the Spirit of Truth Himself makes the house of His glory shine with the brightness of His light, and will have nothing dark nor lukewarm in His temple. And it is through His aid and teaching also that the purification of fasts and alms has been established among us. For this venerable day is followed by a most wholesome practice, which all the saints have ever found most profitable to them, and to the diligent observance of which we exhort you with a shepherd's care, to the end that if any blemish has been contracted in the days just passed through heedless negligence, it may be atoned for by the discipline of fasting and corrected by pious devotion. On Wednesday and Friday, therefore, let us fast, and on Saturday for this very purpose keep vigil with accustomed devotion, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Who with the Father and the Holy Ghost lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 40

Chapter I. The Holy Ghost's Work Did Not Begin at Pentecost, But Was Continued Because the Holy Trinity is One in Action and in Will.

1 To-day's festival, dearly-beloved, which is held in reverence by the whole world, has been hallowed by that advent of the Holy Ghost, which on the fiftieth day after the Lord's Resurrection, descended on the Apostles and the multitude of believers even as it was hoped. And there was this hope, because the Lord Jesus had promised that He should come, not then first to be the Indweller of the saints, but to kindle to a greater heat, and to fill with larger abundance the hearts that were dedicated to Him, increasing, not commencing His gifts, not fresh in operation because richer in bounty. For the Majesty of the Holy Ghost is never separate from the Omnipotence of the Father and the Son, and whatever the Divine government accomplishes in the ordering of all things, proceeds from the Providence of the whole Trinity. Therein exists unity of mercy and loving-kindness, unity of judgment and justice: nor is there any division in action where there is no divergence of will. What, therefore, the Father enlightens, the Son enlightens, and the Holy Ghost enlightens: and while there is one Person of the Sent, another of the Sender, and another of the Promiser both the Unity and the Trinity are at the same time revealed to us, so that the Essence which possesses equality and does not admit of solitariness is understood to belong to the same Substance but not the same Person.

Chapter II. Each Person in the Trinity Look Part in Our Redemption.

1 The fact, therefore, that, with the co-operation of the inseparable Godhead still perfect, certain things are performed by the Father, certain by the Son, and certain by the Holy Spirit, in particular belongs to the ordering of our Redemption and the method of our salvation. For if man, made after the image and likeness of God, had retained the dignity of his own nature, and had not been deceived by the devil's wiles into transgressing through lust the law laid down for him, the Creator of the world would not have become a Creature, the Eternal would not have entered the sphere of time, nor God the Son, Who is equal with God the Father, have assumed the form of a slave and the likeness of sinful flesh. But because "by the devil's malice death entered into the world," and captive humanity could not otherwise be set free without His undertaking our cause, Who without loss of His majesty

should both become true Man, and alone have no taint of sin, the mercy of the Trinity divided for Itself the work of our restoration in such a way that the Father should be propitiated, the Son should propitiate and the Holy Ghost enkindle. For it was necessary that those who are to be saved should also do something on their part, and by the turning of their hearts to the Redeemer should quit the dominion of the enemy, even as the Apostle says, "God sent the Spirit of His Son into our hearts, crying Abba, Father," "And where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," and "no one can call Jesus Lord except in the Holy Spirit."

Chapter III. But This Apportionment of Functions Does Not Mar the Unity of the Trinity.

1 If, therefore, under guiding grace, dearly-beloved, we faithfully and wisely understand what is the particular work of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and what is common to the Three in our restoration, we shall without doubt so accept what has been wrought for us by humiliation and in the body as to think nothing unworthy about the One and Selfsame Glory of the Trinity. For although no mind is competent to think, no tongue to speak about God, yet whatever that is which the human intellect apprehends about the essence of the Father's Godhead, unless one and the selfsame truth is held concerning His Only-begotten or the Holy Spirit, our meditations are disloyal, and beclouded by the intrusions of the flesh, and even that is lost, which seemed a right conclusion concerning the Father, because the whole Trinity is forsaken, if the Unity therein is not maintained; and That Which is different by any inequality can in no true sense be One.

Chapter IV. In Thinking Upon God, We Must Put Aside All Material Notions.

1 When, therefore, we fix our minds on confessing the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, let us keep far from our thoughts the forms of things visible, the ages of beings born in time, and all material bodies and places. Let that which is extended in space, that which is enclosed by limit, and whatever is not always everywhere and entire be banished from the heart. The conception of the Triune Godhead must put aside the idea of interval or of grade and if a man has attained any worthy thought of God, let him not dare to withhold it from any Person therein, as if to ascribe with more honour to the Father that which he does not ascribe to the Son and Spirit. It is not true Godliness to put the Father before the Only-begotten: insult to the Son is insult to the Father: what is detracted from the One is detracted from

Both. For since Their Eternity and Godhead are alike common, the Father is not accounted either Almighty and Unchangeable, if He begot One less than Himself or gained by having One Whom before He had not.

Chapter V. Christ as Man is Less Than the Father, as God Co-Equal.

¹ The Lord Jesus does, indeed, say to His disciples, as was read in the Gospel lection, "if ye loved Me, ye would assuredly rejoice, because I go to the Father, because the Father is greater than I; but those ears, which have often heard the words, "I and the Father are One," and "He that sees Me, sees the Father also," accept the saying without supposing a difference of Godhead or understanding it of that Essence which they know to be co-eternal and of the same nature with the Father. Man's uplifting, therefore, in the Incarnation of the Word, is commended to the holy Apostles also, and they, who were distressed at the announcement of the Lord's departure from them, are incited to eternal joy over the increase in their dignity; "If ye loved Me," He says, "ye would assuredly rejoice, because I go to the Father: that is, if, with complete knowledge ye saw what glory is bestowed on you by the fact that, being begotten of God the Father, I have been born of a human mother also, that being invisible I have made Myself visible, that being eternal "in the form of God" I accepted the "form of a slave," "ye would rejoice because I go to the Father. For to you is offered this ascension, and your humility is in Me raised to a place above all heavens at the Father's right hand.

² But I, Who am with the Father that which the Father is, abide undivided with My Father, and in coming from Him to you I do not leave Him, even as in returning to Him from you I do not forsake you. Rejoice, therefore, "because I go to the Father, because the Father is greater than I. For I have united you with Myself, and am become Son of Man that you might have power to be sons of God. And hence, though I am One in both forms, yet in that whereby I am conformed to you I am less than the Father, whereas in that whereby I am not divided from the Father I am greater even than Myself. And so let the Nature, which is less than the Father, go to the Father, that the Flesh may be where the Word always is, and that the one Faith of the catholic Church may believe that He Whom as Man it does not deny to be less, is equal as God with the Father.

Chapter VI. And This Equality Which the Son Has with the Father, the Holy Ghost Also Has.

¹ Accordingly, dearly-beloved, let us despise the vain and blind cunning of ungodly heretics, which flatters itself over its crooked interpretation of this sentence, and when the Lord says, "All things that the Father hath are Mine," does not understand that it takes away from the Father whatever it dares to deny to the Son, and is so foolish in matters even which are human as to think, that what is His Father's has ceased to belong to His Only-begotten, because He has taken on Him what is ours. Mercy in the case of God does not lessen power, nor is the reconciliation of the creature whom He loves a falling off of Eternal glory. What the Father has the Son also has, and what the Father and the Son have, the Holy Ghost also has, because the whole Trinity together is One God. But this Faith is not the discovery of earthly wisdom nor the conviction of man's opinion: the Only-begotten Son has taught it Himself, and the Holy Ghost has established it Himself, concerning Whom no other conception must be formed than is formed concerning the Father and the Son. Because albeit He is not the Father nor the Son, yet He is not separable from the Father and the Son: and as He has His own personality in the Trinity, so has He One substance in Godhead with the Father and the Son, filling all things, containing all things, and with the Father and the Son controlling all things, to Whom is the honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 41

Chapter I. Since the Apostles' Day Till Now Self-Restraint is the Best Defence Against the Devil's Assaults.

¹ To-day's festival, dearly-beloved, hallowed by the descent of the Holy Ghost, is followed, as you know by a solemn fast, which being a salutary institution for the healing of soul and body, we must keep with devout observance. For when the Apostles had been filled with the promised power, and the Spirit of Truth had entered their hearts, we doubt not that among the other mysteries of heavenly doctrine this discipline of spiritual self-restraint was first thought of at the prompting of the Paraclete in order that minds sanctified by fasting might be fitter for the chrism to be bestowed on them. The disciples of Christ had the protection of the Almighty aid, and the chiefs of the infant Church were guarded by the whole Godhead of the Fath-

er and the Son through the presence of the Holy Ghost. But against the threatened attacks of persecutors, against the terrifying shouts of the ungodly, they could not fight with bodily strength or pampered flesh, since that which delights the outer does most harm to the inner man, and the more one's fleshly substance is kept in subjection, the more purified is the reasoning soul.

Chapter II. The Tempter is Foiled in Attacks Upon Those Who Have Learnt These Tactics.

1 And so those teachers, who have instructed all the Church's sons by their examples and their traditions, began the rudiments of the Christian warfare with holy fasts, that, having to fight against spiritual wickednesses, they might take the armour of abstinence, wherewith to slay the incentives to vice. For invisible foes and incorporeal enemies will have no strength against us, if we be not entangled in any lusts of the flesh. The desire to hurt us is indeed ever active in the tempter, but he will be disarmed and powerless, if he find no vantage around within us from which to attack us. But who, encompassed with this frail flesh, and placed in this body of death, even one who has made much decided progress, can be so sure of his safety now, as to believe himself free from the peril of all allurements? Although Divine Grace gives daily victory to His saints yet He does not remove the occasion for fighting, because this very fact is part of our Protector's Mercy, Who has always designed that something should remain for our ever-changing nature to win, lest it should boast itself on the ending of the battle.

Chapter III. And So This Fast Comes Very Opportunely After the Feast of Whitsuntide.

1 Therefore, after the days of holy gladness, which we have devoted to the honour of the Lord rising from the dead and then ascending into heaven, and after receiving the gift of the Holy Ghost, a fast is ordained as a wholesome and needful practice, so that, if perchance through neglect or disorder even amid the joys of the festival any undue licence has broken out, it may be corrected by the remedy of strict abstinence, which must be the more scrupulously carried out in order that what was on this day Divinely bestowed on the Church may abide in us. For being made the Temple of the Holy Ghost, and watered with a greater supply than ever of the Divine Stream, we ought not to be conquered by any lusts nor held in possession by any vices in order that the habitation of Divine power may be stained with no pollution.

Chapter IV. And by Proper Use of It We Shall Win God's Favour.

1 And this assuredly it is possible for all to obtain, God helping and guiding us, if by the purification of fasting and by merciful liberality, we take pains to be set free from the filth of sins, and to be rich in the fruits of love. For whatever is spent in feeling the poor, in healing the sick, in ransoming prisoners, or in any other deeds of piety, is not lessened but increased, nor will that ever be lost in the sight of God which the loving-kindness of the faithful has expended, seeing that whatever a man gives in relief, he lays up for his own reward. For "blessed are the merciful, since God shall have mercy on them;" nor wilt shortcomings be remembered, where the presence of true religion has been attested. On Wednesday and Friday, therefore, let us fast, and on Saturday let us keep vigil in the presence of the most blessed Apostle, Peter, by whose prayers we surely trust to be set free both from spiritual foes and bodily enemies; through our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost, lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 42

Chapter I. Rome Owes Its High Position to These Apostles.

1 The whole world, dearly-beloved, does indeed take part in all holy anniversaries, and loyalty to the one Faith demands that whatever is recorded as done for all men's salvation should be everywhere celebrated with common rejoicings. But, besides that reverence which to-day's festival has gained from all the world, it is to be honoured with special and peculiar exultation in our city, that there may be a predominance of gladness on the day of their martyrdom in the place where the chief of the Apostles met their glorious end. For these are the men, through whom the light of Christ's gospel shone on thee, O Rome, and through whom thou, who wast the teacher of error, wast made the disciple of Truth. These are thy holy Fathers and true shepherds, who gave thee claims to be numbered among the heavenly kingdoms, and built thee under much better and happier auspices than they, by whose zeal the first foundations of thy walls were laid: and of whom the one that gave thee thy name defiled thee with his brother's blood. These are they who promoted thee to such glory, that being made a holy nation, a chosen people, a priestly and royal state and the head of the world through the blessed Peter's holy See thou didst attain a wider sway. by the worship of God than by earthly government. For although thou weft increased by many vic-

tories, and didst extend thy rule on land and sea, yet what thy toils in war subdued is less than what the peace of Christ has conquered.

Chapter II. The Extension of the Roman Empire Was Part of the Divine Scheme.

1 For the good, just, and Almighty God, Who has never withheld His mercy from mankind, and has ever instructed all men alike in the knowledge of Himself by the most abundant benefits, has by a more secret counsel and a deeper love shown pity upon the wanderers' voluntary blindness and proclivities to evil, by sending His co-equal and co-eternal Word. Which becoming flesh so united the Divine Nature with the human that He by lowering His Nature to the uttermost has raised our nature to the highest. But that the result of this unspeakable Grace might be spread abroad throughout the world, God's Providence made ready the Roman empire, whose growth has reached such limits that the whole multitude of nations are brought into close connexion. For the Divinely-planned work particularly required that many kingdoms should be leagued together under one empire, so that the preaching of the world might quickly reach to all people, when they were held beneath the rule of one state. And yet that state, in ignorance of the Author of its aggrandisement though it rule almost all nations, was enthralled by the errors of them all, and seemed to itself to have fostered religion greatly, because it rejected no falsehood. And hence its emancipation through Christ was the more wondrous that it had been so fast bound by Satan.

Chapter III. On the Dispersing of the Twelve, St. Peter Was Sent to Rome.

1 For when the twelve Apostles, after receiving through the Holy Ghost the power of speaking with all tongues, had distributed the world into parts among themselves, and undertaken to instruct it in the Gospel, the most blessed Peter, chief of the Apostolic band, was appointed to the citadel of the Roman empire, that the light of Truth which was being displayed for the salvation of all the nations, might spread itself more effectively throughout the body of the world from the head itself. What nation had not representatives then living in this city; or what peoples did not know what Rome had learnt? Here it was that the tenets of philosophy must be crushed, here that the follies of earthly wisdom must be dispelled, here that the cult of demons must be refuted, here that the blasphemy of all idolatries must be rooted out, here where the most persistent superstition had gathered together all the various errors which had anywhere been devised.

Chapter IV. St. Peter's Love Conquered His Fears in Coming to Rome.

1 To this city then, most blessed Apostle Peter, thou dost not fear to come, and when the Apostle Paul; the partner of thy glory, was still busied with regulating other churches, didst enter this forest of roaring beasts, this deep, stormy ocean with greater boldness than when thou didst walk upon the sea. And thou who hadst been frightened by the high priest's maid in the house of Caiaphas, hadst no fear of Rome the mistress of the world. Was there any less power in Claudius, any less cruelty in Nero than in the judgment of Pilate or the Jews' savage rage? So then it was the force of love that conquered the reasons for fear: and thou didst not think those to be feared whom thou hadst undertaken to love. But this feeling of fearless affection thou hadst even then surely conceived when the profession of thy love for the Lord was confirmed by the mystery of the thrice-repeated question. And nothing else was demanded of this thy earnest purpose than that thou shouldst bestow the food wherewith thou hadst thyself been enriched, on feeding His sheep whom thou didst love.

Chapter V. S. Peter Was Providentially Prepared for His Great Mission.

1 Thy confidence also was increased by many miraculous signs, by many gifts of grace, by many proofs of power. Thou hadst already taught the people, who from the number of the circumcised had believed: thou hadst already founded the Church at Antioch, where first the dignity of the Christian name arose: thou hadst already instructed Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, in the laws of the Gospel-message: and, without doubt as to the success of the work, with full knowledge of the short span of thy life didst carry the trophy of Christ's cross into the citadel of Rome, whither by the Divine fore-ordaining there accompanied thee the honour of great power and the glory of much suffering.

Chapter VI. Many Noble Martyrs Have Sprung from the Blood of Ss. Peter and Paul.

1 Thither came also thy blessed brother-Apostle Paul, "the vessel of election," and the special teacher of the Gentiles, and was associated with thee at a time when all innocence, all modesty, all freedom was into jeopardy under Nero's rule. Whose fury, inflamed by excess of all vices, hurled him headlong into such a fiery furnace of madness that he was the first to assail the Christian name with a general persecution, as if God's Grace could be quenched by the death of saints, whose greatest gain it was to win eternal happiness by con-

tempt of this fleeting life. "Precious," therefore, "in the eyes of the Lord is the death of His saints:" nor can any degree of cruelty destroy the religion which is founded on the mystery of Christ's cross. Persecution does not diminish but increase the church, and the Lord's field is clothed with an ever richer crop, while the grains, which fall singly, spring up and are multiplied a hundred-fold. Hence how large a progeny have sprung from these two Heaven-sown seeds is shown by the thousands of blessed martyrs, who, rivalling the Apostles' triumphs, have traversed the city far and wide in purple-clad and ruddy-gleaming throngs, and crowned it, as it were with a single diadem of countless gems.

Chapter VII. No Distinction Must Be Drawn Between the Merits of the Two.

1 And over this band, dearly-beloved, whom God has set forth for our example in patience and for our confirmation in the Faith, there must be rejoicing everywhere in the commemoration of all the saints, but of these two Fathers' excellence we must rightly make our boast in louder joy, for God's Grace has raised them to so high a place among the members of the Church, that He has set them like the twin light of the eyes in the body, whose Head is Christ. About their merits and virtues, which pass all power of speech, we must not make distinctions, because they were equal in their election alike in their toils, undivided in their death. But as we have proved for Ourselves, and our forefathers maintained, we believe, and are sure that, amid all the toils of this life, we must always be assisted in obtaining God's Mercy by the prayers of special interceders, that we may be raised by the Apostles' merits in proportion as we are weighed down by our own sins. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.

SERMON 84: CONCERNING THE NEGLECT OF THE COMMEMORATION

I. The Churchmen of Rome are in Danger of Forgetting Past Judgments and Mercies, and Becoming Ungrateful to God.

1 The fewness of those who were present has of itself shown, dearly-beloved, that the religious devotion wherewith, in commemoration of the day of our chastisement and release, the whole body of the faithful used to flock together in order to give God thanks, has on this last occasion been almost entirely neglected: and this has caused me much sadness of heart and great fear. For there is much danger of men becoming ungrateful to God, and through forgetfulness of His benefits not feeling sorrow for the chastisement, nor joy

for the liberation. Accordingly I fear, dearly-beloved, lest that utterance of the Prophet be addressed in rebuke to such men, which says, "thou hast scourged them and they have not grieved: thou hast chastised them, and they have refused to receive correction " For what amendment is shown by them in whom such aversion to God's service is found? One is ashamed to say it, but one must not keep silence: more is spent upon demons than upon the Apostles, and mad spectacles draw greater crowds than blessed martyrdoms. Who was it that restored this city to safety? that rescued it from captivity? the games of the circus-goers or the care of the saints? surely it was by the saints' prayers that the sentence of Divine displeasure was diverted, so that we who deserved wrath, were reserved for pardon.

II. Let Them Avail Themselves Betimes of God's Long-Suffering and Return to Him.

²I entreat you, beloved, let those words of the Saviour touch your hearts, Who, when by the power of His mercy He had cleansed ten lepers, said that only one of them all had returned to give thanks: meaning without doubt that, though the ungrateful ones had gained soundness of body, yet their failure in this godly duty arose from ungodliness of heart. And therefore, dearly-beloved, that this brand of ingratitude may not be applied to you, return to the Lord, remembering the marvels which He has deigned to perform among us; and ascribing. our release not, as the ungodly suppose, to the influences of the stars, but to the unspeakable mercy of Almighty God, Who has deigned to soften the hearts of raging barbarians, betake yourselves to the commemoration of so great a benefit with all the vigour of faith. Grave neglect must be atoned for by yet greater tokens of repentance. Let us use the Mercy of Him, Who has spared us, to our own amendment, that the blessed Peter and all the saints, who have always been near us in many afflictions, may deign to aid our entreaties for you to the merciful God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

SERMON 85

Chapter I. The Example of the Martyrs is Most Valuable

¹ Whilst the height of all virtues, dearly-beloved, and the fulness of all righteousness is born of that love, wherewith God and one's neighbour is loved, surely in none is this love found more conspicuous and brighter than in the blessed martyrs; who are as near to our Lord Jesus, Who died for all men, in the imitation of His love, as in the likeness of their suffering. For, although

that Love, wherewith the Lord has redeemed us, cannot be equalled by any man's kindness, because it is one thing that a man who is doomed to die one day should die for a righteous man, and another that One Who is free from the debt of sin should lay down His life for the wicked: yet the martyrs also have done great service to all men, in that the Lord Who gave them boldness, has used it to show that the penalty of death and the pain of the cross need not be terrible to any of His followers, but might be imitated by many of them. If therefore no good man is good for himself alone, and no wise man's wisdom befriends himself only, and the nature of true virtue is such that it leads many away from the dark error on which its light is shed, no model is more useful in teaching God's people than that of the martyrs. Eloquence may make intercession easy, reasoning may effectually persuade; but yet examples are stronger than words, and there is more teaching in practice than in precept.

Chapter II. The Saint's Martyrdom Described.

¹ And how gloriously strong in this most excellent manner of doctrine the blessed martyr Laurentius is, by whose sufferings to-day is marked, even his persecutors were able to feel, when they found that his wondrous courage, born principally of love for Christ, not only did not yield itself, but also strengthened others by the example of his endurance. For when the fury of the gentile potentates was raging against Christ's most chosen members, and attacked those especially who were of priestly rank, the wicked persecutor's wrath was vented on Laurentius the deacon, who was pre-eminent not only in the performance of the sacred rites, but also in the management of the church's property promising himself double spoil from one man's capture: for if he forced him to surrender the sacred treasures, he would also drive him out of the pale of true religion. And so this man, so greedy of money and such a foe to the truth, arms himself with double weapon: with avarice to plunder the gold; with impiety to carry off Christ. He demands of the guileless guardian of the sanctuary that the church wealth on which his greedy mind was set should be brought to him. But the holy deacon showed him where he had them stored, by pointing to the many troops of poor saints, in the feeding and clothing of whom he had a store of riches which he could not lose, and which were the more entirely safe that the money had been spent on so holy a cause.

Chapter III. the Description of His Sufferings Continued.

¹ The baffled plunderer, therefore, frets, and blazing out into hatred of a religion, which had put riches to such a use, determines to pillage a still greater treasure by carrying off that sacred deposit wherewith he was enriched, as he could find no solid hoard of money in his possession. He orders Laurentius to renounce Christ, and prepares to ply the deacon's stout courage with frightful tortures: and, when the first elicit nothing, fiercer follow. His limbs, torn and mangled by many cutting blows, are commanded to be broiled upon the fire in an iron framework which was of itself already hot enough to burn him, and on which his limbs were turned from time to time, to make the torment fiercer, and the death more lingering.

Chapter IV. Laurentius Has Conquered His Persecutor.

¹ Thou gainest nothing, thou prevailest nothing, O savage cruelty. His mortal frame is released from thy devices, and, when Laurentius departs to heaven, thou art vanquished. The flame of Christ's love could not be overcome by thy flames, and the fire which burnt outside was less keen than that which blazed within. Thou didst but serve the martyr in thy rage, O persecutor: thou didst but swell the reward in adding to the pain. For what did thy cunning devise, which did not redound to the conqueror's glory, when even the instruments of torture were counted as part of the triumph? Let us rejoice, then, dearly-beloved, with spiritual joy, and make our boast over the happy end of this illustrious man in the Lord, Who is "wonderful in His saints," in whom He has given us a support and an example, and has so spread abroad his glory throughout the world, that, from the rising of the sun to its going down, the brightness of his deacon's light doth shine, and Rome is become as famous in Laurentius as Jerusalem was ennobled by Stephen. By his prayer and intercession we trust at all times to be assisted; that, because all, as the Apostle says, "who wish to live holily in Christ, suffer persecution," we may be strengthened with the spirit of love, and be fortified to overcome all temptations by the perseverance of steadfast faith. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.

SERMON 86

Chapter I. The Fasts, Which the Ancient Prophets Proclaimed, are Still Necessary.

¹ Of what avail, dearly-beloved, are religious fasts in winning the mercy of God, and in renewing the fortunes of human frailty, we know from the

statements of the holy Prophets, who proclaim that justice of God, Whose vengeance the people of Israel had again and again incurred through their iniquities, cannot be appeased save by fasting. Thus it is that the Prophet Joel warns them, saying, "thus saith the Lord your God, turn ye to Me with all your heart, with fasting and weeping and mourning, and rend your hearts and not your garments, and turn ye to the Lord your God, for He is merciful and patient, and of great kindness, and very merciful," and again, "sanctify a fast, proclaim a healing, assemble the people, sanctify the church." And this exhortation must in our days also be obeyed, because these healing remedies must of necessity be proclaimed by us too, in order that in the observance of the ancient sanctification Christian devotion may gain what Jewish transgression lost.

Chapter II. Public Services are of a Higher Character Than Private.

¹ But the respect that is paid to the Divine decrees always brings a special blessing, whatever may be the extent of our voluntary services, so that publicly proclaimed celebrations are of a higher character than those which rest on private institution. For the exercise of self-restraint, which each individual imposes on himself at his own discretion, concerns the benefit of a certain portion only of the Church, but the fast which the whole Church undergoes leaves out no one from the general purification, and God's people' then become strongest, when the hearts of all the faithful meet together in one common act of holy obedience, when in the camp of the Christian army there is on all sides the same making ready for the fight and for defence. Though the cruel enemy rage in restless fury, and spread all round his hidden snares, yet he will be able to catch no one and wound no one, if he find no one off his guard, no one given up to sloth, no one inactive in works of piety.

Chapter III. The September Fast Calls Us in This Public Way to Self-Amendment.

¹ To this unconquerable strength of unity, therefore, dearly-beloved, we are even now invited by the solemn Fast of the Seventh Month, that we may lift our souls to the Lord free from worldly cares and earthly concerns. And because, always needful as this endeavour is, we cannot all adhere to it perpetually, and often through human frailty we fall back from higher things to the things of earth, let us at least on these days, which are most healthfully ordained for our correction, withdraw ourselves from worldly occupations, and

steal a little time for promoting our eternal welfare. "For in many things," as it is written, "we all stumble." And though by the daily gift of God we be cleansed from divers pollutions, yet there cling to unwary souls for the most part darker stains, which need a greater care to wash them out, a stronger effort to destroy them. And the fullest abolition of sins is obtained when the whole Church offers up one prayer and one confession. For if the Lord has promised fulfilment of all they shall ask, to the holy and devout agreement of two or three, what shall be denied to many thousands of the people who unite in one act of worship, and with one breath make their common supplications?

Chapter IV. Community of Goods and of Actions is Most Precious in God's Sight.

It is a great and very precious thing, beloved, in the Lord's sight, when Christ's whole people engage together in the same duties, and all ranks and degrees of either sex co-operate with the same intent: when one purpose animates all alike of declining from evil and doing good; when God is glorified in the works of His slaves, and the Author of all godliness is blessed in unstinted giving of thanks. The hungry are nourished, the naked are clothed, the sick are visited, and men seek not their own but "that which is another's," so long as in relieving the misery of others each one makes the most of his own means; and it is easy to find "a cheerful giver," where a man's performances are only limited by the extent of his power. By this grace of God, "which worketh all in all," the benefit: and the deserts of the faithful are both enjoyed in common. For they, whose income is not like, can yet think alike, and when one rejoices over another's bounty his feelings put him on the same level with him whose powers of spending are on a different level. In such a community there is no disorder nor diversity, for all the members of the whole body agree in one strong purpose of godliness, and he who glories in the wealth of others is not put to shame at his own poverty. For the excellence of each portion is the glory of the whole body, and when we are all led by God's Spirit, not only are the things we do ourselves our own but those of others also over the doing of which we rejoice.

Chapter V. Let Us Then Make the Best Use Possible of the Opportunity.

Let us then, dearly-beloved, lay hold upon this most sacred unity in all its blessed integrity and engage in the solemn fast with the concordant purpose of a good will. Nothing hard, nothing harsh is asked of anyone, nor is any-

thing imposed beyond our strength, whether in the discipline of abstinence or in the amount of alms. Each knows what he can and what he cannot do: let every one pay his quota, assessing himself at a just and reasonable rate, that the sacrifice of mercy be not offered sadly nor reckoned among losses. Let so much be expended on pious work, as will justify the heart, wash the conscience, and in a word profit both giver and receiver. Happy indeed is that soul and truly to be admired which in its love of doing good fears not the failing of the means, and has no distrust that He will give him money still to spend, from Whom he had what he spent in the past. But because few possess this greatness of heart, and yet it is truly a pious thing for each one not to forsake the care of his own, we, without prejudice to the more perfect sort, lay down for you this general rule and exhort you to perform God's bidding according to the measure of your ability. For cheerfulness becomes the benevolent man, who should so manage his liberality that while the poor rejoice over the help supplied, home needs may not suffer.

2 "And He that ministers seed to the sower, shall both provide bread to be eaten and multiply your seed and increase the fruits of your righteousness. On Wednesday and Friday therefore let us fast; and on Saturday keep vigil all together in the presence of the most blessed Apostle Peter, by whose merits and prayers we are sure God's mercy will be vouchsafed to us in all things through our Lord Jesus Christ, Who lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 87

Chapter I. we Must Always Be Seeking Pardon, Because We are Always Liable to Sin.

1 We proclaim the holy Fast of the Seventh Month, dearly-beloved, for the exercise of common devotions, confidently inciting you with fatherly exhortations to make Christian by your observance that which was formerly Jewish. For it is at all times suitable and in agreement with both the New and Old Testament, that the Divine Mercy should be sought with chastisement both of mind and body, because nothing is more effectual in prevailing with God than that a man should judge himself and never cease from asking pardon, knowing that he is never without fault For human nature has this flaw in itself, not planted there by the Creator but contracted by the transgressor and transmitted to his posterity by the law of generation so that from the corruptible body springs that which may corrupt the soul also. Hence al-

though the inner man be now reborn in Christ and rescued from the bonds of captivity, it has unceasing conflicts with the flesh, and has to endure resistance in seeking to restrain vain desires. And in this strife such perfect victory is not easily obtained that even those habits which must be broken off do not still encumber us, and those vices which must be slain do not wound. However wisely and prudently the mind presides as judge over the outer senses, yet even amid the pains it takes to rule and the limits it imposes on the appetites of the flesh, the temptation is always too close at hand.

2 For who so abstracts himself from pleasure or pain of body that his mind is not affected by that which delights or racks it from without? Joy and sorrow are inseparable from a man: no part of him is free from the kindlings of wrath, the over-powerings of delight, the castings down of affliction. And what turning away from sin can there be, where ruler and ruled alike are liable to the same passions? Rightly does the Lord exclaim that "the spirit indeed is willing but the flesh is weak."

Chapter II. Christ is Himself the Way, Which He Bids Us Tread.

1 And lest we should be led by despair into sheer inaction, He promises that the Divine power shall make those things possible which are to man impossible from his own lack of power: "for narrow and strait is the way which leadeth unto life," and no one could set foot on it, no one could advance one step, unless Christ by making Himself the Way unbarred the difficulties of approach: and thus the Ordainer of the journey becomes the Means whereby we are able to accomplish it, because not only does He impose the labour, but also brings us to the haven of rest. In Him therefore we find our Model of patience, in Whom we have our Hope of life eternal; for "if we suffer with Him, we shall also reign with Him," since, as the Apostle says, "he that saith he abideth in Christ ought himself also to walk as He walked." Otherwise we make a vain presence and show, if we follow not His steps, Whose name we glory in, and assuredly they would not be irksome to us, but would free us from all dangers, if we loved nothing but what He commanded us to love.

Chapter III. The Love of God Contrasted with the Love of the World.

1 For there are two loves from which proceed all wishes, as different in quality as they are different in their sources. For the reasonable soul, which cannot exist without love, is the lover either of God or the world. In the love of God there is no excess, but in the love of the world all is hurtful. And there-

fore we must cling inseparably to eternal treasures, but things temporal we must use like passers-by, that as we are sojourners hastening to return to our own land, all the good things of this world which meet us may be as aids on the way, not snares to detain us. Therefore the blessed Apostle makes this proclamation, "the time is short: it remains that those who have wives be as though they had none; and those who weep, as though they wept not; and those who rejoice, as though they rejoiced not; and those who buy, as though they possessed not; and those that use this world, as though they used it not. For the fashion of this world passes away. But as the world attracts us with its appearance, and abundance and variety, it is not easy to turn away from it unless in the beauty of things visible the Creator rather than the creature is loved; for, when He says, "thou shalt love the Lord thy God from all thy heart, and from all thy mind, and from all thy strength," He wishes us in noticing to loosen ourselves from the bonds of His love.

² And when He links the love of our neighbour also to this command, He enjoins on us the imitation of His own goodness, that we should love what He loves and do what He does. For although we be "God's husbandry and God's building," and "neither is he that planteth anything, nor he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase," yet in all things He requires our ministry and service, and wishes us to be the stewards of His gifts, that he who bears God's image may do God's will. For this reason, in the Lord's prayer we say most devoutly, "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done as in heaven, so also on earth. For what else do we ask for in these words but that God may subdue those whom He has not yet subdued, and as in heaven He makes the angels ministers of His will, so also on earth He may make men? And in seeking this we love God, we love also our neighbour: and the love within us has but one Object, since we desire the bond-servant to serve and the Lord to have rule.

Chapter IV. The Love of God Is Fostered by Good Works.

¹ This state of mind, therefore, beloved, from which earthly love is excluded, is strengthened by the habit of well-doing, because the conscience must needs be delighted at good deeds, and do willingly what it rejoices to have done. Thus it is that fasts are kept, alms freely given, justice maintained, frequent prayer resorted to, and the desires of individuals become the common wish of all. Labour fosters patience, gentleness extinguishes anger, loving-kindness treads down hatred, unclean desires are slain by holy aspirations,

avarice is east out by liberality, and burdensome wealth becomes the means of virtuous acts. But because the snares of the devil are not at rest even in such a state of things, most rightly at certain seasons of the year the renewal of our vigour is provided for: and now in particular, when one who is greedy of present good might boast himself over the clemency of the weather and the fertility of the land, and having stored his crops in great barns, might say to his soul, "thou hast much goods, eat and drink," let him take heed to the rebuke of the Divine voice, and hear it saying, "Thou fool, this night they require thy soul of thee, and the things which thou hast prepared, whose shall they be?" This should be the wise man's most anxious consideration, in order that, as the days of this life are short and its span uncertain, death may never come upon him unawares, and that knowing himself mortal he may meet his end fully prepared. And so, that this may avail both for the sanctification of our bodies and the renewal of our souls, on Wednesday and Friday let us fast, and on Saturday let us keep vigil with the most blessed Apostle Peter, whose prayers will help us to obtain fulfilment of our holy desires through Christ our Lord, Who with the Father and the Holy Ghost lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 88

Chapter I. Abstinence Must Include Discipline of the Soul as Well As of the Body.

1 There is nothing, dearly-beloved, in which the Divine Providence does not assist the devotions of the faithful. For the very elements of the world also minister to the exercise of mind and body in holiness, seeing that the distinctly varied revolution of days and months opens for us the different pages of the commands, and thus the seasons also in some sense speak to us of that which the sacred institutions enjoin. And hence, since the year's course has brought back the seventh month to us, I feel certain that your minds are spiritually aroused to keep the solemn fast; since you have learnt by experience how well this preparation purifies both the outer and the inner parts of men, so that by abstaining from the lawful, resistance becomes easier to the unlawful. But do not limit your plan of abstinence, dearly-beloved, to the mortifying of the body, or to the lessening of food alone. For the greater advantages of this virtue belong to that chastity of the soul, which not only crushes the lusts of the flesh, but also despises the vanities of worldly wisdom, as the Apostle says, "take heed that no one deceive you through philosophy and empty deceit, according to the tradition of men."

Chapter II. And in Particular We Must Abstain from Heresy, and that of Eutyches as Well as that of Nestorius.

¹ We must restrain ourselves, therefore, from food, but much more must we fast from errors that the mind, given up to no carnal pleasure, may be taken captive by no falsehood: because as in past days, so also in our own, there are not wanting enemies of the Truth, who dare to stir up civil wars within the catholic Church in order that by leading the ignorant into agreement with their ungodly doctrines they may boast of increase in numbers through those whom they have been able to sever from the Body of Christ. For what is so opposed to the Prophets, so repugnant to the Gospels, so at variance with the Apostles' teaching as to preach one single Nature in the Lord Jesus Christ born of Mary, and without respect to time co-eternal with the Eternal Father? If it is only man's nature which is to be acknowledged, where is the Godhead Which saves? if only God's, where is the humanity which is saved? But the catholic Faith, which withstands all errors, refutes these blasphemies also at the same time, condemning Nestorius, who divides the Divine from the human, and denouncing Eutyches, who nullifies the human in the Divine; seeing that the Son of True God, Himself True God, possessing unity and equality with the Father and with the Holy Ghost, has vouchsafed likewise to be true Man, and after the Virgin Mother's conception was not separated from her flesh and child-bearing, so uniting humanity to Himself as to remain immutably God;

² so imparting Godhead to man as not to destroy but enhance him by glorification. For He, Who became "the form of a slave," ceased not to be "the form of God," and He is not one joined with the other, but One in Both, so that ever since "the Word became Flesh" our faith is disturbed by no vicissitudes of circumstance, but whether in the miracles of power, or in the degradation of suffering, we believe Him to be both God, Who is Man, and Man, Who is God.

Chapter III. The Truth of the Incarnation is Proved Both by the Eucharistic Feast and by the Divine Institution of Almsgiving.

¹ Dearly-beloved, utter this confession with all your heart and reject the wicked lies of heretics, that your fasting and almsgiving may not be polluted by any contagion with error: for then is our offering of the sacrifice clean and our gifts of mercy holy, when those who perform them understand that which they do. For when the Lord says, "unless ye have eaten the flesh of the

Son of Man, and drunk His blood, ye will not have life in you," you ought so to be partakers at the Holy Table, as to have no doubt whatever concerning the reality of Christ's Body and Blood. For that is taken in the mouth which is believed in Faith, and it is vain for them to respond Amen who dispute that which is taken. But when the Prophet says, "Blessed is he, who considereth the poor and needy," he is the praiseworthy distributor of clothes and food among the poor, who knows he is clothing and feeding Christ in the poor: for He Himself says, "as long as ye have done it to one of My brethren, ye have done it to Me." And so Christ is One, True God and True Man, rich in what is His own, poor in what is ours, receiving gifts and distributing gifts, Partner with mortals, and the Quickener of the dead, so that in the "name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, of things on earth, and of things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that the Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father," living and reigning with the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON 89

Chapter I. Introduction of the Subject.

¹When our Lord Jesus Christ, beloved, was preaching the gospel of the Kingdom, and was healing divers sicknesses through the whole of Galilee, the fame of His mighty works had spread into all Syria: large crowds too from all parts of Judaea were flocking to the heavenly Physician. For as human ignorance is slow in believing what it does not see, and in hoping for what it does not know, those who were to be instructed in the divine lore needed to be aroused by bodily benefits and visible miracles: so that they might have no doubt as to the wholesomeness of His teaching when they actually experienced His benignant power. And therefore that the Lord might use outward healings as an introduction to inward remedies, and after healing bodies might work cures in the soul, He separated Himself from the surrounding crowd, ascended into the retirement of a neighbouring mountain, and called His apostles to Him there, that from the height of that mystic seat He might instruct them in the loftier doctrines, signifying from the very nature of the place and act that He it was who had once honoured Moses by speaking to him: then indeed with a more terrifying justice, but now with a holier mercifulness, that what had been promised might be fulfilled when the Prophet Jeremiah says: "behold the days come when I will complete a new covenant for the house of Israel and for the house of Judah.

² After those days, saith the Lord, I will put My laws in their minds and in their heart will I write them. He therefore who had spoken to Moses, spoke also to the apostles, and the swift hand of the Word wrote and deposited the secrets of the new covenant in the disciples' hearts: there were no thick clouds surrounding Him as of old, nor were the people frightened off from approaching the mountain by frightful sounds and lightning but quietly and freely His discourse reached the ears of those who stood by: that the harshness of the law might give way before the gentleness of grace, and "the spirit of adoption" might dispel the terrors of bondage.

Chapter II. The Blessedness of Humility Discussed

¹ The nature then of Christ's teaching is attested by His own holy statements: that they who wish to arrive at eternal blessedness may understand the steps of ascent to that high happiness. "Blessed," He saith, "are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." It would perhaps be doubtful what poor He was speaking of, if in saying "blessed are the poor" He had added nothing which would explain the sort of poor: and then that poverty by itself would appear sufficient to win the kingdom of heaven which many suffer from hard and heavy necessity. But when He says "blessed are the poor in spirit," He shows that the kingdom of heaven must be assigned to those who are recommended by the humility of their spirits rather than by the smallness of their means. Yet it cannot be doubted that this possession of humility is more easily acquired by the poor than the rich: for submissiveness is the companion of those that want, while loftiness of mind dwells with riches. Notwithstanding, even in many of the rich is found that spirit which uses its abundance not for the increasing of its pride but on works of kindness, and counts that for the greatest gain which it expends in the relief of others' hardships. It is given to every kind and rank of men to share in this virtue, because men may be equal in will, though unequal in fortune: and it does not matter how different they are in earthly means, who are found equal in spiritual possessions. Blessed, therefore, is poverty which is not possessed with a love of temporal things, and does not seek to be increased with the riches of the world, but is eager to amass heavenly possessions.

Chapter III. Scriptural Examples of Humility.

¹ Of this high-souled humility the Apostles first after the Lord, have given us example, who, leaving all that they had without difference at the voice of the

heavenly Master, were turned by a ready change from the catching of fish to be fishers of men, and made many like themselves through the imitation of their faith, when with those first-begotten sons of the Church, "the heart of all was one, and the spirit one, of those that believed:"for they, putting away the whole of their things and possessions, enriched themselves with eternal goods, through the most devoted poverty, and in accordance with the Apostles' preaching rejoiced to have nothing of the world and possess all things with Christ. Hence the blessed Apostle Peter, when he was going up into the temple, and was asked for alms by the lame man, said, "Silver and gold is not mine, but what I have that I give thee: in the Name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, arise and walk." What more sublime than this humility? what richer than this poverty? He hath not stores of money but he hath gifts of nature. He whom his mother had brought forth lame from the womb, is made whole by Peter with a word; and he who gave not Caesar's image in a coin, restored Christ's image on the man. And by the riches of this treasure not he only was aided whose lower of walking was restored, but 5,000 men also, who then believed at the Apostle's exhortation on account of the wonder of this cure. And that poor man who had not what to give to the asker, bestowed so great a bounty of Divine Grace, that, as he had set one man straight on his feet, so he healed these many thousands of believers in their hearts, and made them "leap as an hart" in Christ whom he had found limping in Jewish unbelief.

Chapter IV. The Blessedness of Mourning Discussed.

¹ After the assertion of this most happy humility, the Lord hath added, saying, "Blessed are they which mourn, for they shall be comforted." This mourning, beloved, to which eternal comforting is promised, is not the same as the affliction of this world: nor do those laments which are poured out in the sorrowings of the whole human race make any one blessed. The reason for holy groanings, the cause of blessed tears, is very different. Religious grief mourns sin either that of others' or one's own: nor does it mourn for that which is wrought by God's justice, but it laments over that which is committed by man's iniquity, where he that does wrong is more to be deplored than he who suffers it, because the unjust man's wrongdoing plunges him into punishment, but the just man's endurance leads him on to glory.

Chapter V. The Blessedness of the Meek.

¹ Next the Lord says: "blessed are the meek, for they shall possess the earth by inheritance." To the meek and gentle, to the humble and modest, and to those who are prepared to endure all injuries, the earth is promised for their possession. And this is not to be reckoned a small or cheap inheritance, as if it were distinct from our heavenly dwelling, since it is no other than these who are understood to enter the kingdom of heaven. The earth, then, which is promised to the meek, and is to be given to the gentle in possession, is the flesh of the saints, which in reward for their humility will be changed in a happy resurrection, and clothed with the glory of immortality, in nothing now to act contrary to the spirit, and to be in complete unity and agreement with the will of the soul. For then the outer man will be the peaceful and unblemished possession of the inner man: then the mind, engrossed in beholding God, will be hampered by no obstacles of human weakness nor will it any more have to be said "The body which is corrupted, weigheth upon the soul, and its earthly house presseth down the sense which thinketh many things:" for the earth will not struggle against its tenant, and will not venture on any insubordination against the rule of its governor. For the meek shall possess it in perpetual peace, and nothing shall be taken from their rights, "when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality:" that their danger may turn into reward, and what was a burden become an honour.

Chapter VI. The Blessedness of Desiring Righteousness.

¹ After this the Lord goes on to say: "blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be satisfied." It is nothing bodily, nothing earthly, that this hunger, thisthirst seeks for: but it desires to be satiated with the good food of righteousness, and wants to be admitted to all the deepest mysteries, and be filled with the Lord Himself. Happy the mind that craves this food and is eager for such drink: which it certainly would not seek for if it had never tasted of its sweetness. But hearing the Prophet's spirit saying to him: "taste and see that the Lord is sweet;" it has received some portion of sweetness from on high, and blazed out into love of the purest pleasure, so that spurning all things temporal, it is seized with the utmost eagerness for eating and drinking righteousness, and grasps the truth of that first commandment which says: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God out of all thy

heart, and out of all thy mind, and out of all thy strength:" since to love God is nothing else but to love righteousness. In fine, as in that passage the care for one's neighbour is joined to the love of God, so, too, here the virtue of mercy is linked to the desire for righteousness, and it is said:

Chapter VII. The Blessedness of the Merciful:

¹ "Blessed are the merciful, for God shall have mercy on them." Recognize, Christian, the worth of thy wisdom, and understand to what rewards thou art called, and by what methods of discipline thou must attain thereto. Mercy wishes thee to be merciful, righteousness to be righteous, that the Creator may be seen in His creature, and the image of God may be reflected in the mirror of the human heart expressed by the lines of imitation. The faith of those who do good is free from anxiety: thou shalt have all thy desires, and shalt obtain without end what thou lovest. And since through thine alms-giving all things are pure to thee, to that blessedness also thou shalt attain which is promised in consequence where the Lord says:

Chapter VIII. The Blessedness of a Pure Heart.

¹ "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." Great is the happiness, beloved, of him for whom so great a reward is prepared. What, then, is it to have the heart pure, but to strive after those virtues which are mentioned above? And how great the blessedness of seeing God, what mind can conceive, what tongue declare? And yet this shall ensue when man's nature is transformed, so that no longer "in a mirror," nor "in a riddle," but "face to face " it sees the very Godhead "as He is," which no man could see; and through the unspeakable joy of eternal contemplation obtains that "which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, neither has entered into the heart of man." Rightly is this blessedness promised to purity of heart. For the brightness of the true light will not be able to be seen by the unclean sight: and that which will be happiness to minds that are bright and clean, will be a punishment to those that are stained. Therefore, let the mists of earth's vanities be shunned. and your inward eyes purged from all the filth of wickedness, that the sight may be free to feed on this great manifestation of God. For to the attainment of this we understand what follows to lead.

Chapter IX. The Blessedness of Peace-Making.

¹ "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the sons of God." This blessedness, beloved, belongs not to any and every kind of agreement

and harmony, but to that of which the Apostle speaks: "have peace towards God;" and of which the Prophet David speaks: "Much peace have they that love Thy law, and they have no cause of offences." This peace even the closest ties of friendship and the exactest likeness of mind do not really gain, if they do not agree with God's will. Similarity of bad desires, leagues in crimes, associations of vice, cannot merit this peace. The love of the world does not consort with the love of God, nor doth he enter the alliance of the sons of God who will not separate himself from the children of this generation. Whereas they who are in mind always with God, "giving diligence to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace," never dissent from the eternal law, uttering that prayer of faith, "Thy will be done as in heaven so on earth." These are "the peacemakers," these are thoroughly of one mind, and fully harmonious, and are to be called sons "of God and joint-heirs with Christ," because this shall be the record of the love of God and the love of our neighbour, that we shall suffer no calamities, be in fear of no offence, but all the strife of trial ended, rest in God's most perfect peace, through our Lord, Who, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. Amen.

PART FIVE

Shorter Writings of the Fourth to Seventh Centuries

*Short pieces by Pacian, Philostorgius, Ambrose the Syrian, John
of Epiphania, Licinian of Cartagena and Venantius Fortu-
natus.*

Preface

PACIAN OF BARCELONA

d. c. AD 391

Bishop of Barcelona.

PREFACE

¹The works of S. Pacian, which have been here subjoined, as they are kindred in subject, so may they be in some sort regarded as further fruits of the mind of S. Cyprian, whose writings S. Pacian quotes with reverence, and from whom he seems to have derived some of the texts he employs, his citations agreeing verbally also sometimes with S. Cyprian. Of his life all which is known is contained in the few words of S. Jerome, who dedicated his book *de viris illustribus* to his son Dexter, a Prefect of the Praetorium and his own friend at whose suggestion it was written; ²"Pacian, Bp. of Barcelona in the Pyrenees, of chastened eloquence, eminent for his life as for his writings, wrote various works, of which is the *Cervus* and against the Novatians. He died lately in the reign of Theodosius, in extreme old age;" i. e. before A. 392. (in which, the 14th of Theod., S. Jerome wrote this book, *Praef.*) He was born then probably about 30 years after the martyrdom of S. Cyprian, was a younger contemporary of Hosius, and through him joined on to the Council of Eliberis, and the restoration of discipline in the Spanish Church. His memory was kept with great affection at Barcelona on May 9, on which he is commemorated in the *Martyrologium Romanum*, in words taken from S. Jerome. It is of the good Providence of God, that, of the same father, works should have come down, vindicating the doctrine of the Church on penitence,----as a doctrine, against the heresy of Novatian,----practically, against the neglect of careless sinners. The Epistles to Sympronian and the exhortation to Penitence, combined, shew how compatible are tenderness to the sinner with a strict and, as it would now seem, severe doctrine of penitence; that not earnest calls to a self-avenging and self-chastening penitence, but

the denial of its fruits and of the power of the keys, is the essence of Novatianism. Well versed as S. Pacian was in the writings of S. Cyprian, who also insists on the same acts of penitence, his language approaches more both in style and vividness of expostulation to that of Tertullian, whose work on penitence he claims, as having been written by him while a Catholic. It is hoped that from this very combination, his works might be useful in these days, in which, for want of that more frequent special application of the power of the keys, which our Church suggests, any mention of more earnest penitence is thought to partake of the hard and uncompassionating heresy of Novatian.

3 It remains to add, that for the Translation and the basis of the Index of S. Cyprian the Editors are indebted to the Rev. H. Carey, M.A. of Worcester College; and for S. Pacian with the Index, to the Rev. C. H. Collyns, M.A. Student of Christ Church. For S. Cyprian the Benedictine text has been adopted, except in some few cases, (which have been noticed) in which that of Bp. Fell seemed preferable. For S. Pacian the very valuable readings, noted in the margin of the Edition of Cardinal Aguirre, (Collect. Maxima Concil. Hisp. t. ii.) from a Vatican MS. of the ninth century, formerly belonging to the Queen of Sweden, have been employed. Almost all its readings are improvements of the text; many places they clear up, in which before the meaning was altogether obscured. They are marked in the margin as V. or Vat. Some collations on the margin of the Edit. Par. 1538. Guillard. in the Bodleian, derived from a MS. in the Royal Library at Paris, (the source of which Dr. Bandinel kindly pointed out to the Editor) have also been used. The MS. although a late one, in several places agrees with the Vatican MS. They are marked R. The Editions were also consulted for the Editor by Mr. Collyns. The collations of the Vat. MS. are wanting on the De Baptismo, but neither had the text the same difficulty.

4 E. B. P. Ember Week after Whitsunday, 1844. S. PACIAN I. Ep. to Sympronian, of the Catholic Name 319 II-----on Novatian's Letter 327 III ----- against the Treatise of the Novatians 336 Exhortation to Penitence 364 On Baptism 378 Indices to S. Cyprian 385 Indices to S. Pacian 413 [Note that in the original volume the works of S. Pacian were only an appendix to the Epistles of S. Cyprian. Material relating to Cyprian only is omitted]

Hypomnemata

AMBROSE THE SYRIAN

6th century

Author of the Syriac Hypomnemata, an extract of which Cureton published.

HYPOMNEMATA

HYPOMNEMATA,

¹ WHICH AMBROSE, A CHIEF MAN OF GREECE, WROTE; WHO BECAME A CHRISTIAN: AND ALL HIS FELLOW-SENATORS RAISED A CLAMOUR AGAINST HIM; AND HE FLED FROM THEM, AND WROTE AND SHEWED THEM ALL THEIR FOLLY; AND AT THE BEGINNING OF HIS DISCOURSE HE ANSWERED AND SAID: Do not suppose, Men and Greeks, that my separation from your customs has taken place without a befitting and just cause; for I have investigated the whole of your wisdom of poetry, and rhetoric, and philosophy; and when I found not any thing right or worthy of the Deity, I was desirous of investigating the wisdom of the Christians also, and of learning and seeing who they are, and when, and what is this its recent and strange production, or on what good things they rely who follow this wisdom, so as to speak the truth. ² Men and Greeks, when I had made the inquiry I found not any folly, as in the famous Homer, who says respecting the wars of the two trials, "for the sake of Helen many of the Greeks perished at Troy, far from their beloved home." For first they say respecting Agamemnon their king, that through, the folly of Menelaus his brother, and the vehemence of his madness, and the incontinence of his lust, he was desirous to go and rescue Helen from a leprous shepherd: but when the Greeks had been victorious in the war, and had burnt some cities, and taken some women and boys captive, and the land was filled with blood, and the rivers were filled with dead bodies, Agamemnon himself too was found to be taken captive by passion for Briseis: and Patroclus was slain, and Achilles, the son of the goddess Thetis, lamented over him; and Hector

was dragged; and Priam, together with Hecuba, wept over the loss of their children; and Astyanax, the son of Hector, was thrown from the walls of Ilium, and his mother, Andromache, Ajax the great took; and that which had been captured in war after a little while was consumed in lust.

3 But respecting the perfidy of Ulysses, the son of Laertes, and his murders, who shall tell? for in one day his house became the grave for a hundred and ten suitors, and was filled with dead bodies and blood; who also by his vice has gained praises, because through the excess of his cunning he concealed himself: who also, as ye say, sailed over the sea, and heard not the voice of the Sirens, because he stopped his ears with wax. But Achilles himself, the son of Peleus, who leaped over the river, and put to flight the Trojans, and slew Hector, this your champion became the slave of Philoxena, and was vanquished by an Amazon while she lay dead: and he stripped off his armour, and put on the bridal dress, and at last was sacrificed to love. 4 So much, then, with respect to heroes; and I should have been satisfied for Homer to be left to thee, if thy vain words had only proceeded to speak of men, and not concerning the gods, because, touching the gods, I am ashamed even to utter them; for the fabled accounts are very wicked and horrible, and surpassing all belief, and necessarily ridiculous; for a man must laugh when he approaches them, nor will he believe when he hears them: gods, indeed! who have not one of them observed the laws of righteousness, and chastity, and modesty, but are adulterers, and have lived in dissipation, and yet have not been condemned to death, as it was just. For the Lord of the gods, that "Father of gods and men," according to what you say, was not only an adulterer, for this would have been too little, but he also slew his own father, and was a paederast. First, then, I will speak concerning his adultery, although I am ashamed, for he appeared to Antiope like a Satyr; and he dropped down upon Danae like gold; and to Europa he became a bull, and a swan to Leda. But the love of Semele, the mother of Bacchus, proved both his own importunity, and also the jealousy of the chaste Juno. And he caught up Ganymede the Phrygian like an eagle, in order that a beautiful and becoming boy might be his cupbearer.

5 Moreover that Lord of the gods slew Saturn his own Father, in order that he might seize upon his kingdom. Oh! of how many censures is the Lord of the gods guilty, and to how many deaths is he obnoxious, as an adulterer, and as a sorcerer, and as a paederast? Read to the Lord of the gods,

oh men and Greeks, the law respecting parricide, and the sentence against adultery, and the shame of the obscenity of paederastism. For how many adulterers has the Lord of the gods instructed? For how many paederasts, and sorcerers, and murderers? for if a man be found to be guilty of lust, he shall not be put to death, because he does this to be like the Lord of the gods; and if he be detected as a murderer, he has an apology in the Lord of the gods; and if a man be a sorcerer, he has learnt it from the Lord of the gods; and if he be a paederast, the Lord of the gods is his advocate.

⁶ But if a man should speak about courage, Achilles was braver than the Lord of the gods, because he slew him who had slain his friend; but the Lord of the gods wept over Sarpendon, his own son, while he was dying, being very sorry. And Pluto, who also is a god, ravished Proserpine, but the mother of Proserpine was in great trepidation, and searching for her daughter in every desert. And Alexander Paris, when he had carried off Helen, received the judgment of vengeance, as being her lover by force; but Pluto, who was a god, and ravished Proserpine, remained without any disgrace. And Menelaus, who was a man, knew how to go in search of Helen his wife, but Ceres, who was a goddess, knew not where to look for her daughter Proserpine. Let Vulcan pass over his jealousy, and be not envious, for he is forgotten because he is old and lame; but Mars is loved because he is a youth and beautiful in stature. But there was the reproach of adultery because Vulcan was not aware of the love of his wife Venus and Mars; but when he did know, Vulcan said, "Come, see a ridiculous and foolish deed, how me, who am her own, Venus, the daughter of the Lord of the gods, is disgracing me, who am her own, and honouring Mars who is a stranger to her. And is it not a shameful thing for the Lord of the gods, because he loved those which were like these? And Penelope continued as a widow twenty years, because she was expecting her husband Ulysses, and was employed with works, and diligent in occupations during the time that all those suitors were urging her; but Venus, who is a goddess, while her husband Vulcan was present with her, abandoned him because she was overcome by love for Mars.

⁷ Hear, men and Greeks, which of you would dare to do this, or could even bear to behold it. And if one should dare, what torment is reserved for him, or what stripes? Nevertheless, Saturn, who is a god, who ate up all those children, is not even brought before a tribunal. They say, however, that the Lord of the gods, his son, only escaped from him, and the madness of his

father Saturn was deceived, because Rhea his wife, the mother of the Lord of the gods, gave him a stone instead of his son the Lord of the gods, to prevent him from devouring him. Hear, men and Greeks, and reflect upon this madness; for the brute beast, that feedeth in the field knoweth its own food, and will not touch strange food; likewise the animals and the reptiles too, and the birds also, know their own food; but respecting men it is not meet for me to say any thing: you know indeed their food, and understand; but Saturn, who is a god, not knowing his proper food, swallowed a stone. Wherefore, oh men and Greeks, if ye be willing to have such gods, do not blame one another whenever ye do such things as these; and be not thou angry against thy son when he purposeth to kill thee, because he is imitating the Lord of the gods.

8 And if a man be guilty of adultery with thy wife, why dost thou reckon him as an enemy, and yet worshippest and servest the Lord of the gods, who resembles him? And why dost thou blame thy wife, when she is guilty of adultery and is without punishment, but honourest Venus and settest her in temples? Persuade Solon to break his own laws, Lycurgus also to abstain from making laws, and let the judges of the Areopagus break theirs and not judge again, nor let there be any more councils for the Athenians. Let the Athenians dismiss Socrates, for no one resembling Saturn has ever been brought before him. Neither let them put Orestes, who slew his own mother, to death; for, lo! the Lord of the gods has done worse things than these to his father. Oedipus also too hastily inflicted injury upon himself, who put out his eyes because he had slain his father unawares, because he did not look to the Lord of the gods, who killed his father, and remained without any punishment. The Corinthians also expelled Medaea, because she had slain her children, but they serve and honour Saturn, who ate up his own children. And as for Alexander Paris, he did right in ravishing Helen in order that he might imitate the god Pluto, who carried off Proserpine.

9 Let men be freed from the laws, and let cities belong to lascivious women, and be the abode of sorcerers; for this reason, oh men and Greeks, because your gods are debased like yourselves, but your warriors are brave as your dramas relate, and your histories proclaim; respecting the furies of Orestes, and the bed of Thyestes, and the pollution of Pelops; and concerning Danaus, who through his jealousy slew and cut off some of his sons in their banqueting; and also the feasting of Thyestes upon a corpse in vengeance,

and Procne up to this time crying as she flies, and also her sister piping with her tongue cut out. But what is it fit to say respecting the murder of Oedipus, who married his own mother, and whose brothers, who were also his own sons, slew one another? ¹⁰ And I hate also your festivals, for there is no moderation there to the sweet pipes that drive away care, which play with a tremulous motion, and the preparation of the unguents with which ye anoint yourselves) and the garlands which ye put on. And in the abundance of your wickedness ye have forgotten shame, your understandings also are blinded, ye have been tempted too by importunity, and have loved the bed of lying. And if these things had been said by another, perhaps they would have brought an accusation against him that they are not true; but your own poets declare them, and your songs and dramas proclaim them. Come, then, and be instructed by the Word of God, and by consoling wisdom: rejoice and partake of it: know too the King incorruptible, and become acquainted with his servants, which boast not in armour, neither make slaughter: because our Captain delighteth not in the multitude of an army, neither in the horsemen and in their beauty, nor in the illustriousness of family; but he delighteth in the pure soul, which a wall of justice surrounds. But the Word of God is always instructing us, and the promises of our good King and the works of God. Oh the soul that is purchased by the power of the Word! oh the trumpet of peace without war! oh the doctrine quenching the natural fire of the soul, which maketh not poets, nor produceth philosophers, nor the crowd-followed orator; but goeth and maketh the dead pass over that he die not, and raiseth men from earth as Gods, to the region which is above the firmament. Come, be instructed, and be like me, for I also have been like you.

¹¹ [Selected endnotes moved here and numbered] 1. P. 61. M. Renan has inserted a few lines from this in the *Journal Asiatique*. The text is correctly printed, with the exception of.... for..., but he has erred greatly in the translation.... 2. P. 61, L. 11. Wars of the two trials. I suppose the author means, of the gods as well as the men engaged in it; to which also reference is made in the *Cohortatio ad Gentiles*, c. ii. edit. Otto, p. 24; and the passage of Homer, *Il. xx. v. 66-72* cited,... Compare Tertullian, *Ad Nationes* i. c. 10, p. 329. 3. L. 12. For the sake of Helen, &c. Homer, *Il. ii. v. 177*. 4. L. 16. A leprous shepherd. The Syriac proves the antiquity of the Greek reading *leprou-*, which has been suspected by critics. See Otto's notes. 5. P. 63. Compare what is said

here relative to the Gods with Justin Martyr, Apol. i, c. 21. See also Augustin, De Civitate Dei ii, c. 7, 8; and Joh. Ludov. Vives' notes to these chapters: edit. Fancof. 1061.

12 6. L. 13. Father of Gods and men. The common expression "of Homer...", which Ennius among the Latins translated "patrum divumque hominunque." See Cicero, De Nat. Deor. p. 104. 7. L. 15. Concerning his adultery. Compare the passage of Homer, Il.xiv.315-327, in which Jupiter recounts his amours to Juno.: cited also in the Cohortatio ad Gent. c. 2. p. 22. 8. P. 64, L. 6. Of how many censures is the Lord of the gods guilty, &c. Compare Tertullian, Apol. c. 11, vol. i. p. 159:... 9. P. 65, L. 3. Wept over Sarpedon. He alludes to the following lines of Homer, Il. xvi. 433, which Athenagoras also quotes, Legat. c. 21... This is also quoted in the Cohort. ad Gent. c. 2. p. 20.

Fragments of the History

JOHN OF EPIPHANIA

c. AD 600

Byzantine historian.

FRAGMENTS OF THE HISTORY

John of Epiphania, On the submission of Chosroës the Younger to Maurice the Roman Emperor (date) JOHN OF EPIPHANIA: PREFACE TO HIS HISTORY Very few details have been preserved for us of the writer of this history. Our only sources for information about him and his life derive from a short reference to him in the Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Book V Chapter 42 and what few details he provides about himself in his short preface. All that we can say is that he was somehow related to Evagrius with whom he shared the similar titles of *scholastikou* and *apo uparchon/apo eparchon*, and that he also served as a legal advisor to Gregory, the Patriarch of Antioch, therefore being present at his meeting and trips involving the Persians from which he learned what he wrote. Of John's history, only a fragment remains containing the first five chapters in the Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1056 of which it occupies folio 94 until the manuscript breaks off six folios later from there being too badly mutilated. What happened to the rest of the work is a mystery.

John's history seems to have found a small audience in its time. Written perhaps a year or two after the restoration of Chosroës in 591 A.D., it was made use of in certainty by Evagrius Scholasticus before he finished in 593/4 A.D. and Theophylact Simocatta, whose work the Whitby's date to the reign of Heraclius (1). After this century, subsequent writers seem to have made little use or none of it. Theophanes the Confessor writing in the early ninth century apparently makes use only of Theophylact Simocatta and Evagrius for the information he reproduces concerning the submission of Chosroës. In addition, Photius in his great Library makes no mention of John though

he does of Evagrius with whom (perhaps) he confused John because of their similar titles, but this seems quite unlikely given that subsequently the great compiler of histories, John Zonaras, in the mid-twelfth century makes no use of him, but of almost exclusively Simocatta in his account (2). Furthermore, the fact that his history was apparently unknown to the extractors of the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (945-959 A.D.) who extracted many other works of the sixth century now lost also shows the small breadth of his readership and almost suggests that he may never have published the work, of which we possess this small fragment.

However, because his work was made use of by Evagrius and Theophylact, we can at least construct and suggest what his history must of looked like. We have the beginning and that allows us to see where to begin reconstructing. Evagrius V.6-14 obviously derive from John with a few of Evagrius's own digressions into the ancient history and characteristics of some of the places such as that of Nisibis V.9 and Apamea V.10 as well as some ecclesiastical events and the madness of Justin II, which he considerably elaborates V.11. From his text we can also see what was present in the lacunae of our text. However, after this point where the manuscript breaks off, what came next is open to conjecture, but probably Evagrius follows it in summary continuing to add his own comments in chapters 14-15 and 19-22. As Evagrius ends his fifth book with the accession of Maurice, we can suppose that there too was where John ended his first part before proceeding on to what he knew.

Of Book VI by Evagrius, Chapters 1-16 follow John's work more or less. The speech given by Gregory to the soldiers in 12 is probably taken word for word from John's history and therefore should be viewed as an example of John's style of writing speeches, which becomes useful for dealing with Theophylact Simocatta's long and tiresome discourses. Whatever the case, the letters provided in Simocatta as having passed between Varam and Chosroës almost certainly derive from John who would have had a chance to get his hands on the originals while in Persia. The subsequent information on the cross and the inscription on it as it appears in both histories also derives from John. Finally, in all probability we can say that John's history ended where his Evagrius's did with the death of Gregory while returning from Persia, since this would seem the ideal place. The text below was translated from K. Mäller, *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, vol. 4 (1851), p.272f.

1. Michael and Mary Whitby (trans.), *The History of Theophylact Simocatta: An English Translation with Introduction*, Oxford University Press, (1986) pg. xiii 2. This is evidenced by the language and the rewording of Theophylact v.15.5-8 in Zonaras p. 189 *History of the submission of Chosroës the Younger to Maurice the Roman Emperor* By John of Epiphania the Scholastic and the *Expraefectus* [Translated by Scott Kennedy]

PART I

1. What the Romans and Medians felt and did making war on each other during the reign of the Roman emperor Justinian has been described by Agathias of Myrina, a preeminent man amongst the rhetors of Byzantium recording after Procopius of Caesarea the events happening involving the barbarians. As it is of great importance that which we have heard: the king of the Persians taking flight from his own land after having been deposed and submitting to the Roman State in order to gain the aid of the emperor Maurice in restoring himself to the throne, I have embarked upon this work not given confidence to do so by any particular eloquence on my part, nor by any previous study, but so that such a thing as this should not be left unspoken for posterity, since if the greatest deeds are not preserved in words and committed to memory, they will be extinguished by the darkness of silence. For words provide life as things wear away. Having been involved in some of these events and spoken with Chosroës and other particularly mentionable Medians (I was previously an advisor to Gregory, the archpriest of the city of Antioch, accompanying him frequently to meetings with them, and after the end of the war, I went with Gregory to Persia when he was promoting concord amongst them), I do not believe it is misplaced for me to narrate these events, as I am able to, to those who do not know about them.

As it is necessary to know precisely about important previous events to learn about what follows, I feel I must make mention of the events that took place prior to me in brief including the revolt that took place against Hormisdas the father of Chosroës before proceeding to the rest of the work reminding those who know about these things of the actions taken and giving a starting point for those who have not heard anything at all of them to learn clearly before proceeding to subsequent events. 2. When Justinian after reigning for thirty nine years ended his life, he died in peace with other nations including the Medians and was succeeded by his nephew Justin the younger under whom the peace treaties Justinian had made with Chosroës,

the Persian king, for a period of fifty five years after having waged war on another, which were in their twentieth year during the seventh year of Justin's reign and would reach their end in the ninth year of the emperor Maurice, broke down. The causes of their strife with one another were as such: the Romans were displeased that the Persians intending to Homerites (an Indic race allied and subject to them), with them having no choice, had made an attack on them in the present period of peace. Besides this, as the Turks had sent envoys to the Romans to which the emperor Justin had responded sending Zemarchus, a member of the Senate, back with them again, the Persians planned to bribe the Alans through whose lands they were about to make their passage to become an obstruct Zemarchus and the Romans and Turks with him. The Medians had a similar way about it finding causes for war with the Romans as the Armenians, their vassals, had risen up in revolt, killed their ruler by the name of Surenes, and gone over to the Roman Empire with the Romans welcoming them and offering them an alliance. Their contentiousness increased even further (for whoever wishes to learn the most disgraceful reason, though true) when Justin did not deem to pay the Medians the five hundred pounds of gold each year previously agreed to under the peace treaties and let the Roman State remain forever a tributary of the Persians.

3. As the time drew near for the previously agreed sums of money to be taken to Chosroës (it had been agreed to pay the amount for ten years time), nothing was done as had been agreed and instead Justin, the Roman emperor, sent in haste to the east his general Marcian, who was amongst the patricians of the Senate and was related to him being not unskilled in war and exceptionally brave. Crossing the Euphrates River, Marcian came to Osroëne already when the summer was underway, and with the barbarians having no forewarning of war he sent a contingent of three thousand men to Arzanene entrusting Theodore and Sergius, who were descended from the family of Rabdios, with command of them as well as sending Juveninus, the commander of the legions in Chalkis. They invaded suddenly ravaging Persian land and returned carrying off a considerable amount of plunder in all haste. After the winter season, Marcian gathered together his forces again and set out from Dara meeting with the barbarians in front of the city of Nisibis led by Varaman, who was in command of the companies stationed there. A fierce battle followed in which the Romans turned to the barbarians to

flight vigorously near the Persian place called Sarmathion bringing down many of them then making an attempt at the fortress of Thebythion where they spent ten days. Unable to seize it, they returned to the city of Dara while it was still spring and again invaded enemy land planning to besiege Nisibis with the approval of the emperor Justin.

4. While they were encamped near the city, King Chosroës set out from Babylon with an army of Medians crossing the Tigris River and passing over empty land, as the Roman had not heard of the king's movements, and came upon the Persian fortress of Amvaron (it is five days distant from the city of Circesion), where he dispatched Adaarman, as the general was called, to cross the Euphrates River there and plunder Roman territory with thousands of his own Medians and nomadic barbarians. At the same time, he urged Avorras on to the Romans besieging Nisibis. When Adaarman reached the city of Circesion, he crossed the Euphrates and began to forage Roman lands without any restraint. For due to the previous peace and quiet that they had enjoyed during the reign of Justinian, their war time preparation had receded and their virility completely vanished. As no one dared to come to blows with the barbarians, Adaarman was able to come as far as the city of Antioch ravaging the sites and fields near the city and then advancing on Coele Syria. He made camp not far from the great city of Apamea, to whose citizens' embassies he promised to enter the city and leave it unharmed, but then actually entering it where the Persians seized their possessions, enslaved its inhabitants, and put the entire city to the flame then returning in all haste to their own land. As a result of these actions, the emperor Justin dispatched Acacius (the Romans are accustomed to add the name of Archelaus) removing Marcian, who was still besieging Nisibis, from office because he had doubts about his loyalty as the city had not yet been taken control of.

5. As the Romans were retreating, they came to a fortress on the border named Mardes by its inhabitants where King Chosroës suddenly...laying siege himself...and the water of the city...constructing great (the word is unclear -????) by the city wall and making use of projectile launching machines against it, and because no external aid came for its inhabitants, he captured the city with the Medians violently mounting onto the city walls. He plundered the entire city and enslaved its inhabitants including even John the son of Timostratus, a man of surpassing strength and honor who had been entrusted with the rule and administration of the city, and then left

behind a considerable garrison and returned home while the Romans were still holed up at the fortress of Mardes with Magnus in command, who also was in charge of imperial monies. Not many days later, Justin came down suddenly with a physical ailment and fearing for it all made a truce in that year with the Persians. As his ailment grew worse, he decided to announce his adoption of Tiberius, who commanded his bodyguards (Romans call this person the comes excubitorum) and proclaimed him Caesar handing over to him the cares of government. Of all of Justin's actions, this one, besides providing a good and indeed salutary period of rule, proved responsible for a great number of fair things for Roman affairs. When it happened that Tiberius took charge in these present circumstances, lest some terrible harm befall...to save and the starting points...

seemed...Theodore who was in charge of the affairs of Armenia holding many other not ignoble offices being very learned and quite well able to see to what was necessary, so he sent off the barbarians revealing the things being done about him according to his arrangement and charging Chosroës to make a truce. A short while later, he sent off in haste to the east likewise Justinian, the son of Germanus, who numbered amongst the patricians of the Senate, entrusting him with charge of the war as he had been a man raised in the ways of war coming to maturity in it being subject neither to the rashness of youth, nor the frailty of age. Justinian came in all haste to the east taking care for the good conduct and order of his soldiers. Tiberius the Caesar then sent an army not small in number off in speed taking great care for its preparation for war by allocating a boundless sum of money and raising a mighty and war-like number from the nations taking great care for the coming war. As the duration of the truce was nearing its end, the Persians gathered themselves near Dara and came upon the city of Constantina, which Dara is four hundred and ninety stades to the west of (1).

1. Unfortunately, most of this passage must derive from the History of Theophanes of Byzantium who covered the reigns of Justin and Tiberius, which is summarized by Photius in Codex 64 and also the fragments preserved of Menander the Guardsmen 14-20 who covered the same period of time. This text was translated by Scott Kennedy, 2008, and kindly released by him into the public domain.

Letter 3 : Against those who maintain that letters fell from heaven onto the altar of the church of St. Peter

LICINIAN OF CARTAGENA

d. c. AD 602

Bishop of Cartagena in Spain, correspondent of Gregory the Great.

LETTER 3 : AGAINST THOSE WHO MAINTAIN THAT LETTERS FELL FROM
HEAVEN ONTO THE ALTAR OF THE CHURCH OF ST. PETER

The third letter of Licinianus, bishop of Cartagena, to Vincent, bishop of the island of Ibiza. — Against those who maintain that letters fell from heaven on the shrine of Saint Peter of Rome (now for the first time published from the manuscript of the church of Toledo).

¹By the charity of Christ, we have not been prevented by the difficulties of various tribulations, be they what they may, from sending some words to your Holiness, who has urged us to accept your letter, and to rejoice in your health. But we are not a little saddened by the fact that, as your writing indicates, you have accepted a certain letter, which you forwarded to us, and that you had it read aloud from the tribunal of the people. I, for one, when I had only just received what you sent me, read the beginning of that letter in the presence of the messenger himself. I wasn't patient and didn't stand on my dignity; I didn't read the repellent message throughout. I immediately tore it apart and threw it on the floor, surprised that you could have believed this. After the prophecies of the prophets, and the gospels of Christ, and the apostles and their letters, I don't know who of all people, could believe a letter written under the name of Christ was really from him, wherein no noble word, no sensible doctrine could be found.

²In the first place we read in that letter that the day of the Lord is to be maintained. Who is a Christian, then, who would not hold it most revered, not because of the day itself, but because of the resurrection of our Lord Jesus

Christ, who on that day was resurrected from the dead? But, as I see it, this new 'prophecy' says this in order to compel us to live like the Jews, and that nobody may on that day prepare the necessary food for himself, or walk on the road. But let your Holiness decide on what is worst. If only the Christian people, if they do not visit the church on that day, would do other works, instead of go dancing. It were better for men to tend their garden, to go on the road, for women to hold the spinning staff, and not, as I said, to dance, to jump, and to badly twist ones God-given limbs and to call for stories and songs to raise the passions.

3 Therefor it is not fitting of your Holiness to believe that letters are now sent to us by Christ. What is said in the (books of the) prophets, by himself and by his Apostles is sufficient. Because even to them he did not send a letter from heaven, but the Holy Spirit filled their hearts. Except for the ten commandments, that were given miraculously in the stone tablets, no letters were ever sent from heaven to prophets or apostles. Do not believe things that were never made to be read: for even if they were made, after the proclamation of the gospels they are no longer necessary. And if by chance this novelty pleases you, because this letter, as the forger writes, came from heaven on to the altar of Christ dedicated to the holy apostle Peter, know that it is a work of the Devil, and every divine scripture, letter, or letters are heavenly, and are transmitted to us from Heaven.

4 Repair then what your Holiness rashly believed, and destroy this letter, if you still possess it, in the presence of the people. And this requires penitence from you, that you had it read from the tribunals. For according to the learning of the blessed apostle, as what he wrote among other things to the Galatians: If someone preaches to you something other than that what you have accepted, let him be anathema. But as well as the gospel, the entire law and the prophets up to John prophesy this. If in the future some new or unusual things are spread, your Holiness will know they are to be completely cast aside and detested. Pray for us, holy lord and dear brother in Christ.

On Easter

VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS

c. AD 530–609

Poet and bishop of Poitiers.

ON EASTER

A Poem of Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus

1 The seasons blush varied with the flowery, fair weather, and the gate of the pole lies open with greater light. His path in the heaven raises the fire-breathing sun higher, who goes forth on his course, and enters the waters of the ocean. Armed with rays traversing the liquid elements, in this brief night he stretches out the day in a circle. The brilliant firmament puts forth its clear countenance, and the bright stars show their joy. The fruitful earth pours forth its gifts with varied increase, when the year has well returned I its vernal riches. Soft beds of violets paint the purple plain; the meadows are green with plants, and the plant shines with its leaves. By degrees gleaming brightness of the flowers comes forth; all the herbs smile with their blossoms. The seed being deposited, the corn springs up far and wide in the fields, promising to be able to overcome the hunger of the husbandman. Having deserted its stem, the vine-shoot bewails its joys; the vine gives water only from the source from which it is wont to give wine. The swelling bud, rising with tender down from the back of its mother, prepares its bosom for bringing forth. Its foliage having been torn off in the wintry season, the verdant grove now renews its leafy shelter. Mingled together, the willow, the fir, the hazel, the osier, the elm, the maple, the walnut, each tree applauds, delightful with its leaves.

2 Hence the bee, about to construct its comb, leaving the hive, humming over the flowers, carries off honey with its leg. The bird which, having closed its song, was dumb, sluggish with the wintry cold, returns to its strains. Hence Philomela attunes her notes with her own instruments, and the air

becomes sweeter with the re-echoed melody. Behold, the favour of the reviving world bears witness that all gifts have returned together with its Lord. For in honour of Christ rising triumphant after His descent to the gloomy Tartarus, the grove on every side with its leaves expresses approval, the plants with their flowers express approval. The light, the heaven, the fields, and the sea duly praise the God ascending above the stars, having crushed the laws of hell. Behold, He who was crucified reigns as God over all things, and all created objects offer prayer to their Creator. Hail, festive day, to be revered throughout the world, on which God has conquered hell, and gains the stars! The changes of the year and of the months, the bounteous light of the days, the splendour of the hours, all things with voice applaud. Hence, in honour of you, the wood with its foliage applauds; hence the vine, with its silent shoot, gives thanks. Hence the thickets now resound with the whisper of birds; amidst these the sparrow sings with exuberant love.

³O Christ, Thou Saviour of the world, merciful Creator and Redeemer, the only offspring from the Godhead of the Father, flowing in an indescribable manner from the heart of Thy Parent, Thou self-existing Word, and powerful from the mouth of Thy Father, equal to Him, of one mind with Him, His fellow, coeval with the Father, from whom at first the world derived its origin! Thou dost suspend the firmament, Thou heapest together the soil, Thou dost pour forth the seas, by whose government all things which are fixed in their places flourish. Who seeing that the human race was plunged in the depth of misery, that Thou mightest rescue man, didst Thyself also become man: nor wert Thou willing only to be born with a body, but Thou becamest flesh, which endured to be born and to die. Thou dost undergo funeral obsequies, Thyself the author of life and framer of the world, Thou dost enter the path of death, in giving the aid of salvation. The gloomy chains of the infernal law yielded, and chaos feared to be pressed by the presence of the light. Darkness perishes, put to flight by the brightness of Christ; the thick pall of eternal night falls. But restore the promised pledge, I pray Thee, O power benign! The third day has returned; arise, my buried One; it is not becoming that Thy limbs should lie in the lowly sepulchre, nor that worthless stones should press that which is the ransom of the world.

⁴It is unworthy that a stone should shut in with a confining rock, and cover Him in whose fist all things are enclosed. Take away the linen clothes, I pray; leave the napkins in the tomb: Thou art sufficient for us, and without

Thee there is nothing. Release the chained shades of the infernal prison, and recall to the upper regions whatever sinks to the lowest depths. Give back Thy face, that the world may see the light; give back the day which flees from us at Thy death. But returning, O holy conqueror! Thou didst altogether fill the heaven! Tartarus lies depressed, nor retains its rights. The ruler of the lower regions, insatiably opening his hollow jaws, who has always been a spoiler, becomes a prey to Thee. Thou rescuest an innumerable people from the prison of death, and they follow in freedom to the place whither their leader approaches. The fierce monster in alarm vomits forth the multitude whom he had swallowed up, and the Lamb withdraws the sheep from the jaw of the wolf. Hence re-seeking the tomb from the lower regions, having resumed Thy flesh, as a warrior Thou carriest back ample trophies to the heavens. Those whom chaos held in punishment he has now restored; and those whom death might seek, a new life holds, Oh, sacred King, behold a great part of Thy triumph shines forth, when the sacred layer blesses pure souls! A host, clad in white, come forth from the bright waves, and cleanse their old fault in a new stream.

§ The white garment also designates bright souls, and the shepherd has enjoyments from the snow-white flock. The priest Felix is added sharing in this reward, who wishes to give double talents to his Lord. Drawing those who wander in Gentile error to better things, that a beast of prey may not carry them away, He guards the fold of God. Those whom guilty Eve had before infected, He now restores, fed with abundant milk at the bosom of the Church. By cultivating rustic hearts with mild conversations, a crop is produced from a briar by the bounty of Felix. The Saxon, a fierce nation, living as it were after the manner of wild beasts, when you, O sacred One! apply a remedy, the beast of prey resembles the sheep. About to remain with you through an age with the return of a hundred-fold, you fill the barns with the produce of an abundant harvest. May this people, free from stain, be strengthened in your arms, and may you bear to the stars a pure pledge to God. May one crown be bestowed on you from on high gained from yourself, may another flourish gained from your people.

P A R T S I X

John of Damascus: An Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith

*The summary of the faith of the Greek Fathers made in the
eighth century.*

An Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith

JOHN OF DAMASCUS

c. AD 675–749

Last great Greek father.

BOOK 1

¹ Book I Chapter I. That the Deity is incomprehensible, and that we ought not to pry into and meddle with tire things which have not been delivered to us by the holy Prophets, and Apostles, and Evangelists. No one hath seen God at any time; the Only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him¹. The Deity, therefore, is ineffable and incomprehensible. For no one knoweth the Father, save the Son, nor the Son, save the Father². And the Holy Spirit, too, so knows the things of God as the spirit of the man knows the things that are in him³. Moreover, after the first and blessed nature no one, not of men only, but even of supramundane powers, and the Cherubim, I say, and Seraphim themselves, has ever known God, save he to whom He revealed Himself. ² God, however, did not leave us in absolute ignorance. For the knowledge of God's existence has been implanted by Him in all by nature. This creation, too, and its maintenance, and its government, proclaim the majesty of the Divine nature⁴. Moreover, by the Law and the Prophets⁵ in former times and afterwards by His Only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, He disclosed to us the knowledge of Himself as that was possible for us. All things, therefore, that have been delivered to us by Law and Prophets and Apostles and Evangelists we receive, and know, and honour⁶ seeking for nothing beyond these. For God, being good, is the cause of all good, subject neither to envy nor to any passion⁷. For envy is far removed from the Divine nature, which is both passionless and only good. As knowing all things, therefore, and providing for what is profitable for each, He revealed that which it was to our profit to

know; but what we were unable⁸ to bear He kept secret. With these things let us be satisfied, and let us abide by them, not removing everlasting boundaries, nor overpassing the divine tradition⁹.

³Chapter II. Concerning things utterable and things unutterable, and things knowable and things unknowable. It is necessary, therefore, that one who wishes to speak or to hear of God should understand clearly that alike in the doctrine of Deity and in that of the Incarnation neither are all things unutterable nor all utterable; neither all unknowable nor all knowable. But the knowable belongs to one order, and the utterable to another; just as it is one thing to speak and another thing to know. Many of the things relating to God, therefore, that are dimly understood cannot be put into fitting terms, but on things above us we cannot do else than express ourselves according to our limited capacity; as, for instance, when we speak of God we use the terms sleep, and wrath, and regardlessness, hands, too, and feet, and such like expressions. ⁴We, therefore, both know and confess that God is without beginning, without end, eternal and everlasting, uncreate, unchangeable, invariable, simple, uncompound, incorporeal, invisible, impalpable, uncircumscribed, infinite, incognisable, indefinable, incomprehensible, good, just, maker of all things created, almighty, all-ruling, all-surveying, of all overseer, sovereign, judge; and that God is One, that is to say, one essence; and that He is known and has His being in three subsistences, in Father, I say, and Son and Holy Spirit; and that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are one in all respects, except in that of not being begotten, that of being begotten, and that of procession; and that the Only-begotten Son and Word of God and God, in His bowels of mercy, for our salvation, by the good pleasure of God and the co-operation of the Holy Spirit, being conceived without seed, was born uncorruptedly of the Holy Virgin and Mother of God, Mary, by the Holy Spirit, and became of her perfect Man; and that the Same is at once perfect God and perfect Man, of two natures, Godhead and Manhood, and in two natures possessing intelligence, will and energy, and freedom, and, in a word, perfect according to the measure and proportion proper to each, at once to the divinity, I say, and to the humanity, yet to one composite persons; and that He suffered hunger and thirst and weariness, and was crucified, and for three days submitted to the experience of death and burial, and ascended to heaven, from which also He came to us,

and shall come again. And the Holy Scripture is witness to this and the whole choir of the Saints.

5 But neither do we know, nor can we tell, what the essence of God is, or how it is in all, or how the Only-begotten Son and God, having emptied Himself, became Man of virgin blood, made by another law contrary to nature, or how He walked with dry feet upon the waters. It is not within our capacity, therefore, to say anything about God or even to think of Him, beyond the things which have been divinely revealed to us, whether by word or by manifestation, by the divine oracles at once of the Old Testament and of the New. Chapter III. Proof that there is a God. 6 That there is a God, then, is no matter of doubt to those who receive the Holy Scriptures, the Old Testament, I mean, and the New; nor indeed to most of the Greeks. For, as we said the knowledge of the existence of God is implanted in us by nature. But since the wickedness of the Evil One has prevailed so mightily against man's nature as even to drive some into denying the existence of God, that most foolish and woe-fulest pit of destruction (whose folly David, revealer of the Divine meaning, exposed when he said The fool said in his heart, There is no God), so the disciples of the Lord and His Apostles, made wise by the Holy Spirit and working wonders in His power and grace, took them captive in the net of miracles and drew them up out of the depths of ignorance to the light of the knowledge of God. In like manner also their successors in grace and worth, both pastors and teachers, having received the enlightening grace of the Spirit, were wont, alike by the power of miracles and the word of grace, to enlighten those walking in darkness and to bring back the wanderers into the way. But as for us who are not recipients either of the gift of miracles or the gift of teaching (for indeed we have rendered ourselves unworthy of these by our passion for pleasure), come, let us in connection with this theme discuss a few of those things which have been delivered to us on this subject by the expounders of grace, calling on the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

7 All things, that exist, are either created or uncreated. If, then, things are created, it follows that they are also wholly mutable. For things, whose existence originated in change, must also be subject to change, whether it be that they perish or that they become other than they are by act of will. But if things are uncreated they must in all consistency be also wholly immutable. For things which are opposed in the nature of their existence must also be

opposed in the mode of their existence, that is to say, must have opposite properties: who, then, will refuse to grant that all existing things, not only such as come within the province of the senses, but even the very angels, are subject to change and transformation and movement of various kinds? For the things appertaining to the rational world, I mean angels and spirits and demons, are subject to changes of will, whether it is a progression or a retrogression in goodness, whether a struggle or a surrender; while the others suffer changes of generation and destruction, of increase and decrease, of quality and of movement in space. Things then that are mutable are also wholly created. But things that are created must be the work of some maker, and the maker cannot have been created. For if he had been created, he also must surely have been created by some one, and so on till we arrive at something uncreated. The Creator, then, being uncreated, is also wholly immutable. And what could this be other than Deity?

8 And even the very continuity of the creation, and its preservation and government, teach us that there does exist a Deity, who supports and maintains and preserves and ever provides for this universe. For how could opposite natures, such as fire and water, air and earth, have combined with each other so as to form one complete world, and continue to abide in indissoluble union, were there not some omnipotent power which bound them together and always is preserving them from dissolution? What is it that gave order to things of heaven and things of earth, and all those things that move in the air and in the water, or rather to what was in existence before these, viz., to heaven and earth and air and the elements of fire and water? What was it that mingled and distributed these? What was it that set these in motion and keeps them in their unceasing and unhindered course? Was it not the Artificer of these things, and He Who hath implanted in everything the law whereby the universe is carried on and directed? Who then is the Artificer of these things? Is it not He Who created them and brought them into existence. For we shall not attribute such a power to the spontaneous. For, supposing their coming into existence was due to the spontaneous; what of the power that put all in orders? And let us grant this, if you please. What of that which has preserved and kept them in harmony with the original laws of their existence? Clearly it is something quite distinct from the spontaneous. And what could this be other than Deity?

9 Chapter IV. Concerning the nature of Deity: that it is incomprehensible. It is plain, then, that there is a God. But what He is in His essence anti nature is absolutely incomprehensible and unknowable. For it is evident that He is incorporeal. For how could that possess body which is infinite, and boundless, and formless, and intangible and invisible, in short, simple and not compound? How could that be immutable which is circumscribed and subject to passion? And how could that be passionless which is composed of elements and is resolved again into them? For combination is the beginning of conflict, and conflict of separation, and separation of dissolution, and dissolution is altogether foreign to God. Again, how will it also be maintained that God permeates and fills the universe? as the Scriptures say, Do not I fill heaven and earth, saith the Lords? For it is an impossibility that one body should permeate other bodies without dividing and being divided, and without being enveloped and contrasted, in the same way as all fluids mix and commingle.

10 But if some say that the body is immaterial, in thee same way as the fifth body of which the Greek philosophers speak (which body is an impossibility), it will be wholly subject to motion like the heaven. For that is what they mean by the fifth body. Who then is it that moves it? For everything that is moved is moved by another thing. And who again is it that moves that? and so on to infinity till we at length arrive at something motionless. For the first mover is motionless, and that is the Deity. And must not that which is moved be circumscribed in space? The Deity, then, alone is motionless, moving the universe by immobility. So then it must be assumed that the Deity is incorporeal. But even this gives no true idea of His essence, to say that He is unbegotten, and without beginning, changeless and imperishable, and possessed of such other qualities as we are wont to ascribe to God and His environment. For these do not indicate what He is, but what He is not. But when we would explain what the essence of anything is, we must not speak only negatively. In the case of God, however, it is impossible to explain what He is in His essence, and it befits us the rather to hold discourse about His absolute separation from all things. For He does not belong to the class of existing things: not that He has no existence but that He is above all existing things, nay even above existence itself. For if all forms of knowledge have to do with what exists, assuredly that which is above know-

ledge must certainly be also above essence: and, conversely, that which is above essence will also be above knowledge.

¹¹ God then is infinite and incomprehensible and all that is comprehensible about Him is His infinity and incomprehensibility. But all that we can affirm concerning God does not shew forth God's nature, but only the qualities of His nature. For when you speak of Him as good, and just, and wise, and so forth, you do not tell God's nature but only the qualities of His nature. Further there are some affirmations which we make concerning God which have the force of absolute negation: for example, when we use the term darkness, in reference to God, we do not mean darkness itself, but that He is not light but above light: and when we speak of Him as light, we mean that He is not darkness. Chapter V. Proof that God is one and not many. We have, then, adequately demonstrated that there is a God, and that His essence is incomprehensible. But that God is one and not many is no matter of doubt to those who believe in the Holy Scriptures. For the Lord says in the beginning of the Law: I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt. Thou shall have no other Gods before Me. And again He says, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord. And in Isaiah the prophet we read For I am the first God and I am the last and beside Me there is no God. Before Me there was not any God, nor after Me will there be any God, and beside Me there is no God. And the Lord, too, in the holy gospels speaketh these words to His Father, And this is life eternal, that they may know Thee the only true God. But with those that do not believe in the Holy Scriptures we will reason thus.

¹² The Deity is perfect and without blemish in goodness, and wisdom, and power, without beginning, without end, everlasting, uncircumscribed and in short, perfect in all things. Should we say, then, that there are many Gods, we must recognise difference among the many. For if there is no difference among them, they are one rather than many. But if there is difference among them, what becomes of the perfectness? For that which comes short of perfection, whether it be in goodness, or power, or wisdom, or time, or place, could not be God. But it is this very identity in all respects that shews that the Deity is one and not many. Again, if there are many Gods, how can one maintain that God is uncircumscribed? For where the one would be, the other could not be. Further, how could the world be governed by many and saved from dissolution and destruction, while strife is seen to

rage between the rulers? For difference introduces strife. And if any one should say that each rules over a part, what of that which established this order and gave to each his particular realm? For this would the rather be God. Therefore, God is one, perfect, uncircumscribed, maker of the universe, and its preserver and governor, exceeding and preceding all perfection.

¹³ Moreover, it is a natural necessity that duality should originate in unity. Chapter VI. Concerning the Word and the Son of God: a reasoned proof. So then this one and only God is not Wordless. And possessing the Word, He will have it not as without a subsistence, nor as having had a beginning, nor as destined to cease to be. For there never was a time when God was not Word: but He ever possesses His own Word, begotten of Himself, not, as our word is, without a subsistence and dissolving into air, but having a subsistence in Him and life and perfection, not proceeding out of Himself but ever existing within Himself. For where could it be, if it were to go outside Him? For inasmuch as our nature is perishable and easily dissolved, our word is also without subsistence. But since God is everlasting and perfect, He will have His Word subsistent in Him, and everlasting and living, and possessed of all the attributes of the Begetter. For just as our word, proceeding as it flows out of the mind, is neither wholly identical with the mind nor utterly diverse from it (for so far as it proceeds out of the mind it is different from it, while so far as it reveals the mind, it is no longer absolutely diverse from the mind, but being one in nature with the mind, it is yet to the subject diverse from it), so in the same manner also the Word of God in its independent subsistence is differentiated from Him from Whom it derives its subsistence: but inasmuch as it displays in itself the same attributes as are seen in God, it is of the same nature as God. For just as absolute perfection is contemplated in the Father, so also is it contemplated in the Word that is begotten of Him.

¹⁴ Chapter VII. Concerning the Holy Spirit, a reasoned proof. ¹⁵ Moreover the Word must also possess Spirit. For in fact even our word is not destitute of spirit; but in our case the spirit is something different from our essence. For there is an attraction and movement of the air which is drawn in and poured forth that the body may be sustained. And it is this which in the moment of utterance becomes the articulate word, revealing in itself the force of the word. But in the case of the divine nature, which is simple and uncompound, we must confess in all piety that there exists a Spirit of God, for the Word is not more imperfect than our own word. Now we cannot, in piety, consider

the Spirit to be something foreign that gains admission into God from without, as is the case with compound natures like us. Nay, just as, when we heard of the Word of God, we considered it to be not without subsistence, nor the product of learning, nor the mere utterance of voice, nor as passing into the air and perishing, but as being essentially subsisting, endowed with free volition, and energy, and omnipotence: so also, when we have learnt about the Spirit of God, we contemplate it as the companion of the Word and the revealer of His energy, and not as mere breath without subsistence.

16 For to conceive of the Spirit that dwells in God as after the likeness of our own spirit, would be to drag down the greatness of the divine nature to the lowest depths of degradation. But we must contemplate it as an essential power, existing in its own proper and peculiar subsistence, proceeding from the Father anti resting in the Word and shewing forth the Word, neither capable of disjunction from God in Whom it exists, and the Word Whose companion it is, nor poured forth to vanish into nothingness but being in subsistence in the likeness of the Word, endowed with life, free volition, independent movement, energy, ever willing that which is good, and having power to keep pace with the will in all its decrees having no beginning and no end. For never was the Father at any time lacking in the Word, nor the Word in the Spirit.

17 Thus because of the unity in nature, the error of the Greeks in holding that God is many, is utterly destroyed: and again by our acceptance of the Word and the Spirit, the dogma of the Jews is overthrown: and there remains of each party only what is profitable. On the one hand of the Jewish idea we have the unity of God's nature, anti on the other, of the Greek, we have the distinction in subsistences and that only. But should the Jew refuse to accept the Word and the Spirit, let the divine Scripture confute him and curb his tongue. For concerning the Word, the divine David says, For ever, O Lord, Thy Word is settled in heaven. And again, He sent His Word and healed them. But the word that is uttered is not sent, nor is it for ever settled. And concerning the Spirit, the same David says, Thou sendest forth Thy Spirit, they are created. And again, By the word of the Lord were the heavens made: and all the host of them by the breath of His mouth. Job, too, says, The Spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life. Now the Spirit which is sent and makes and stablishes and conserves, is not mere breath that dissolves, any more than the mouth of God is a bodily

member. For the conception of both must be such as harmonizes with the Divine nature.

¹⁸ Chapter VIII. Concerning the Holy Trinity. ¹⁹ We believe, then, in One God, one beginning having no beginning, uncreate, unbegotten, imperishable and immortal, everlasting, infinite, uncircumscribed, boundless, of infinite power, simple, uncompound, incorporeal, without flux, passionless, unchangeable, unalterable, unseen, the fountain of goodness and justice, the light of the mind, inaccessible; a power known by no measure, measurable only by His own will alone (for all things that He wills He can), creator of all created things, seen or unseen, of all the maintainer and preserver, for all the provider, master and lord and king over all, with an endless and immortal kingdom: having no contrary, filling all, by nothing encompassed, but rather Himself the encompasser and maintainer and original possessor of the universe, occupying all essences intact and extending beyond all things, and being separate from all essence as being super-essential and above all things and absolute God, absolute goodness, and absolute fulness: determining all sovereignties and ranks, being placed above all sovereignty and rank, above essence and life and word and thought: being Himself very light and goodness and life and essence, inasmuch as He does not derive His being from another, that is to say, of those things that exist: but being Himself the fountain of being to all that is, of life to the living, of reason to those that have reason; to all the cause of all good: perceiving all things even before they have become: one essence, one divinity, one power, one will, one energy, one beginning, one authority, one dominion, one sovereignty, made known in three perfect subsistences anti adored with one adoration, believed in and ministered to by all rational creation united without confusion and divided without separation (which indeed transcends thought). (We believe) in Father and Son and Holy Spirit whereinto also we have been baptized. For so our Lord commanded the Apostles to baptize, saying, Baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

²⁰ (We believe) in one Father, the beginning and cause of all: begotten of no one: without cause or generation, alone subsisting: creator of all: but Father of one only by nature, His Only-begotten Son and our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and Producer of the most Holy Spirit. And in one Son of God, the Only-begotten, our Lord, Jesus Christ: begotten of the Father, before all the ages: Light of Light, true God of true God: begotten,

not made, consubstantial with the Father, through Whom all things are made: and when we say He was before all the ages we shew that His birth is without time or beginning: for the Son of God was not brought into being out of nothing He that is the effulgence of the glory, the impress of the Father's subsistence the living wisdom and power the Word possessing interior subsistence the essential and perfect and living image of the unseen God. But always He was with the Father and in Him everlastingly and without beginning begotten of Him. For there never was a time when the Father was and the Son was not, but always the Father and always the Son, Who was begotten of Him, existed together. For He could not have received the name Father apart from the Son: for if He were without the Son He could not be the Father: and if He thereafter had the Son, thereafter He became the Father, not having been the Father prior to this, and He was changed from that which was not the Father and became the Father. This is the worst form of blasphemy. For we may not speak of God as destitute of natural generative power: and generative power means, the power of producing from one's self, that is to say, from one's own proper essence, that which is like in nature to one's self.

²¹ In treating, then, of the generation of the Son, it is an act of impiety to say that time comes into play and that the existence of the Son is of later origin than the Father. For we hold that it is from Him, that is, from the Father's nature, that the Son is generated. And unless we grant that the Son co-existed from the beginning with the Father, by Whom He was begotten, we introduce change into the Father's subsistence, because, not being the Father, He subsequently became the Father. For the creation, even though it originated later, is nevertheless not derived from the essence of God, but is brought into existence out of nothing by His will and power, and change does not touch God's nature. For generation means that the begetter produces out of his essence offspring similar in essence. But creation and making mean that the creator and maker produces from that which is external, and not out of his own essence, a creation of an absolutely dissimilar nature.

²² Wherefore in God, Who alone is passionless and unalterable, and immutable, and ever so continueth, both begetting and creating are passionless. For being by nature passionless and not liable to flux, since He is simple and uncompound, He is not subject to passion or flux either in begetting or in creating, nor has He need of any co-operation. But generation in Him is

without beginning and everlasting, being the work of nature and producing out of His own essence, that the Begetter may not undergo change, and that He may not be God first and God last, nor receive any accession: while creation in the case of God being the work of will, is not co-eternal with God. For it is not natural that that which is brought into existence out of nothing should be co-eternal with what is without beginning and everlasting. There is this difference in fact between man's making and God's. Man can bring nothing into existence out of nothing but all that he makes requires pre-existing matter for its basis and he does not create it by will only, but thinks out first what it is to be and pictures it in his mind, and only then fashions it with his hands, undergoing labour and troubles and often missing the mark and failing to produce to his satisfaction that after which he strives. But God, through the exercise of will alone, has brought all things into existence out of nothing.

²³ Now there is the same difference between God and man in begetting and generating. For in God, Who is without time and beginning, passionless, not liable to flux, incorporeal, alone and without end generation is without time and beginning, passionless and not liable to flux, nor dependent on the union of two: nor has His own incomprehensible generation beginning or end. And it is without beginning because He is immutable: without flux because He is passionless and incorporeal: independent of the union of two again because He is incorporeal but also because He is the one and only God, and stands in need of no co-operation: and without end or cessation because He is without beginning, or time, or end, and ever continues the same. For that which has no beginning has no end: but that which through grace is endless is assuredly not without beginning, as, witness, the angels.

²⁴ Accordingly the everlasting God generates His own Word which is perfect, without beginning and without end, that God, Whose nature and existence are above time, may not engender in time. But with man clearly it is otherwise, for generation is with him a matter of sex, and destruction and flux and increase and body clothe him round about and he possesses a nature which is male or female. For the male requires the assistance of the female. But may He Who surpasses all, and transcends all thought and comprehension, be gracious to us. The holy catholic and apostolic Church, then, teaches the existence at once of a Father: and of His Only-begotten Son, born of

Him without time and flux and passion, in a manner incomprehensible and perceived by the God of the universe alone: just as we recognise the existence at once of fire and the light which proceeds from it: for there is not first fire and thereafter light, but they exist together. And just as light is ever the product of fire, and ever is in it and at no time is separate from it, so in like manner also the Son is begotten of the Father and is never in any way separate from Him, but ever is in Him. But whereas the light which is produced from fire without separation, and abideth ever in it, has no proper subsistence of its own distinct from that of fire (for it is a natural quality of fire), the Only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father without separation and difference and ever abiding in Him, has a proper subsistence of its own distinct from that of the Father.

²⁵ The terms, 'Word' and 'effulgence,' then, are used because He is begotten of the Father without the union of two, or passion, or time, or flux, or separation: and the terms 'Son' and 'impress of the Father's subsistence,' because He is perfect and has subsistence and is in all respects similar to the Father, save that the Father is not begotten: and the term 'Only-begotten' because He alone was begotten alone of the Father alone. For no other generation is like to the generation of the Son of God, since no other is Son of God. For though the Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father, yet this is not generative in character but processional. This is a different mode of existence, alike incomprehensible and unknown, just as is the generation of the Son. Wherefore all the qualities the Father has are the Son's, save that the Father is unbegotten and this exception involves no difference in essence nor dignity but only a different mode of coming into existence. We have an analogy in Adam, who was not begotten (for God Himself moulded him), and Seth, who was begotten (for he is Adam's son), and Eve, who proceeded out of Adam's rib (for she was not begotten). These do not differ from each other in nature, for they are human beings: but they differ in the mode of coming into existence.

²⁶ For one must recognise that the word *ajgevnnhnton* with only one 'n' signifies "uncreate" or "not having been made," while *ajgevnnhnton* written with double 'n' means "unbegotten." According to the first significance essence differs from essence: for one essence is uncreate, or *ajgevnnhnton* with one 'n,' and another is create or *genhthv*. But in the second significance there is no difference between essence and essence. For the first subsistence of

all kinds of living creatures is *aigevnnhto*" but not *aigevnhto*". For they were created by the Creator, being brought into being by His Word, but they were not begotten, for there was no pre-existing form like themselves from which they might have been born. So then in the first sense of the word the three absolutely divine subsistences of the Holy Godhead agree: for they exist as one in essence and uncreate. But with the second signification it is quite otherwise. For the Father alone is ingenerate no other subsistence having given Him being. And the Son alone is generate, for He was begotten of the Father's essence without beginning and without time. And only the Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father's essence, not having been generated but simply proceeding. For this is the doctrine of Holy Scripture. But the nature of the generation and the procession is quite beyond comprehension.

27 And this also it behoves us to know, that the names Fatherhood, Sonship and Procession, were not applied to the Holy Godhead by us: on the contrary, they were communicated to us by the Godhead, as the divine apostle says, Wherefore I bow the knee to the Father, from Whom is every family in heaven and on earth. But if we say that the Father is the origin of the Son and greater than the Son, we do not suggest any precedence in time or superiority in nature of the Father over the Son (for through His agency He made the ages), or superiority in any other respect save causation. And we mean by this, that the Son is begotten of the Father and not the Father of the Son, and that the Father naturally is the cause of the Son: just as we say in the same way not that fire proceedeth from light, but rather light from fire. So then, whenever we hear it said that the Father is the origin of the Son and greater than the Son, let us understand it to mean in respect of causation. And just as we do not say that fire is of one essence and light of another, so we cannot say that the Father is of one essence and the Son of another: but both are of one and the same essence.

28 And just as we say that fire has brightness through the light proceeding from it, and do not consider the light of the fire as an instrument ministering to the fire, but rather as its natural force: so we say that the Father creates all that He creates through His Only-begotten Son, not as though the Son were a mere instrument serving the Father's ends, but as His natural and substantial force. And just as we say both that the fire shines and again that the light of the fire shines, So all things whatsoever the Father doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise. But whereas light possesses no proper subsistence of

its own, distinct from that of the fire, the Son is a perfect subsistence inseparable from the Father's subsistence, as we have shewn above. For it is quite impossible to find in creation an image that will illustrate in itself exactly in all details the nature of the Holy Trinity. For how could that which is create and compound, subject to flux and change, circumscribed, formed and corruptible, clearly shew forth the super-essential divine essence, unaffected as it is in any of these ways? Now it is evident that all creation is liable to most of these affections, and all from its very nature is subject to corruption.

²⁹ Likewise we believe also in one Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life: Who proceedeth from the Father and resteth in the Son: the object of equal adoration and glorification with the Father and Son, since He is co-essential and co-eternal: the Spirit of God, direct, authoritative the fountain of wisdom, and life, and holiness: God existing and addressed along with Father and Son: uncreate, full, creative, all-ruling, all-effecting, all-powerful, of infinite power, Lord of all creation and not under any lord: deifying, not deified: filling, not filled: shared in, not sharing in: sanctifying, not sanctified: the intercessor, receiving the supplications of all: in all things like to the Father and Son: proceeding from the Father and communicated through the Son, and participated in by all creation, through Himself creating, and investing with essence and sanctifying, and maintaining the universe: having subsistence, existing in its own proper and peculiar subsistence, inseparable and indivisible from Father and Son, and possessing all the qualities that the Father and Son possess, save that of not being begotten or born. For the Father is without canst and unborn: for He is derived from nothing, but derives from Himself His being, nor does He derive a single quality from another. Rather He is Himself the beginning and cause of the existence of all things in a definite and natural manner. But the Son is derived from the Father after the manner of generation, and the Holy Spirit likewise is derived from the Father, yet not after the manner of generation, but after that of procession. And we have learned that there is a difference between generation and procession, but the nature of that difference we in no wise understand. Further, the generation of the Son from the Father and the procession of the Holy Spirit are simultaneous.

³⁰ All then that the Son and the Spirit have is from the Father, even their very being: and unless the Father is, neither the Son nor the Spirit is. And unless the Father possesses a certain attribute, neither the Son nor the Spirit

possesses it: and through the Father that is, because of the Father's existence the Son and the Spirit exist and through the Father, that is, because of the Father having the qualities, the Son and the Spirit have all their qualities, those of being unbegotten, and of birth and of procession being excepted. For in these hypo static or personal properties alone do the three holy subsistences differ from each other, being indivisibly divided not by essence but by the distinguishing mark of their proper and peculiar subsistence. Further we say that each of the three has a perfect subsistence, that we may understand not one compound perfect nature made up of three imperfect elements, but one simple essence, surpassing and preceding perfection, existing in three perfect subsistences. For all that is composed of imperfect elements must necessarily be compound. But from perfect subsistences no compound can arise. Wherefore we do not speak of the form as from subsistences, but as in subsistences. But we speak of those things as imperfect which do not preserve the form of that which is completed out of them. For stone and wood and iron are each perfect in its own nature, but with reference to the building that is completed out of them each is imperfect: for none of them is in itself a house.

³¹ The subsistences then we say are perfect, that we may not conceive of the divine nature as compound. For compoundness is the beginning of separation. And again we speak of the three subsistences as being in each other that we may not introduce a crowd and multitude of Gods. Owing to the three subsistences, there is no compoundness or confusion: while, owing to their having the same essence and dwelling in one another, and being the same in will, and energy, and power, and authority, and movement, so to speak, we recognise the indivisibility and the unity of God. For verily there is one God, and His word and Spirit. *Marg. ms.* Concerning the distinction of the three subsistences: and concerning the thing itself and our reason and thought in relation to it. ³² One ought, moreover, to recognise that it is one thing to look at a matter as it is, and another thing to look at it in the light of reason and thought. In the case of all created things, the distinction of the subsistences is observed in actual fact. For in actual fact Peter is seen to be separate from Paul. But the community and connection and unity are apprehended by reason and thought. For it is by the mind that we perceive that Peter and Paul are of the same nature and have one common nature. For both are living creatures, rational and mortal: and both are flesh, endowed

with the spirit of reason and understanding. It is, then, by reason that this community of nature is observed. For here indeed the subsistences do not exist one within the other. But each privately and individually, that is to say, in itself, stands quite separate, having very many points that divide it from the other. For they are both separated in space and differ in time, and are divided in thought, and power, and shape, or form, and habit, and temperament and dignity, and pursuits, and all differentiating properties, but above all, in the fact that they do not dwell in one another but are separated. Hence it comes that we can speak of two, three, or many men.

³³ And this may be perceived throughout the whole of creation, but in the case of the holy and superessential and incomprehensible Trinity, far removed from everything, it is quite the reverse. For there the community and unity are observed in fact, through the co-eternity of the subsistences, and through their having the same essence and energy and will and concord of mind and then being identical in authority and power and goodness—I do not say similar but identical—and then movement by one impulse. For there is one essence, one goodness, one power, one will, one energy, one authority, one and the same, I repeat, not three resembling each other. But the three subsistences have one and the same movement. For each one of them is related as closely to the other as to itself: that is to say that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one in all respects, save those of not being begotten, of birth and of procession. But it is by thought that the difference is perceived. For we recognise one God: but only in the attributes of Fatherhood, Sonship, and Procession, both in respect of cause and effect and perfection of subsistence, that is, manner of existence, do we perceive difference. For with reference to the uncircumscribed Deity we cannot speak of separation in space, as we can in our own case.

³⁴ For the subsistences dwell in one another, in no wise confused but cleaving together, according to the word of the Lord, I am in the father, and the father in Me: nor can one admit difference in will or judgment or energy or power or anything else whatsoever which may produce actual and absolute separation in our case. Wherefore we do not speak of three Gods, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, but rather of one God, the holy Trinity, the Son and Spirit being referred to one cause and not compounded or coalesced according to the synaeresis of Sabellius. For, as we said, they are made one not so as to commingle, but so as to cleave to each other, and they have their

being in each other without any coalescence or commingling. Nor do the Son and the Spirit stand apart, nor are they sundered in essence according to the diaeresis of Arias. For the Deity is undivided amongst things divided, to put it concisely: and it is just like three suns cleaving to each other without separation and giving out light mingled and conjoined into one. When, then, we turn our eyes to the Divinity, and the first cause and the sovereignty and the oneness anti sameness, so to speak, of the movement and will of the Divinity, and the identity in essence and power and energy and lordship, what is seen by us is unity.

³⁵ But when we look to those things in which the Divinity is, or, to put it more accurately, which are the Divinity, and those things which are in it through the first cause without time or distinction in glory or separation, that is to say, the subsistences of the Son and the Spirit, it seems to us a Trinity that we adore. The Father is one Father, and without beginning, that is, without cause: for He is not derived from anything. The Son is one Son, but not without beginning, that is, not without cause: for He is derived from the Father. But if you eliminate the idea of a beginning from time, He is also without beginning: for the creator of times cannot be subject to time. The Holy Spirit is one Spirit, going forth from the Father, not in the manner of Sonship but of procession; so that neither has the Father lost His property of being unbegotten because He hath begotten, nor has the Son lost His property of being begotten because He was begotten of that which was unbegotten (for how could that be so?), nor does the Spirit change either into the Father or into the Son because He hath proceeded and is God. For a property is quite constant. For how could a property persist if it were variable, moveable, and could change into something else? For if the Father is the Son, He is not strictly the Father: for there is strictly one Father.

³⁶ And if the Son is the Father, He is not strictly the Son: for there is strictly one Son and one Holy Spirit. ³⁷ Further, it should be understood that we do not speak of the Father as derived from any one, but we speak of Him as the Father of the Son. And we do not speak of the Son as Cause or Father, but we speak of Him both as from the Father, and as the Son of the Father. And we speak likewise of the Holy Spirit as from the Father, and call Him the Spirit of the Father. And we do not speak of the Spirit as from the Son: but yet we call Him the Spirit of the Son. For if any one hath not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His saith the divine apostle. And we confess that He is

manifested and imparted to us through the Son. For He breathed upon His Disciples, says he, and said, Receive ye the Holy Spirit. It is just the same as in the case of the sun from which come both the ray and the radiance (for the sun itself is the source of both the ray and the radiance), and it is through the ray that the radiance is imparted to us, and it is the radiance itself by which we are lightened and in which we participate. Further we do not speak of the Son of the Spirit, or of the Son as derived from the Spirit.

³⁸ Chapter IX. Concerning what is affirmed about God. The Deity is simple and uncompound. But that which is composed of many and different elements is compound. If, then, we should speak of the qualities of being uncreate and without beginning and incorporeal and immortal and everlasting and good and creative and so forth as essential differences in the case of God, that which is composed of so many qualities will not be simple but must be compound. But this is impious in the extreme. Each then of the affirmations about God should be thought of as signifying not what He is in essence, but either something that it is impossible to make plain, or some relation to some of those things which are contrasts or some of those things that follow the nature, or an energy. It appears then that the most proper of all the names given to God is "He that is," as He Himself said in answer to Moses on the mountain, Say to the sons of Israel, He that is hath sent Me. For He keeps all being in His own embrace like a sea of essence infinite and unseen. Or as the holy Dionysius says, "He that is good." For one cannot say of God that He has being in the first place and goodness in the second.

³⁹ The second name of God is οἱ θεοῖν, derived from *Qeuein* to run, because He courses through all things, or from *ai[qein*, to burn: For God is a fire consuming all evils: or from *Qea'sqai*, because He is all-seeing: for nothing can escape Him, and over all He keepeth watch. For He saw all things before they were, holding them timelessly in His thoughts; and each one conformably to His voluntary anti timeless thought which constitutes predetermination and image and pattern, comes into existence at the predetermined time. The first name then conveys the notion of His existence and of the nature of His existence: while the second contains the idea of energy. Further, the terms 'without beginning,' 'incorruptible,' 'unbegotten,' as also 'uncreate,' 'incorporeal,' 'unseen,' and so forth, explain what He is not: that is to say, they tell us that His being had no beginning, that He is not corruptible, nor created, nor corporeal, nor visible. Again, goodness and justice

and piety and such like names belong to the nature but do not explain His actual essence. Finally, Lord and King and names of that class indicate a relationship with their contrasts: for the name Lord has reference to those over whom the lord rules, and the name King to those under kingly authority, and the name Creator to the creatures, and the name Shepherd to the sheep he tends.

⁴⁰ Chapter X. Concerning divine union and separation. Therefore all these names must be understood as common to deity as a whole, and as containing the notions of sameness and simplicity and indivisibility and union: while the names Father, Son and Spirit, and cause, less and caused, and unbegotten and begotten, and procession contain the idea of separation: for these terms do not explain His essence, but the mutual relationship and manner of existence. When, then, we have perceived these things and are conducted from these to the divine essence, we do not apprehend the essence itself but only the attributes of the essence: just as we have not apprehended the essence of the soul even when we have learnt that it is incorporeal and without magnitude and form: nor again, the essence of the body when we know that it is white or black, but only the attributes of the essence. Further, the true doctrine teacheth that the Deity is simple and has one simple energy, good and energising in all things, just as the sun's ray, which warms all things and energises in each in harmony with its natural aptitude and receptive power, having obtained this form of energy from God, its Maker.

⁴¹ But quite distinct is all that pertains to the divine and benignant incarnation of the divine Word. For in that neither the Father nor the Spirit have any part at all, unless so far as regards approval and the working of inexplicable miracles which the God-Word, having become man like us, worked, as unchangeable God and son of God. Chapter XI. Concerning what is affirmed about God as though He had body. ⁴² Since we find many terms used symbolically in the Scriptures concerning God which are more applicable to that which has body, we should recognise that it is quite impossible for us men clothed about with this dense covering of flesh to understand or speak of the divine and lofty and immaterial energies of the Godhead, except by the use of images and types and symbols derived from our own life. So then all the statements concerning God, that imply body, are symbols, but have a higher meaning: for the Deity is simple and formless. Hence by God's eyes and eyelids and sight we are to understand His power of

overseeing all things and His knowledge, that nothing can escape: for in the case of us this sense makes our knowledge more complete and more full of certainty. By God's ears and hearing is meant His readiness to be propitiated and to receive our petitions: for it is this sense that renders us also kind to suppliants, inclining our ear to them more graciously. God's mouth and speech are His means of indicating His will; for it is by the mouth and speech that we make clear the thoughts that are in the heart: God's food and drink are our concurrence to His will, for we, too, satisfy the necessities of our natural appetite through the sense of taste. And God's sense of smell is His appreciation of our thoughts of and good will towards Him, for it is through this sense that we appreciate sweet fragrance.

⁴³ And God's countenance is the demonstration and manifestation of Himself through His works, for our manifestation is through the countenance. And God's hands mean the effectual nature of His energy, for it is with our own hands that we accomplish our most useful and valuable work. And His right hand is His aid in prosperity, for it is the right hand that we also use when making anything of beautiful shape or of great value, or where much strength is required. His handling is His power of accurate discrimination and exaction, even in the minutest and most secret details, for those whom we have handled cannot conceal from us aught within themselves. His feet and walk are His advent and presence, either for the purpose of bringing succour to the needy, or vengeance against enemies, or to perform any other action, for it is by using our feet that we come to arrive at any place. His oath is the unchangeableness of His counsel, for it is by oath that we confirm our compacts with one another. His anger and fury are His hatred of and aversion to all wickedness, for we, too, hate that which is contrary to our mind and become enraged thereat. His forgetfulness and sleep and slumbering are His delay in taking vengeance on His enemies and the postponement of the accustomed help to His own.

⁴⁴ And to put it shortly, all the statements made about God that imply body have some hidden meaning and teach us what is above us by means of something familiar to ourselves, with the exception of any statement concerning the bodily sojourn of the God-Word. For He for our safety took upon Himself the whole nature of man the thinking spirit, the body, and all the properties of human nature, even the natural and blameless passions.

⁴⁵ Chapter XII. Concerning the Same. The following, then, are the mysteries

which we have learned from the holy oracles, as the divine Dionysius the Areopagite said: that God is the cause and beginning of all: the essence of all that have essence: the life of the living: the reason of all rational beings: the intellect of all intelligent beings: the recalling and restoring of those who fall away from Him: the renovation and transformation of those that corrupt that which is natural: the holy foundation of those who are tossed in unholiness: the steadfastness of those who have stood firm: the way of those whose course is directed to Him and the hand stretched forth to guide them upwards. And I shall add He is also the Father of all His creatures (for God, Who brought us into being out of nothing, is in a stricter sense our Father than are our parents who have derived both being and begetting from Him): the shepherd of those who follow and are tended by Him: the radiance of those who are enlightened: the initiation of the initiated: the deification of the deified: the peace of those at discord: the simplicity of those who love simplicity: the unity of those who worship unity: of all beginning the beginning, super-essential be cause above all beginning: and the good revelation of what is hidden, that is, of the knowledge of Him so far as that is lawful for and attainable by each.

⁴⁶ Further and more accurately concerning divine names. The Deity being incomprehensible is also assuredly nameless. Therefore since we know not His essence, let us not seek for a name for His essence. For names are explanations of actual things. But God, Who is good and brought us out of nothing into being that we might share in His goodness, and Who gave us the faculty of knowledge, not only did not impart to us His essence, but did not even grant us the knowledge of His essence. For it is impossible for nature to understand fully the supernatural. Moreover, if knowledge is of things that are how can there be knowledge of the super-essential? Through His unspeakable goodness, then, it pleased Him to be called by names that we could understand, that we might not be altogether cut off from the knowledge of Him but should have some notion of Him, however vague. Inasmuch, then, as He is incomprehensible, He is also unnameable. But inasmuch as He is the cause of all and contains in Himself the reasons and causes of all that is, He receives names drawn from all that is, even from opposites: for example, He is called light and darkness, water and fire: in order that we may know that these are not of His essence but that He is super-essential and

unnameable: but inasmuch as He is the cause of all, He receives names from all His effects.

⁴⁷ Wherefore, of the divine names, some have a negative signification, and indicate that He is super-essential: such are “non-essential,” “timeless,” “without beginning,” “invisible”: not that God is inferior to anything or lacking in anything (for all things are His and have become from Him and through Him and endure in Him), but that He is pre-eminently separated from all that is. For He is not one of the things that are, but over all things. Some again have an affirmative signification, as indicating that He is the cause of all things. For as the cause of all that is and of all essence, He is called both *Ens* and *Essence*. And as the cause of all reason and wisdom, of the rational and the wise, He is called both reason and rational, and wisdom and wise. Similarly He is spoken of as *Intellect* and *Intellectual*, *Life* and *Living*, *Power* and *Powerful*, and so on with all the rest. Or rather those names are most appropriate to Him which are derived from what is most precious and most akin to Himself. That which is immaterial is more precious and more akin to Himself than that which is material, and the pure than the impure, and the holy than the unholy: for they have greater part in Him. So then, sun and light will be more apt names for Him than darkness, and day than night, and life than death, and fire and spirit and water, as having life, than earth, and above all, goodness than wickedness:

⁴⁸ which is just to say, being more than not being. For goodness is existence and the cause of existence, but wickedness is the negation of goodness, that is, of existence. These, then, are the affirmations and the negations, but the sweetest names are a combination of both: for example, the super-essential essence, the Godhead that is more than God, the beginning that is above beginning and such like. Further there are some affirmations about God which have in a pre-eminent degree the force of denial: for example, darkness: for this does not imply that God is darkness but that He is not light, but above light. ⁴⁹ God then is called *Mind* and *Reason* and *Spirit* and *Wisdom* and *Power*, as the cause of these, and as immaterial, and maker of all, and omnipotent. And these names are common to the whole Godhead, whether affirmative or negative. And they are also used of each of the subsistences of the Holy Trinity in the very same and identical way and with their full significance. For when I think of one of the subsistences, I recognise it to be perfect God and perfect essence: but when I combine and reckon the three

together, I know one perfect God. For the Godhead is not compound but in three perfect subsistences, one perfect indivisible and uncompound God. And when I think of the relation of the three subsistences to each other, I perceive that the Father is super-essential Sun, source of goodness, fathomless sea of essence, reason, wisdom, power, light, divinity: the generating and productive source of good hidden in it. He Himself then is mind, the depth of reason, begetter of the Word, and through the Word the Producer of the revealing Spirit. And to put it shortly, the Father has no reason wisdom, power, will save the Son Who is the only power of the Father the immediate cause of the creation of the universe: as perfect subsistence begotten of perfect subsistence in a manner known to Himself, Who is and is named the Son.

⁵⁰ And the Holy Spirit is the power of the Father revealing the hidden mysteries of His Divinity, proceeding from the Father through the Son in a manner known to Himself, but different from that of generation. Wherefore the Holy Spirit is the perfecter of the creation of the universe. All the terms, then, that are appropriate to the Father, as cause, source, begetter, are to be ascribed to the Father alone: while those that are appropriate to the caused, begotten Son, Word, immediate power, will, wisdom, are to be ascribed to the Son: and those that are appropriate to the caused, procession-al, manifesting, perfecting power, are to be ascribed to the Holy Spirit. The Father is the source and cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit: Father of the Son alone and producer of the Holy Spirit. The Son is Son, Word, Wisdom, Power, Image, Effulgence, Impress of the Father and derived from the Father. But the Holy Spirit is not the Son of the Father but the Spirit of the Father as proceeding from the Father. For there is no impulse without Spirit. And we speak also of the Spirit of the Son, not as through proceeding from Him, but as proceeding through Him from the Father. For the Father alone is cause.

⁵¹ Chapter XIII. Concerning the place of God: and that the Deity alone is uncircumscribed. Bodily place is the limit of that which contains, by which that which is contained is contained: for example, the air contains but the body is contained. But it is not the whole of the containing air which is the place of the contained body, but the limit of the containing air, where it comes into contact with the contained body: and the reason is clearly because that which contains is not within that which it contains. ⁵² But there is

also mental place where mind is active, and mental and incorporeal nature exists: where mind dwells and energises and is contained not in a bodily but in a mental fashion. For it is without form, and so cannot be contained as a body is. God, then, being immaterial and uncircumscribed, has not place. For He is His own place, filling all things and being above all things, and Himself maintaining all things. Yet we speak of God having place and the place of God where His energy becomes manifest. For He penetrates everything without mixing with it, and imparts to all His energy in proportion to the fitness and receptive power of each: and by this I mean, a purity both natural and voluntary. For the immaterial is purer than the material, and that which is virtuous than that which is linked with vice. Wherefore by the place of God is meant that which has a greater share in His energy and grace. For this reason the Heaven is His throne. For in it are the angels who do His will and are always glorifying Him. For this is His rest and the earth is His footstool. For in it He dwelt in the flesh among men. And His sacred flesh has been named the foot of God. The Church, too, is spoken of as the place of God: for we have set this apart for the glorifying of God as a sort of consecrated place wherein we also hold converse with Him. Likewise also the places in which His energy becomes manifest to us, whether through the flesh or apart from flesh, are spoken of as the places of God.

⁵³ But it must be understood that the Deity is indivisible, being everywhere wholly in His entirety and not divided up part by part like that which has body, but wholly in everything and wholly above everything. Marg. ms. Concerning the place of angel and spirit, and concerning the uncircumscribed. The angel, although not contained in place with figured form as is body, yet is spoken of as being in place because he has a mental presence and energises in accordance with his nature, and is not elsewhere but has his mental limitations there where he energises. For it is impossible to energise at the same time in different places. For to God alone belongs the power of energising everywhere at the same time. The angel energises in different places by the quickness of his nature and the promptness and speed by which he can change his place: but the Deity, Who is everywhere and above all, energises at the same time in diverse ways with one simple energy.

⁵⁴ Further the soul is bound up with the body. whole with whole and not part with part: and it is not contained by the body but contains it as fire does iron, and being in it energises with its own proper energies. That which is

comprehended in place or time or apprehension is circumscribed: while that which is contained by none of these is uncircumscribed. Wherefore the Deity alone is uncircumscribed, being without beginning and without end, and containing all things, and in no wise apprehended. For He alone is incomprehensible and unbounded, within no one's knowledge and contemplated by Himself alone. But the angel is circumscribed alike in time (for His being had commencement) and in place (but mental space, as we said above) and in apprehension. For they know somehow the nature of each other and have their bounds perfectly defined by the Creator. Bodies in short are circumscribed both in beginning and end, and bodily place and apprehension.

⁵⁵ Marg. ms. From various sources concerning God and the father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. And concerning the Word and the Spirit. The Deity, then, is quite unchangeable and invariable. For all things which are not in our hands He hath predetermined by His foreknowledge, each in its own proper and peculiar time and place. And accordingly the Father judgeth no one, but hath given all judgment to the Son. For clearly the Father and the Son and also the Holy Spirit judged as God. But the Son Himself will descend in the body as man, and will sit on the throne of Glory (for descending and sitting require circumscribed body), and will judge all the world in justice. All things are far apart from God, not in place but in nature. In our case, thoughtfulness, and wisdom, and counsel come to pass and go away as states of being. Not so in the case of God: for with Him there is no happening or ceasing to be: for He is invariable and unchangeable: and it would not be right to speak of contingency in connection with Him. For goodness is concomitant with essence. He who longs alway after God, he seeth Him: for God is in all things. Existing things are dependent on that which is, and nothing can be unless it is in that which is. God then is mingled with everything, maintaining their nature: and in His holy flesh the God-Word is made one in subsistence and is mixed with our nature, yet without confusion. No one seeth the Father, save the Son and the Spirit.

⁵⁶ The Son is the counsel and wisdom and power of the Father. For one may not speak of quality in connection with God, from fear of implying that He was a compound of essence and quality. The Son is from the Father, and derives from Him all His properties: hence He cannot do ought of Himself. For He has not energy peculiar to Himself and distinct from the Father. That God Who is invisible by nature is made visible by His energies, we per-

ceive from the organisation and government of the world. The Son is the Father's image, and the Spirit the Son's, through which Christ dwelling in man makes him after his own image. The Holy Spirit is God, being between the unbegotten and the begotten, and united to the Father through the Son. We speak of the Spirit of God, the Spirit of Christ, the mind of Christ, the Spirit of the Lord, the very Lord the Spirit of adoption, of truth, of liberty, of wisdom (for He is the creator of all these): filling all things with essence, maintaining all things, filling the universe with essence, while yet the universe is not the measure of His power.

⁵⁷ God is everlasting and unchangeable essence, creator of all that is, adored with pious consideration. God is also Father, being ever unbegotten, for He was born of no one, but hath begotten His co-eternal Son: God is likewise Son, being always with the Father, born of the Father timelessly, everlastingly, without flux or passion, or separation from Him. God is also Holy Spirit, being sanctifying power, subsistential, proceeding from the Father without separation, and resting in the Son, identical in essence with Father and Son. Word is that which is ever essentially present with the Father. Again, word is also the natural movement of the mind, according to which it is moved and thinks and considers, being as it were its own light and radiance. Again, word is the thought that is spoken only within the heart. And again, word is the utterance that is the messenger of thought. God therefore is Word essential and enhypostatic: and the other three kinds of word are faculties of the soul, and are not contemplated as having a proper subsistence of their own. The first of these is the natural offspring of the mind, ever welling up naturally out of it: the second is the thought: and the third is the utterance.

⁵⁸ The Spirit has various meanings. There is the Holy Spirit: but the powers of the Holy Spirit are also spoken of as spirits: the good messenger is also spirit: the demon also is spirit: the soul too is spirit: and sometimes mind also is spoken of as spirit. Finally the wind is spirit and the air is spirit. Chapter XIV. The properties of the divine nature. Uncreate, without beginning, immortal, infinite, eternal, immaterial good, creative, just, enlightening, immutable, passionless, uncircumscribed, immeasurable, unlimited, undefined, unseen, unthinkable, wanting in nothing, being His own rule and authority, all-ruling, life-giving, omnipotent, of infinite power, con-raining and maintaining the universe and making provision for all: all these and

such like attributes the Deity possesses by nature, not having received them from elsewhere, but Himself imparting all good to His own creations according to the capacity of each. The subsistences dwell and are established firmly in one another. For they are inseparable and cannot part from one another, but keep to their separate courses within one another, without coalescing or mingling, but cleaving to each other. For the Son is in the Father and the Spirit: and the Spirit in the Father and the Son: and the Father in the Son and the Spirit, but there is no coalescence or commingling or confusion. And there is one and the same motion: for there is one impulse and one motion of the three subsistences, which is not to be observed in any created nature.

⁵⁹Further the divine effulgence and energy, being one anti simple and indivisible, assuming many varied forms in its goodness among what is divisible and allotting to each the component parts of its own nature, still remains simple and is multiplied without division among the divided, and gathers and converts the divided into its own simplicity. For all things long after it and have their existence in it. It gives also to all things being according to their several natures and it is itself the being of existing things, the life of living things, the reason of rational beings, the thought of thinking beings. But it is itself above mind and reason and life and essence. Further the divine nature has the property of penetrating all things without mixing with them and of being itself impenetrable by anything else. Moreover, there is the property of knowing all things with a simple knowledge and of seeing all things, simply with His divine, all-surveying, immaterial eye, both the things of the present, and the things of the past, and the things of the future, before they come into being. It is also sinless, and can cast sin out, and bring salvation: and all that it wills, it can accomplish, but does not will all it could accomplish. For it could destroy the universe but it does not will so to do.

⁶⁰1St. John I. 18 (R.V.). 2St. Matt. xi. 27. 31 Cor.ii. 11 4Wisd. xiii. 5. 5Greg. Nas., Orat. 34 6Dionys., *De div. nom.*, c.1. 7Greg. Nas., Orat. 34. 8Reading o} per de oujk ejdunavmeqa for o}per de; oujn ejdunavmeqa. Cod. Reg. 3379 gives kai; o} orj dunavmeqa. 9Prov. xxii. 28. 1tav te th'' qeologiva'', tav te th'' oijkonomiva''. 1Dionys., *De div. nom.* c. I; Greg. Naz., Orat. 34 and 37. 1ou;siva, substance, being. 1uJpostavsesi, hypostases, persons. 1mia` de; sun-gevtw nJpostavsei. 1ou;siva, substance, being. 1Dionys., *De div. nom.*, c. 2. 1I-

bid. c. I. 1Supr. c. 1; cf. Greg. Naz., Orat. 34. 1Ps. xiv. I (E.V.). 2The readings vary between ajgnwsiva" and ajgnoiva". 2Greg. Naz., Orat. 34. 2Reading proaivresin; a variant is trophvn. 2Athan., Cont. Gent. 2Various reading, Who. 2Greg. Naz., Orat. 34. 2The Greek is tw ajptomavtw to the automatic; prehaps=to the accidental, or, to chance. 2Or, Whose was the disposing of them in order?

⁶¹ 2Or, Whose are the preserving of them, and the keeping of them in accordance with the principles under which they were first placed? 2para to; ajtovmaton; or, quite other than the spontaneous, or, than chance. 3Athan., De Incarn. Verbi, near the beginning. Greg. Naz., Orat. 34. 3Various reading, It is evident that the divine (to; Qei'on) is incorporeal. 3Text a'trepton. Most mss. read septovn. So, too, Greg. Naz., Orat. 34, from which these words are taken. An old interpretation is 'venerable ese._0" But in the opinion of Combetis, Gregory's text is corrupt, and a[trepton should be read, which reading is also supported by various authorities, including three Cod. Reg.: cf. also De Trinit. in Cyril. 3suvqesi". 3Greg. Naz., Orat. 32, 34. 3Text, swqhvsetai: various reading, sunqhvsetai. 3Jer. xxiii. 24. 3Greg. Naz. ut supr. 3The reference is to the Pythagorean and Aristolian ideas of the heavens as being like the body of Deity, something uncorrupt, different from the four elements, and therefore called a fifth body, or element (stoicei'on). In his Meteor. i. 3, De Caelo i. 3, &c., Aristotle speaks of the Ether as extending from the heaven of the fixed stars down to the moon, as of a nature specially adapted for circular motion, as the first element in rank, but as the fifth, "if we enumerate beginning with the elements directly known by the senses....the subsequently so-called tteuttov otolxelov, quinta essentia." The other elements, he taught, had the upward motion, or the downward: the earth having the attribute of heaviness, and its natural place in the world being the lowest; fire being the light element, and "its place the sphere next adjoining the sphere of the ether" See Ueberweg's History of Philosophy, Vol. I. p. 167, Morris's translation. and the chapter on the De Coelo in Grote's Aristotle, Vol II. pp. 389, &c.

⁶² 3Gref. Naz. ut supr. 4Or, such as are said to exist in the case of God, or in relation to God. The Greek is, o}sa perij Qeou', h' peri; Qeo'n ei'nai levgetai. 4Greg. Naz. ut supr. 4Greg. Naz., Orat. 32, 34. The Greek is, oijkeiovteron de; ma'llon ejk th'" ajpavntwn ajfairevsew" poiei'sqai to;n lovgon.It may be given thus:-It is more in accordance with the nature of the

cae rather to discourse of Him in the way of abstracting from him all that belongs to us. 4Dionys., *De Myst. Theolog.* 4Or, above being; uJpe;r oujsivan. 4Or, above being; uJpe;r oujsivan. 4Or, but only the things which relate to His nature. The Greek is, o[sa de; levgomen ejpi; Qeou` katafantikw", of th;n fuvsin, ajlla; ta; peri; th;n fuvsin dhloi`. 4Or, the things that relate to his nature. 4Various reading, but that He is one. 4Exod. xx. 2,3. 5Deut. vi. 4. 63 5Isai. xliii.10. 5St. John xvii. 3. 5See Thomas Aquin. I. quaest. II, Art. 4; also cf. Book iv., c. 21 beneath. The question of the unity of the Deity is similarly dealt with by those of the Fathers who wrote against the Marcionites and the Manichaeans, and by Athenagoras. 5Or, infinite; ajperivgrapton. 5Infr. lib. iv. c.21. 5Greg. Nyss., *Prol. Catech.* 5Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 35. 5Cf. Dionys., *De div. nom.*, c. 5, 13. 5a{logon; without Word, or, without Reason. 6Greg. Nyss., *Catech.*, c. I. 6In R. 2427 is added, 'who is the Son._0' 6di-hvrhtai, i.e. distinguished from the Father. Objection is taken to the use of such a verb as suggestive of division. It is often employed, however, by Greg. Naz. (e.g. *Orat.* 34) to express the distinction of persons. In many passages of Gregory and other Fathers the noun diaivresi" is used to express the distinction of persons. In many passages of Gregory and other Fathers the noun oi-aipeois is used to express the distinction of one thing from another: and in this sense it is opposed both to the Sabellian congusio and the Arian division.

64 6Reading uJpovstasin. Varios reading, u{parxin, existence. 6The Greek theologians, founding on the primary sense of the Greek term Pneu`ma, and on certain passages of Scripture in which the word seemed to retain that sense more or less (especially Psalm xxxiii. 6. in the Vulgate rendering, *verbo Dei coeli formati sunt: et spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum*), spoke of the Holy Ghost as proceeding from the Father like the breath of His mouth in the utterance or emission of His Word. See ch. 15 of this Book, where we have the sentence, oujdemiva ga;r oJrmh; a[neu pnevmato". Compare also such passages as these—Greg. Naz., *Orat.* i. 3: Cyril. Alex., *Thes.*, assert. 34, *De Trin.* dial. 2, p 425, and 7, pp. 634, 640; Basil, *Contra Eunom.*, B.V. and *De Spiritu Sancto*, ch.18; Greg. Scholar., *Contra Latin.*, de process. Spiritus Sancti, i. 4. where we have the statement ou{tw kai; to; a[gion Pneu`ma w}sper oJrmh; kai; kivnhsi", ejndotevra th"" uJperfuou" ejkeinw" oujsiva", so the Holy Spirit is like an impulse and movement within that supernatural essence.

⁶⁵ 6Or, substance; oujsiva. 6Text faneru'sa: various reading, fevrousa (cf. Cyril, De Trinitate.) 6Greg. Nyss., Catech., c.2. 6Text, ajkouvante": variant, ajkouvonte" (so in Cyril) 6So Cyril speaks frequently of the Holy spirit is proceeding from the Father and being (einai) and abiding (mewnein) in the Son; as also of the Spirit as being of the Son and having His nature in Him (ejx aujtu kai; ejmpefukw;"). The idea seems to have been that as the Son is in the bosom of the Father so the Spirit is in the bosom of the Son. The spirit was compared again to the energy, the natural, living energy, of the Son (ejnevrgeia fusikh; kai; zwsa, to; ejnerge;" tou` ijo`), Cyril, Dial 7 ad Hermiam. such terms as proboleu;" ejkfantorikou` pnevmato", the Producer, or, Emitter of the revealing Spirit, and the e{kfansi" or e[llamyi", the revealing, the forth-shewing, were also used to express the procession of the one eternal Person from the Other as like the emission or forth-shewing, were also used to express the procession of the one eternal Person from the Other as like the emission or forth-shewing or light from light.

⁶⁶ 7Greg. Naz., Orat. 37, 44. 7Text, pro;" pa'san provqesin: variant qevl-hsin in almost all the codices. 7ai[resi". 7Greg. Orat. 38, and elsewhere. 7Greg. Nyss., Catech., c.3. 7Ps. cxix. 89. 7Ib. cvii. 30. 7Text, diamevnei: variant, mevnei 7Ps. civ.30. 7Ib. xxxiii. 6. 8Job xxxiii. 4. 8Basil, De Spir. Sancto, ad Amphil. c. 18. 8Or, principle, ajrchvn. 8Cf. Ps. cxxxv. 6. 8Or, penetrating, ejpibateuvousan. 8ajcravntw". 8ujperouvson. 8ujperqeon, uJperavgaqov, uJperplhvrh. 8Greg. Naz., Orat. 13, n. 32. 8An argument much used against the Arians, the Macedonians, and the Sabellians. See e.g. Athan., ad Serap. Epist. I and 2; Basilm Conta Eunom., bk. iii., and De spiritu sancto, ch. 10, 12; Greg. Naz., Orat. 34 9St. Matt. xviii. 19. 9Or, principle, ajrchvn. 9proboleva. The term probolhv, rendered prolatio by Tertullian and Hilary, was rejected as unsuitable to the idea of the Divine procession, e.g. by Athanasius, who in his Expos. Fidei denies that the Word is ajpovrjrJoia, efflux, or tmh'si", segmen, or probolhv, emissio or prolatio, and by Jerome, Adv. Ruf., Apol. 2, his reason being that the word had been used by Gnostics in speaking of the emanations of Aeons, Greg. Naz., however, Orat. 13, 35, speaks of the Father as gennhvtwr and proboleuv", and of the Spirit as provblhma.

⁶⁷ 9Greg. Naz., Orat. 36. 9Ibid. 9I Cor. i. 24. 9The Word enhypostatic, of Lovgo" ejnupovstato". 9Heb. i. 3. 9the Arians admitted that the Son is in the Father, in the sense in which all created things are in God. Basil (De Spiritu Sancto, ch. 25, Orat. in Princip. evang. Joan.) takes the preposition suvn, in,

to express the idea of the *sunafeia*, or conjunction of the two. The Scholiast on the present passages calls attention to the two prepositions with and in as denoting the Son's eternal existence and His union with the Father, as the shining is with the light, and comes from it without separation. Basil, *De Spir. Sancto*, ch. 26, holds it better to say that the Spirit is one with (*sun-ei'nai*) the Father and the Son than that He is in (*ejnei'nai*) the Father and the Son. 9Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 35. 1Cyril, *Thesaurus*, assert. 4 and 5.

⁶⁸ 1Ibid., assert. 6. 1Ibid., assert. 4. 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 29. 1Text, *ajnovmoion pantelw'*, variant, *ajnovmoion pantelw'* kat oujsivan, cf. also Cyrill. 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 29 and 35. 1On this distinction between generation and creation, compare Athan., *Contra Arianos*, *Or.* 2, 3; Basil, *Contra Eunom.*, bk. iv; Cyril, *Thes.*, assert. 3. &c. 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 29. 1Cyril, *Thes.*, assert. 7 and 18. 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 29. 1Cyril, *Thes.*, assert. 5, 6, and 16; Greg., *Orat.* 35. 1*ajrreuvstw' genna' kai; ekto;* sunduasmou'. This argument is repeatedly made in refutation both of Gnostic ideas of emanation and Arian misrepresentation of the orthodox doctrine. Cf. Athan., *De Synodis*; Epiph., *Haeres.* 69.; Hilary, *De Trin.* iii. iv.; Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 45. 1*Infra*, Book ii. c.3. 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 45. 1Text, *mhd o{lw'*. Variant in many codices is *mhdamw'*, as in the previous sentence. 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* bk. i., *Cont. Eun.*, p. 66; Cyril, *Thes.*, assert. 5.

⁶⁹ 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 36. 1*ejnupovstaton*; enhypostatic. See Suicer, *Thesaurus*, sub voce. 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 23, 37, and 39. 1Cf. *ibid.* 23, 36. 1Athan., *Contra Arian.*, *Orat.* 2; Basil, *Contra Eunom.* iv.; Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 35. 1*ajxiwvmati*. 1Basil, bk. ii. and iv. 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 36 and 37. 1Man. *Dialog. contr. Arian.* 1Cyril, *Thes.*, assert. i, p. 12. 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 35. 1St. John xv. 26. 1Cf. Basil, *Contra Eunom.* v.; Athan., *Contra Arian.*, ii.; Cyril, *Thes.*, assert. 32; Epiph., *Haeres.* 73, &c. 1Ephes. iii. 14 and 15: Cyril. *Thes.*, assert. 32: Dionys., *De divin. nom.*, c. I. ⁷⁰ 1In the first Book of his *Contra Arianos* Athanasius refers to Christ's word in St. John xiv. 28. He remarks that He does not say "the Father is better (*kreivsswn*) than I," lest it should be inferred that the Son is not equal to the Father in Divine nature, but of another nature; but "the Father is greater (*meivzwn*) than I," that is to say, not in dignity or age, but as being begotten of the Father. And further, that by the word "greater" He indicates the peculiar property of the substance (*ph' oujsiva' th;n ijdiouvthta*). This declaration of our Lord's was understood in the same way by Basil, Gregory Nazianzenus, Cyril and others of the

Greek Fathers, and by Hilary among the Latin Fathers. In the ixth and xth Books of his *De Trinitate* Hilary refers to this, and says that the Father is called 'greater_0' *propter auctoritatem*, meaning by *auctoritas* not power, but what the Greeks understand by *aijtiovth*", causation, principle or authorship of being. So also Soebadius says that the Father is rightly called 'greater_0' because He alone is without an author of His being. But Latin theologians usually spoke of the Father as 'greater_0' not because He is Father, but because the Son was made Man. To this effect also Athanasius expresses himself in his *De Hum. carne suscepta*, while Gregory Nazianzenus speaks otherwise in his *Orat.* 36.

71 1St. John xiv. 28. *Itou;* "aijw`na"; Heb i. 3. 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 37; Athan., *Contr. Arian.*, bk. i. *ifaivnein*, shines. 1See Cyril, *Ad Herm.*, dial. 2; Irenaeus. iv. 14, v. 6, and John of Damascus, himself in his *Dial. Contr. Manich.* 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 13, 31 and 37. 1St. John v. 19. *Itevleia ujpovstasi*"; a perfect hypostasis. 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 37. 1hJgehonikovn. 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 49. *Iqeou`n ouj qeouvmenon*. 1Text *ouj ga;r e[k tunos@@@ ejx eJautou` ga;r to` ei`nai e[cei, oujde ti tw`n o{saper e[cei ejx eJtevrou e[cei@@@* Another reading is, *ouj ga;r e[k tino` to; einai e[cei, oujde; ti tw`n osa e[cei*, i.e. or He does not derive His being nor any one of His qualities from any one. 1See Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 29, 35; Thomas Aquin., I. *Quaest.* 35, art. I. 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 25. 1See Athan., *Contra Arian.*, *Orat.* 3; Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 35. So Augustine (*Contr. max.* iii. 14, *De Trin.* xv.). Epiphanius (*Anchor.*), and Gregory of Nyssa (*Epist. ad Ablab.*) teach that the Spirit proceeds, and is not begotten, because He is both of the Father and the Son, while the Son is only of the Father.

72 1Reading, *dia; to ei`nai to;n Patevra* a variant is, *dia; to; ei`nai aujto;v Patevra*, as also in Cyrilli, *De Trinitate*. 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 23. 1Ibid., *Orat.*, 25. *IuJpovstasei*"; hypostases. 1See Athan., *Contra Arian.*, *Orat.* 5. 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 13 and 29: Athan., *Orat. Contr. Arian.* 1The Greek is *o{qen oujde; levqomen to; ei`do` ejx uJpostavsewn, ajll@@@ ejn uJpostavsesin*. See Basil., *Orat. Contr. Sabell.*, *Ar. et Eunom.* 1See Greg. Naz., *Orat.* I and 37. 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 29, 34 and 40. 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 37. 1Ibid. 32. *Iph;n th` gn-wvmh` suvhpnoian*; co-operation of judgment, or, disposition. 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 40. The Greek is singular and difficult: *to; e[n e[xalma th` kinhvsew`*; the one forthleaping of the motion, or movement. Origen speaks of *hJ ajp@@@ auJtou` kivnhsi`* (I. 436 A.). In Athanasius (I. 253 C.) *kivnhsi`* has

the metaphorical sense of indignation. 1Greg. Naz., Orat. 37: Greg. Nyss., Epist. ad Ablab. et Orat. 32.

⁷³ 1Basil., Epist. 43. 1St. John xiv. II. 1eij" e}n ai[tion. so elsewhere it is put, w{sper miva ajrchv, kata; tou`to ei| " Qeov". The three Persons or Subsistences are yet One God, because of the one Principle of Being whence Son and spirit derive. So the Father is said to be the e{nwsi" ejx ou| kai; pro;" o}n a[nagetai ta; ejxh". ⁷⁴ 1The Greek runs thus: —kai; th;n ejn ajllhvlai" pericwvrrhsin e[cousi divca pavsh" sunaloifh" kai; sumfuvrsew". The term pericwvrrhsi", circumincesso, immanentia, was meant to express the peculiarity of the relations of the Three Divine Persons or Subsistences—their Indwelling in each other, the fact that; while they are distinct they yet are in one another, the Coinherence which implies their equal and identical Godhead. "In the Trinity," says Bishop Bull (Defence of the Nicene Creed, bk. iv. ch. iv., secs. 13, 14), "the circumincession is most proper and perfect, forasmuch as the Persons mutually contain Each Other, and all the three have an immeasurable whereabouts (immensum ubi, as the Schoolmen express it), so that wherever one Person is there the other two exist; in otherwords They are all everywhere...This outcome of the circumincession of the Persons in the Trinity is so far from introducing Sabellianism, that it is of great use, as Petavius has also observed, for confuting that heresy. For, in order to that mutual existence (in each other) which is discerned in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, it is absolutely necessary that there should be different in reality, and not in mode of conception only; for that which is simply one is not said to exist in itself, or to interpenetrate itsef... Lastly, this is to be especially considered—tht this circumincession of the Divine Persons is indeed a very great mystery, which we ought rather religiously to adore than curiously to pry into. No similitude can be devised which shall be in every respect apt to illustrate it; no language avails worthily to set it forth, seeing that it is an union which far transcends all ohter unions."

⁷⁵ 1Greg., Orat. 29; Dionys., De div. nom., c. 2. 1Greg. Naz., Orat. 37. 1Greg. Naz., Orat. 19 and 29. 1Text, ai[tiom: variant, ajnaivtion, causeless. 1Maxim. Epist. ad Marin. 1ejk tou` UiJou de; to; Pneu`ma ouj levgomen. See also ch. xii., kai; UiJou` Pneu`ma oujc wJ" ejx ajtouto`, and at the close of the Epist. ad Jordan, Pneu`ma UiJou` mh ejx UiJou`. 1Rom. viii. 9. 1St. John xx. 29. 1Greg. Naz., Orat. 37. 1The Greek runs:—h] scevsin tina; pro;" ti; tw n ajntidiastellomevnwn, h{ ti; tw`n parepomenwn th/ fu;sei, h] ejnevrgaian.

1Rendered in the Septuagint Version, JEgww eijmi oJ w[n. Some of the Fathers made much of the fact that it is not the neuter form to; o[n. 1Exod. iii. 14. 1Greg. Naz., Orat. 36. 1Dionys., De div. nom. c. 2, 3 and 4. this sentence and the next are absent in some mss., and are rather more obscurely stated than usual with John of Damascus.

76 1In his Cratylus Plato gives this etymology, and Eusebius quotes it in his Prep. Evangel. i. Clement of Alexandria refers to it more than once in his Strom., bk. iv., and in his Protrept., where he says—Sidera qevou" ejk tou' qevain, deos a currendo nominarunt. 1Deut. iv. 24 12 Mach. x. 5. 1kata; th;n qelhtikh;n auktou` a[cronon e[nnoian. See Thomas Aquin., I., II. Quaest. 17, Art. I, where he says, est actus rationis, praesupposito tamen actu voluntatis. 1This sentence is absent in some mss., being added at the end of the chapter with the mark scovl. 1Dionys., De div. nom., c. 5. 1parevpontai th` fuvsei; follow the nature, are consequenta of the nature, or accompany it. 1Greg. Naz., Orat. 45; cf. also Epist. ad. Evagr., and Greg. Nyss., Epist. ad Ablab.; Dionys., De div. nom., c.2; Basil, Epist. 43 ad Greg. fratr. 1Dionys., De div. nom., c. 2; Greg. Naz., Orat. 37 and 45; Nyss. Epist. ad. Ablab.

77 1oj de; aJlhqh;" lovgo". 1Text, a[nqrwpo", which is absent in some codices and in Dionys., De div. nom., from which these words are taken. 1Greg. Naz., Orat. 24; Dionys., De div. nom., c.2. 1Dionys., De div. nom., c. I.; De Cael. Hier., c. 15. 1Greg. Naz., Orat. 37. 1Text, pavnta to;n a[nqrwpon: variant, a[panta. 1Dionys., De div. nom., c. I. 1Athan., Orat. 2, Cont. Arian.; Cyril, Thes., assert. 13. 1Text reads, wJ" ujpavrcio": surely a misprint for wJ" uJperavrci". 1This chapter is not found in the oldest copies, but only in a few of the latest date. In Cod. Reg. 3109 it comes in after bk. iv. c. 9, and in Cod. Reg. 3451, after bk. ii. c. 2. 1Greg. Naz., Orat. 36. 1Dionys., De div. nom., c. I 2Text, eij de; kai; tw`n o[ntwn aij gnwsei", to; {perouvSION pw"" gnwqhVsetai; a variant, eij de; aiJ fuvsei: a[gnwstoi, aujto; uJperouvSION pw"" gnwqhsetai. If the natures are unknown how can the superessential itself be known?

78 2Or, super-substantial, uJperouvSio". 2aJnouvsio", non-substantial, without substance. 2Coloss. i. 17. 2Dionys., De div. nom., c. 5. 2Text, aj-paraleivprw": variant, ajparallavktw", unchangeably, an adverb used by the Greeks in connection with the equality of the divine persons. 2proboleuv", Lat. productor, Emitter. 2Or, Word: lovgo". 2qevkhsi", cf. Cyril, Th., assert. 7; Athan., Contr. Arian. 4; Greg. Nyss., Contr. Eunom., p. 345. 2hJ monh; duvnami" tou Patro";, h prokatartikh; th"" tw`n pavntwn poiHVsew". The hJ

prokatartikhv is understood by some to mean the primordial or immediate Cause, by others to be better rendered as the primordial Power or Energy. Basil in his *De Spiritu Sancto* speaks of the Father as the primordial Cause (prokatartikh; aijtiva) in the creation of the world. 2Arist., *Physic*, bk. iv. 4. 2Text, oi|on oJ ajh;r perievxei, to` de` sw`ma periev cetai@@@ oujc o[lo" de oJ periev cwn ajhvr, &c. Variant, oi|on oJ ajh;r perievcei tovde sw`ma, oujc o[lo", &c. 79 2a[?lo" w[n. Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 34, Greg. Nyss., *De anim. et resurr.*, &c. speak of God as nowhere and as everywhere. 2Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 34. 2Isai. vi. I, seq. 2Isai. lxvi. i. 2Baruch iii. 38 2Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 44. 2St. John v.22. 2St. John vi. 46. 2Ibid. v. 30. 2Greg., *Orat.* 36. 2Wisd. xii. 5. 2Basil, *Cont. Eun.*, bk. v. 2mevson tou` ajgennhv tou kai; tou` gennhtoy`, kai di@@@ Uijou` tw` Patri; sunptovhenon. 2aujtokuvrio". 2proforikov" is absent in mss. but added by a second hand in one codex. 2oujsiwdh" tev ejsti kai;ejnupovstato". Against the Sabellian doctrine, the views of Paul of Samosata., &c. 2phgazovmenon. 2Text, to; a[u>lon: in one codex there is added as emendation or explanation, to; ajplou"v, to; ajsvnqeton. 2Greg. Naz., *Orat.* I, 13 and 40. 2Dioyns., *De div. nom.*, c. 5. 2Text, kaqw;" e[cei fuvsew": in the margin of the manuscript is wJ" e[cousi. 2Dan. ii. 22.

CHAPTER I.

1 Concerning aeon or age. He created the ages Who Himself was. before the ages, Whom the divine David thus addresses, From age to age Thou art. The divine apostle also says, Through Whom He created the ages. It must then be understood that the word age has various meanings, for it denotes many things. The life of each man is called an age. Again, a period of a thousand years is called an age. Again, the whole course of the present life is called an age: also the future life, the immortal life after the resurrection is spoken of as an age. Again, the word age is used to denote, not time nor yet a part of time as measured by the movement and course of the sun, that is to say, composed of days and nights, but the sort of temporal motion and interval that is co-extensive with eternity. For age is to things eternal just what time is to things temporal.

2 Seven ages of this world are spoken of, that is, from the creation of the heaven and earth till the general consummation and resurrection of men. For there is a partial consummation, viz., the death of each man: but there is also a general and complete consummation, when the general resurrection of men will come to pass. And the eighth age is the age to come. Before the

world was formed, when there was as yet no sun dividing day from night, there was not an age such as could be measured but there was the sort of temporal motion and interval that is co-extensive with eternity. And in this sense there is but one age, and God is spoken of as *ai0w/nioj* and *proaiw/nioj*, for the age or aeon itself is His creation. For God, Who alone is without beginning, is Himself the Creator of all things, whether age or any other existing thing. And when I say God, it is evident that I mean the Father and His Only. begotten Son, our Lord, Jesus Christ, and His all-holy Spirit, our one God.

3 But we speak also of ages of ages, inasmuch as the seven ages of the present world include many ages in the sense of lives of men, and the one age embraces all the ages, and the present and the future are spoken of as age of age. Further, everlasting (i.e. *ai0w/nioj*) life and everlasting punishment prove that the age or aeon to come is unending. For time will not be counted by days and nights even after the resurrection, but there will rather be one day with no evening, wherein the Sun of Justice will shine brightly on the just, but for the sinful there will be night profound and limitless. In what way then will the period of one thousand years be counted which, according to Origen is required for the complete restoration? Of all the ages, therefore, the sole creator is God Who hath also created the universe and Who was before the ages.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the creation. Since, then, God, Who is good and more than good, did not find satisfaction in self-contemplation, but in fits exceeding goodness wished certain things to come into existence which would enjoy His benefits and share in His goodness, He brought all things out of nothing into being and created them, both what is invisible and what is visible. Yea, even man, who is a compound of the visible and the invisible. And it is by thought that He creates, and thought is the basis of the work, the Word filling it and the Spirit perfecting it.

CHAPTER III

1 Concerning angels. He is Himself the Maker and Creator of the angels: for He brought them out of nothing into being and created them after His own image, an incorporeal race, a sort of spirit or immaterial fire: in the words of the divine David, He maketh His angels spirits, and His ministers a flame of

fire: and He has described their lightness and the ardour, and heat, and keenness and sharpness with which they hunger for God and serve Him, and how they are borne to the regions above and are quite delivered from all material thought. An angel, then, is an intelligent essence, in perpetual motion, with free-will, incorporeal, ministering to God, having obtained by grace an immortal nature: and the Creator alone knows the form and limitation of its essence. But all that we can understand is, that it is incorporeal and immaterial. For all that is compared with God Who alone is incomparable, we find to be dense and material. For in reality only the Deity is immaterial and incorporeal.

² The angel's nature then is rational, and intelligent, and endowed with free-will, change. able in will, or fickle. For all that is created is changeable, and only that which is un-created is unchangeable. Also all that is rational is endowed with free-will. As it is, then, rational and intelligent, it is endowed with free-will: and as it is created, it is changeable, having power either to abide or progress in goodness, or to turn towards evil. It is not susceptible of repentance because it is incorporeal. For it is owing to the weakness of his body that man comes to have repentance. It is immortal, not by nature but by grace. For all that has had beginning comes also to its natural end. But God alone is eternal, or rather, He is above the Eternal: for He, the Creator of times, is not under the dominion of time, but above time.

³ They are secondary intelligent lights derived from that first light which is without beginning, for they have the power of illumination; they have no need of tongue or hearing, but without uttering words they communicate to each other their own thoughts and counsels. Through the Word, therefore, all the angels were created, and through the sanctification by the Holy Spirit were they brought to perfection, sharing each in proportion to his worth and rank in brightness and grace. They are circumscribed: for when they are in the Heaven they are not on the earth: and when they are sent by God down to the earth they do not remain in the Heaven. They are not hemmed in by walls and doors, and bars and seals, for they are quite unlimited. Unlimited, I repeat, for it is not as they really are that they reveal themselves to the worthy men to whom God wishes them to appear, but in a changed form which the beholders are capable of seeing. For that alone is naturally and strictly unlimited which is un-created. For every created thing is limited by God Who created it.

4 Further, apart from their essence they receive the sanctification from the Spirit: through the divine grace they prophesy: they have no need of marriage for they are immortal. Seeing that they are minds they are in mental places and are not circumscribed after the fashion of a body. For they have not a bodily form by nature, nor are they tended in three dimensions. But to whatever post they may be assigned, there they are present after the manner of a mind and energise, and cannot be present and energise in various places at the same time. Whether they are equals in essence or differ from one another we know not. God, their Creator, Who knoweth all things, alone knoweth. But they differ from each other in brightness and position, whether it is that their position is dependent on their brightness, or their brightness on their position: and they impart brightness to one another, because they excel one another in rank and nature. And clearly the higher share their brightness and knowledge with the lower.

5 They are mighty and prompt to fulfil the will of the Deity, and their nature is endowed with such celerity that wherever the Divine glance bids them there they are straightway found. They are the guardians of the divisions of the earth: they are set over nations and regions, allotted to them by their Creator: they govern all our affairs and bring us succour. And the reason surely is because they are set over us by the divine will and command and are ever in the vicinity of God. With difficulty they are moved to evil, yet they are not absolutely immoveable: but now they are altogether immoveable, not by nature but by grace and by their nearness to the Only Good. They behold God according to their capacity, and this is their food. They are above us for they are incorporeal, and are free of all bodily passion, yet are not passionless: for the Deity alone is passionless.

6 They take different forms at the bidding of their Master, God, and thus reveal themselves to men and unveil the divine mysteries to them. They have Heaven for their dwelling-place, and have one duty, to sing God's praise and carry out His divine will. Moreover, as that most holy, and sacred, and gifted theologian, Dionysius the Areopagite says, All theology, that is to say, the holy Scripture, has nine different names for the heavenly essences. These essences that divine master in sacred things divides into three groups, each containing three. And the first group, he says, consists of those who are in God's presence and are said to be directly and immediately one with Him, viz., the Seraphim with their six wings, the many-eyed Cherubim and those

that sit in the holiest thrones. The second group is that of the Dominions, and the Powers, and the Authorities; and the third, and last, is that of the Rulers and Archangels and Angels

⁷ Some, indeed like Gregory the Theologian, say that these were before the creation of other things. He thinks that the angelic and heavenly powers were first and that thought was their function. Others, again, hold that they were created after the first heaven was made. But all are agreed that it was before the foundation of man. For myself, I am in harmony with the theologian. For it was fitting that the mental essence should be the first created, and then that which can be perceived, and finally man himself, in whose being both parts are united. But those who say that the angels are creators of any kind of essence whatever are the mouth of their father, the devil. For since they are created things they are not creators. But He Who creates and provides for and maintains all things is God, Who alone is uncreate and is praised and glorified in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

CHAPTER IV.

¹ Concerning the devil and demons. He who from among these angelic powers was set over the earthly realm, and into whose hands God committed the guardianship of the earth, was not made wicked in nature but was good, and made for good ends, and received from his Creator no trace whatever of evil in himself. But he did not sustain the brightness and the honour which the Creator had bestowed on him, and of his free choice was changed from what was in harmony to what was at variance with his nature, and became roused against God Who created him, and determined to rise in rebellion against Him: and he was the first to depart from good and become evil. For evil is nothing else than absence of goodness, just as darkness also is absence of light. For goodness is the light of the mind, and, similarly, evil is the darkness of the mind. Light, therefore, being the work of the Creator and being made good (for God saw all that He made, and behold they were exceeding good) produced darkness at His free-will. But along with him an innumerable host of angels subject to him were torn away and followed him and shared in his fall. Wherefore, being of the same nature as the angels, they became wicked, turning away at their own free choice from good to evil

² Hence they have no power or strength against any one except what God in His dispensation hath conceded to them, as for instance, against Job and those swine that are mentioned in the Gospels. But when God has made the

concession they do prevail, and are changed and transformed into any form whatever in which they wish to appear. Of the future both the angels of God and the demons are alike ignorant: yet they make predictions. God reveals the future to the angels and commands them to prophesy, and so what they say comes to pass. But the demons also make predictions, sometimes because they see what is happening at a distance, and sometimes merely making guesses: hence much that they say is false and they should not be believed, even although they do often, in the way we have said, tell what is true. Besides they know the Scriptures.

³ All wickedness, then, and all impure passions are the work of their mind. But while the liberty to attack man has been granted to them, they have not the strength to over master any one: for we have it in our power to receive or not to receive the attack. Wherefore there has been prepared for the devil and his demons, and those who follow him, fire unquenchable and everlasting punishment. Note, further, that what in the case of man is death is a fall in the case of angels. For after the fall there is no possibility of repentance for them, just as after death there is for men no repentance.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the visible creation. Our God Himself, Whom we glorify as Three in One, created the heaven and the earth and all that they contain and brought all things out of nothing into being: some He made out of no pre-existing basis of matter, such as heaven, earth, air, fire, water: and the rest out of these elements that He had created, such as living creatures, plants, seeds. For these are made up of earth, and water, and air, and fire, at the bidding of the Creator.

CHAPTER VI.

¹ Concerning the Heaven. The heaven is the circumference of things created, both visible and invisible. For within its boundary are included and marked off both the mental faculties of the angels and all the world of sense. But the Deity alone is uncircumscribed, filling all things, and surrounding all things, and hounding all things, for He is above all things, and has created all things. Since therefore, the Scripture speaks of heaven, and heaven of heaven and heavens of heavens and the blessed Paul says that he was snatched away to the third heaven we say that in the cosmogony of the universe we accept the creation of a heaven which the foreign philosophers, appropriating

the views of Moses, call a starless sphere. But further, God called the firmament also heaven which He commanded to be in the midst of the waters, setting it to divide the waters that are above the firmament from the waters that are below the firmament. And its nature, according to the divine Basilus who is versed in the mysteries of divine Scripture, is delicate as smoke. Others, however, hold that it is watery in nature, since it is set in the midst of the waters: others say it is composed of the four elements: and lastly, others speak of it as a filth body, distinct from the four elements.

² Further, some have thought that the heaven encircles the universe and has the form of a sphere, and that everywhere it is the highest point, and that the centre of the space enclosed by it is the lowest part: and, further, that those bodies that are light and airy are allotted by the Creator the upper region: while those that are heavy and tend to descend occupy the lower region, which is the middle. The element, then, that is lightest and most inclined to soar upwards is fire, and hence they hold that its position is immediately after the heaven, and they call it ether, and after it comes the lower air. But earth and water, which are heavier and have more of a downward tendency, are suspended in the centre. Therefore, taking them in the reverse order, we have in the lowest situation earth and water: but water is lighter than earth, and hence is more easily set in motion: above these on all hands, like a covering; is the circle of air, and all round the air is the circle of ether, and outside air is the circle of the heaven.

³ Further, they say that the heaven moves in a circle and so compresses all that is within it, that they remain firm and not liable to fall asunder. They say also that there are seven zones of the heaven one higher than the other. And its nature, they say, is of extreme fineness, like that of smoke, and each zone contains one of the planets. For there are said to be seven planets: Sol, Luna, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Venus and Saturn. But sometimes Venus is called Lucifer and sometimes Vesper. These are called planets because their movements are the reverse of those of the heaven. For while the heaven and all other stars move from east to west, these alone move from west to east. And this can easily be seen in the case of the moon, which moves each evening a little backwards. All, therefore, who hold that the heaven is in the form of a sphere, say that it is equally removed and distant from the earth at all points, whether above, or sideways, or below. And by 'below' and 'sideways' I mean all that comes within the range of our senses. For it follows

from what has been said, that the heaven occupies the whole of the upper region and the earth the whole of the lower. They say, besides, that the heaven encircles the earth in the manner of a sphere, and bears along with it in its most rapid revolutions sun, moon and stars, and that when the sun is over the earth it becomes day there, and when it is under the earth it is night. And, again, when the sun goes under the earth it is night here, but day yonder.

⁴ Others have pictured the heaven as a hemisphere. This idea is suggested by these words of David, the singer of God, Who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain by which word he clearly means a tent: and by these from the blessed Isaiah, Who hath established the heavens like a vault: and also because when the sun, moon, and stars set they make a circuit round the earth from west to north, and so reach once more the east. Still, whether it is this way or that, all things have been made and established by the divine command, and have the divine will and counsel for a foundation that cannot be moved. For He Himself spoke and they were made: He Himself commanded and they were created. He hath also established them for ever and ever: He hath made a decree which will not pass. ⁵ The heaven of heaven, then, is the first heaven which is above the firmament. So here we have two heavens, for God called the firmament also Heaven. And it is customary in the divine Scripture to speak of the air also as heavens, because we see it above us. Bless Him, it says, all ye birds of the heaven, meaning of the air. For it is the air and not the heaven that is the region in which birds fly. So here we have three heavens, as the divine Apostle said. But if you should wish to look upon the seven zones as seven heavens there is no injury done to the word of truth. For it is usual in the Hebrew tongue to speak of heaven in the plural, that is, as heavens, and when a Hebrew wishes to say heaven of heaven, he usually says heavens of heavens, and this clearly means heaven of heaven which is above the firmament, and the waters which are above the heavens, whether it is the air and the firmament, or the seven zones of the firmament, or the firmament itself which are spoken of in the plural as heavens according to the Hebrew custom.

⁶ All things, then, which are brought into existence are subject to corruption according to the law of their nature and so even the heavens themselves are corruptible. But by the grace of God they are maintained and preserved. Only the Deity, however, is by nature without beginning and without end.

Wherefore it has been said, They will perish, but Thou dost endure: nevertheless, the heavens will not be utterly destroyed. For they will wax old and be wound round as a covering, and will be changed, and there will be a new heaven and a new earth. For the great part the heaven is greater than the earth, but we need not investigate the essence of the heaven, for it is quite beyond our knowledge. 7 It must not be supposed that the heavens or the luminaries are endowed with life. For they are inanimate and insensible. So that when the divine Scripture saith, Let the heavens rejoice and the earth be glad it is the angels in heaven and the men on earth that are invited to rejoice. For the Scripture is familiar with the figure of personification, and is wont to speak of inanimate things as though they were animate: for example The sea saw it and fled: Jordan was driven back. And again, What ailed thee, O thou sea, that thou fleddest? thou, O Jordan, that thou was driven back? Mountains, too, and hills are asked the reason of their leaping in the same way as we are wont to say, the city was gathered together, when we do not mean the buildings, but the inhabitants of the city: again, the heavens declare the glory of God does not mean that they send forth a voice that can be heard by bodily ears, but that from their own greatness they bring before our minds the power of the Creator: and when we contemplate their beauty we praise the Maker as the Master-Craftsman.

CHAPTER VII.

1 Concerning light, fire, the luminaries, sun, moon and stars. Fire is one of the four elements, light and with a greater tendency to ascend than the others. It has the power of burning and also of giving light, and it was made by the Creator on the first day. For the divine Scripture says, And God said, Let there be light, and there was light. Fire is not a different thing from what light is, as some maintain. Others again hold that this fire of the universe is above the air and call it ether. In the beginning, then, that is to say on the first day, God created light, the ornament and glory of the whole visible creation. For take away light and all things remain in undistinguishable darkness, incapable of displaying their native beauty. And God called the light day, but the darkness He called night. Further, darkness is not any essence, but an accident: for it is simply absence of light. The air, indeed, has not light in its essence. It was, then, this very absence of light from the air that God called darkness: and it is not the essence of air that is darkness, but the absence of light which clearly is rather an accident than an essence. And, in-

deed, it was not night, but day, that was first named, so that day is first and after that comes night. Night, therefore, follows day. And from the beginning of day till the next day is one complete period of day and night. For the Scripture says, And the evening and the morning were one day.

² When, therefore, in the first three days the light was poured forth and reduced at the divine command, both day and night came to pass. But on the fourth day God created the great luminary, that is, the sun, to have rule and authority over the day: for it is by it that day is made: for it is day when the sun is above the earth, and the duration of a day is the course of the sun over the earth from its rising till its setting. And He also created the lesser luminaries, that is, the moon and the stars, to have rule and authority over the night, and to give light by night. For it is night when the sun is under the earth, and the duration of night is the course of the sun under the earth from its rising till its setting. The moon, then, and the stars were set to lighten the night: not that they are in the daytime under the earth, for even by day stars are in the heaven over the earth but the sun conceals both the stars and the moon by the greater brilliance of its light and prevents them from being seen.

³ On these luminaries the Creator bestowed the first-created light: not because He was in need of other light, but that that light might not remain idle. For a luminary is not merely light, but a vessel for containing light. There are, we are told, seven planets amongst these luminaries, and these move in a direction opposite to that of the heaven: hence the name planets. For, while they say that the heaven moves from east to west, the planets move from west to east; but the heaven bears the seven planets along with it by its swifter motion. Now these are the names of the seven planets: Luna, Mercury, Venus, Sol, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and in each zone of heaven is, we are told, one of these seven planets: In the first and highest Saturn, In the second Jupiter, In the third Mars, In the fourth Sol, In the fifth Venu, In the sixth Mercury, In the seventh and lowest Luna.

⁴ The course which the Creator appointed for them to run is unceasing and remaineth fixed as He established them. For the divine David says, The moon and the stars which Thou establishedst and by the word 'establishedst,' he referred to the fixity and unchangeableness of the order and series granted to them by God. For He appointed them for seasons, and signs, and days and years. It is through the Sun that the four seasons are brought about. And the

first of these is spring: for in it God created all things and even down to the present time its presence is evidenced by the bursting of the flowers into bud, and this is the equinoctial period, since day and night each consist of twelve hours. It is caused by the sun rising in the middle, and is mild and increases the blood, and is warm and moist, and holds a position midway between winter and summer, being warmer and drier than winter, but colder and moister than summer. This season lasts from March 21st till June 24th. Next, when the rising of the sun moves towards more northerly parts, the season of summer succeeds, which has a place midway between spring and autumn, combining the warmth of spring with the dryness of autumn: for it is dry and warm, and increases the yellow bile. In it falls the longest day, which has fifteen hours, and the shortest night of all, having only nine hours. This season lasts from June 24th till September 25th.

5 Then when the sun again returns to the middle, autumn takes the place of summer. It has a medium amount of cold and heat, dryness and moisture, and holds a place midway between summer and winter, combining the dryness of summer with the cold of winter. For it is cold and dry, and increases the black bile. This season, again, is equinoctial, both day and night consisting of twelve hours, and it lasts from September 25th till December 25th. And when the rising of the sun sinks to its smallest and lowest point, i.e. the south, winter is reached, with its cold and moisture. It occupies a place midway between autumn and spring, combining the cold of autumn and the moisture of spring. In it falls the shortest day, which has only nine hours, and the longest night, which has fifteen: and it lasts from December 25th till March 21st. For the Creator made this wise provision that we should not pass from the extreme of cold, or heat, or dryness, or moisture, to the opposite extreme, and thus incur grievous maladies. For reason itself teaches us the danger of sudden changes.

6 So, then, it is the sun that makes the seasons, and through them the year: it likewise makes the days and nights, the days when it rises and is above the earth, and the nights when it sets below the earth: and it bestows on the other luminaries, both moon and stars, their power of giving forth light. Further, they say that there are in the heaven twelve signs made by the stars, and that these move in an opposite direction to the sun and moon, and the other five planets, and that the seven planets pass across these twelve signs. Further, the sun makes a complete month in each sign and traverses

the twelve signs in the same number of months. These, then, are the names of the twelve signs and their respective months:- The Ram, which receives the sun on the 21st of March. The Bull, on the 23rd of April.

⁷ The Twins, on the 24th of May. The Crab, on the 24th of June. The Virgin, on the 25th of July. The Scales, on the 25th of September. The Scorpion, on the 25th of October. The Archer, on the 25th of November. Capricorn, on the 25th of December. Aquarius, on the 25th of January. The Fish, on the 24th of February. But the moon traverses the twelve signs each month, since it occupies a lower position and travels through the signs at a quicker rate. For if you draw one circle within another, the inner one will be found to be the lesser: and so it is that owing to the moon occupying a lower position its course is shorter and is sooner completed ⁸ Now the Greeks declare that all our affairs are controlled by the rising and setting and collision of these stars, viz., the sun and moon: for it is with these matters that astrology has to do. But we hold that we get from them signs of rain and drought, cold and heat, moisture and dryness, and of the various winds, and so forth but no sign whatever as to our actions. For we have been created with free wills by our Creator and are masters over our own actions. Indeed, if all our actions depend on the courses of the stars, all we do is done of necessity: and necessity precludes either virtue or vice. But if we possess neither virtue nor vice, we do not deserve praise or punishment, and God, too, will turn out to be unjust, since He gives good things to some and afflicts others. Nay, He will no longer continue to guide or provide for His own creatures, if all things are carried and swept along in the grip of necessity. And the faculty of reason will be superfluous to us: for if we are not masters of any of our actions, deliberation is quite superfluous. Reason, indeed, is granted to us solely that we might take counsel, and hence all reason implies freedom of will.

⁹ And, therefore, we hold that the stars are not the causes of the things that occur, nor of the origin of things that come to pass, nor of the destruction of those things that perish. They are rather signs of showers and changes of air. But, perhaps, some one may say that though they are not the causes of wars, yet they are signs of them. And, in truth, the quality of the air which is produced by sun, and moon, and stars, produces in various ways different temperaments, and habits, and dispositions. But the habits are amongst the things that we have in our own hands, for it is reason that rules, and directs, and changes them. It often happens, also, that comets arise. These are signs

of the death of kings and they are not any of the stars that were made in the beginning, but are formed at the same time by divine command and again dissolved. And so not even that star which the Magi saw at the birth of the Friend and Saviour of man, our Lord, Who became flesh for our sake, is of the number of those that were made in the beginning. And this is evidently the case because sometimes its course was from east to west, and sometimes from north to south; at one moment it was hidden, and at the next it was revealed: which is quite out of harmony with the order and nature of the stars.

¹⁰ It must be understood, then, that the moon derives its light from the sun; not that God was unable to grant it light of its own, but in order that rhythm and order may be unimpressed upon nature, one part ruling, the other being ruled, and that we might thus be taught to live in community and to share our possessions with one another, and to be under subjection, first to our Maker and Creator, our God and Master, and then also to the rulers set in authority over us by Him: and not to question why this man is ruler and not I myself, but to welcome all that comes from God in a gracious and reasonable spirit. The sun and the moon, moreover, suffer eclipse, and this demonstrates the folly of those who worship the creature in place of the Creator and teaches us how changeable and alterable all things are. For all things are changeable save God, and whatever is changeable is liable to corruption in accordance with the laws of its own nature.

¹¹ Now the cause of the eclipse of the sun is that the body of the moon is interposed like a partition-wall and casts a shadow, and prevents the light from being shed down on us: and the extent of the eclipse is proportional to the size of the moon's body that is found to conceal the sun. But do not marvel that the moon's body is the smaller. For many declare that the sun is many times larger even than the earth, and the holy Fathers say that it is equal to the earth: yet often a small cloud, or even a small hill or a wall quite conceals it. The eclipse of the moon, on the other hand, is due to the shadow the earth casts on it when it is a fifteen days' moon and the sun and moon happen to be at the opposite poles of the highest circle, the sun being under the earth and the moon above the earth. For the earth casts a shadow and the sun's light is prevented from illuminating the moon, and therefore it is then eclipsed.

¹² It should be understood that the moon was made full by the Creator, that is, a fifteen days' moon: for it was fitting that it should be made com-

plete. But on the fourth day, as we said, the sun was created. Therefore the moon was eleven days in advance of the sun, because from the fourth to the fifteenth day there are eleven days. Hence it happens that in each year the twelve months of the moon contain eleven days fewer than the twelve months of the sun. For the twelve months of the sun contain three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter days, and so because the quarter becomes a whole, in four years an extra day is completed, which is called bis-sextile. And that year has three hundred and sixty-six days. The years of the moon, on the other hand, have three hundred and fifty-four days. For the moon wanes from the time of its origin, or renewal, till it is fourteen and three-quarter days' old, and proceeds to wane till the twenty-ninth and a half day, when it is completely void of light. And then when it is once more connected with the sun it is reproduced and renewed, a memorial of our resurrection. Thus in each year the moon gives away eleven days to the sun, and so in three years the intercalary month of the Hebrews arises, and that year comes to consist of thirteen months, owing to the addition of these eleven days.

¹³ It is evident that both sun and moon and stars are compound and liable to corruption according to the laws of their various natures. But of their nature we are ignorant. Some, indeed, say that fire when deprived of matter is invisible, and thus, that when it is quenched it vanishes altogether. Others, again, say that when it is quenched it is transformed into air. The circle of the zodiac has an oblique motion and is divided into twelve sections called zodia, or signs: each sign has three divisions of ten each, i.e. thirty divisions, and each division has sixty very minute subdivisions. The heaven, therefore, has three hundred and sixty-five degrees: the hemisphere above the earth and that below the earth each having one hundred and eighty degrees. The abodes of the planets. The Ram and the Scorpion are the abode of Mars: the Bull and the Scales, of Venus: the Twins and the Virgin, of Mercury: the Crab, of the Moon: the Lion, of the Sun: the Archer and the Fish, of Jupiter: Capricorn and Aquarius, of Saturn.

¹⁴ Their altitudes. The Ram has the altitude of the Sun: the Bull, of the Moon: the Crab, of Jupiter: the Virgin, of Mars: the Scales, of Saturn: Capricorn, of Mercury: the Fish, of Venus. The phases of the moon. It is in conjunction whenever it is in the same degree as the sun: it is born when it is fifteen degrees distant from the sun: it rises when it is crescent-shaped, and this occurs twice at which times it is sixty degrees distant from the sun: it is half-

full twice, when it is ninety degrees from the sun: twice it is gibbous, when it is one hundred and twenty degrees from the sun: it is twice a full moon, giving full light, when it is a hundred and fifty degrees from the sun: it is a complete moon when it is a hundred and eighty degrees distant from the sun. We say twice, because these phases occur both when the moon waxes and when it wanes. In two and a half days the moon traverses each sign.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 Concerning air and winds. Air is the most subtle element, and is moist and warm: heavier, indeed, than fire: but lighter than earth and water: it is the cause of respiration and voice: it is colourless, that is, it has no colour by nature: it is clear and transparent, for it is capable of receiving light: it ministers to three of our senses, for it is by its aid that we see, hear and smell: it has the power likewise of receiving heat and cold, dryness and moisture, and its movements in space are up, down, within, without, to the right and to the left, and the cyclical movement. It does not derive its light from itself, but is illuminated by sun, and moon, and stars, and fire. And this is just what the Scripture means when it says, And darkness was upon the deep; for its object is to shew that the air has not derived its light from itself, but that it is quite a different essence from light.

2 And wind is a movement of air: or wind is a rush of air which changes its name as it changes the place whence it rushes. Its place is in the air. For place is the circumference of a body. But what is it that surrounds bodies but air? There are, moreover, different places in which the movement of air originates, and from these the winds get their names. There are in all twelve winds. It is said that air is just fire after it has been extinguished, or the vapour of heated water. At all events, in its own special nature the air is warm, but it becomes cold owing to the proximity of water and earth, so that the lower parts of it are cold, and the higher warm. These then are the winds: Caecias, or Meses, arises in the region where the sun rises in summer. Subsolanus, where the sun rises at the equinoxes. Eurus, where it rises in winter. Africus, where it sets in winter. Favonius, where it sets at the equinoxes, and Corns, or Olympias, or Iapyx, where it sets in summer. Then come Auster and Aquilo, whose blasts oppose one another. Between Aquilo and Caecias comes Boreas: and tween Eurus and Auster, Phoenix or Euronotus; between Auster and Africus, Libonotus or Leucouotus: and lastly, between Aquilo and Corus, Thrascias, or Cercius, as it is called by the inhabitants of that region.

3[These then, are the races which dwell at the ends of the world: beside Subsolanus are the Bactriani: beside Eurus, the Indians: beside Phoenix, the Red Sea and Ethiopia: beside Libonotus, the Garamantes, who are beyond Systis: beside Africus, the Ethiopians and the Western Mauri: beside Favonius, the columns of Hercules and the beginnings of Libya and Europe: beside Corus, Iberia, which is now called Spain: beside Thrascia, the Gauls and the neighbouring nations: beside Aquilo, the Scythians who are beyond Thrace: beside Boreas, Pontus, Maeotis and the Sarmatae: beside Caecias, the Caspian Sea and the Sacai.]

CHAPTER IX.

1 Concerning the waters. Water also is one of the four elements, the most beautiful of God's creations. It is both wet and cold, heavy, and with a tendency to descend, and flows with great readiness. It is this the Holy Scripture has in view when it says, And darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. For the deep is nothing else than a huge quantity of water whose limit man cannot comprehend. In the beginning, indeed, the water lay all over the surface of the earth. And first God created the firmament to divide the water above the firmament from the water below the firmament. For in the midst of the sea of waters the firmament was established at the Master's decree. And out of it God bade the firmament arise, and it arose. Now for what reason was it that God placed water above the firmament? It was because of the intense burning heat of the sun and ether. For immediately under the firmament is spread out the ether and the sun and moon and stars are in the firmament, and so if water had not been put above it the firmament would have been consumed by the heat.

2 Next, God bade the waters be gathered together into one mass. But when the Scripture speaks of one mass it evidently does not mean that they were gathered together into one place: for immediately it goes on to say, And the gatherings of the waters He called seas: but the words signify that the waters were separated off in a body from the earth into distinct groups. Thus the waters were gathered together into their special collections and the dry land was brought to view. And hence arose the two seas that surround Egypt, for it lies between two seas. These collections contain various seas and mountains, and islands, and promontories, and harbours, and surround various bays and beaches, and coastlands. For the word beach is used when the

nature of the tract is sandy, while coastland signifies that it is rocky and deep close into shore, getting deep all on a sudden. In like manner arose also the sea that lies where the sun rises, the name of which is the Indian Sea: also the northern sea called the Caspian. The lakes also were formed in the same manner.

³ The ocean, then, is like a river encircling the whole earth, and I think it is concerning it that the divine Scripture says, A river went out of Paradise. The water of the ocean is sweet and potable. It is it that furnishes the seas with water which, because it stays a long time in the seas and stands unmoved, becomes bitter: for the sun and the waterspouts draw up always the finer parts. Thus it is that clouds are formed and showers take place, because the filtration makes the water sweet. This is parted into four first divisions, that is to say, into four rivers. The name of the first is Pheison, which is the Indian Ganges; the name of the second is Geon, which is the Nile flowing from Ethiopia down to Egypt: the name of the third is Tigris, and the name of the fourth is Euphrates. There are also very many other mighty rivers of which some empty themselves into the sea and others are used up in the earth. Thus the whole earth is bored through and mined, and has, so to speak, certain veins through which it sends up in springs the water it has received from the sea. The water of the spring thus depends for its character on the quality of the earth. For the sea water is filtered and strained through the earth and thus becomes sweet. But if the place from which the spring arises is bitter or briny, so also is the water that is sent up. Moreover, it often happens that water which has been closely pent up bursts through with violence, and thus it becomes warm. And this is why they send forth waters that are naturally warm.

⁴ By the divine decree hollow places are made in the earth, and so into these the waters are gathered. And this is how mountains are formed. God, then, bade the first water produce living breath, since it was to be by water and the Holy Spirit that moved upon the waters in the beginning that man was to be renewed. For this is what the divine Basil said: Therefore it produced living creatures, small and big; whales and dragons, fish that swim in the waters, and feathered fowl. The birds form a link between water and earth and air: for they have their origin in the water, they live on the earth and they fly in the air. Water, then, is the most beautiful element and rich in

usefulness, and purifies from all filth, and not only from the filth of the body but from that of the soul, if it should have received the grace of the Spirit.

5 Concerning the seas. The Aegean Sea is received by the Hellespont, which ends at Abydos and Sestus: next, the Propontis, which ends at Chalcedon and Byzantium: here are the straits where the Pontus arises. Next, the lake of Maeotis. Again, from the beginning of Europe and Libya it is the Iberian Sea, which extends from the pillars of Hercules to the Pyrenees mountain. Then the Ligurian Sea as far as the borders of Etruria. Next, the Sardinian Sea, which is above Sardinia and inclines downwards to Libya. Then the Etrurian Sea, which begins at the extreme limits of Liguria and ends at Sicily. Then the Libyan Sea. Then the Cretan, and Sicilian, and Ionian, and Adriatic Seas, the last of which is poured out of the Sicilian Sea, which is called the Corinthian Gulf, or the Alcyonian Sea. The Saronic Sea is surrounded by the Sunian and Scylaeen Seas. Next is the Myrtoan Sea and the Icarian Sea, in which are also the Cyclades. Then the Carpathian, and Pamphylian, and Egyptian Seas: and, thereafter, above the Icarian Sea, the Aegean Sea pours itself out. There is also the coast of Europe from the mouth of the Tanais River to the Pillars of Hercules, 609,709 stadia: and that of Libya from the Tigris, as far as the mouth of the Canopus, 209,252 stadia: and lastly, that of Asia from the Canopus to the Tanais, which, including the Gulf, is 4,111 stadia. And so the full extent of the seaboard of the world that we inhabit with the gulfs is 1,309,072 stadia.

CHAPTER X.

1 Concerning earth and its products. The earth is one of the four elements, dry, cold, heavy, motionless, brought into being by God, out of nothing on the first day. For in the beginning, he said, God created the heaven and the earth: but the seat and foundation of the earth no man has been able to declare. Some, indeed, hold that its seat is the waters: thus the divine David says, To Him Who established the earth on the waters. Others place it in the air. Again some other says, He Who hangeth the earth on nothing. And, again, David, the singer of God, says, as though the representative of God, I bear up the pillars of it meaning by "pillars" the force that sustains it. Further, the expression, He hath rounded it upon the seas shews clearly that the earth is on all hands surrounded with water. But whether we grant that it is established on itself, or on air or on water, or on nothing, we must not turn

aside from reverent thought, but must admit that all things are sustained and preserved by the power of the Creator.

² In the beginning, then, as the Holy Scripture says it was hidden beneath the waters, and was unwrought, that is to say, not beautified. But at God's bidding, places to hold the waters appeared, and then the mountains came into existence, and at the divine command the earth received its own proper adornment, and was dressed in all manner of herbs and plants, and on these, by the divine decree, was bestowed the power of growth and nourishment, and of producing seed to generate their like. Moreover, at the bidding of the Creator it produced also all manner of kinds of living creatures, creeping things, and wild beasts, and cattle. All, indeed, are for the seasonable use of man: but of them some are for food, such as stags, sheep, deer, and such like: others for service such as camels, oxen, horses, asses, and such like: and others for enjoyment, such as apes, and among birds, jays and parrots, and such like. Again, amongst plants and herbs some are fruit bearing, others edible, others fragrant and flowery, given to us for our enjoyment, for example, the rose and such like, and others for the healing of disease. For there is not a single animal or plant in which the Creator has not implanted some form of energy capable of being used to satisfy man's needs. For He Who knew all things before they were, saw that in the future man would go forward in the strength of his own will, and would be subject to corruption, and, therefore, He created all things for his seasonable use, alike those in the firmament, and those on the earth, and those in the waters.

³ Indeed, before the transgression all things were under his power. For God set him as ruler over all things on the earth and in the waters. Even the serpent was accustomed to man, and approached him more readily than it did other living creatures, and held intercourse with him with delightful motions. And hence it was through it that the devil, the prince of evil, made his most wicked suggestion to our first parents. Moreover, the earth of its own accord used to yield fruits, for the benefit of the animals that were obedient to man, and there was neither rain nor tempest on the earth. But after the transgression, when he was compared with the unintelligent cattle and became like to them after he had contrived that in him irrational desire should have rule over reasoning mind and had become disobedient to the Master's command, the subject creation rose up against him whom the Cre-

ator had appointed to be ruler: and it was appointed for him that he should till with sweat the earth from which he had been taken.

⁴ But even now wild beasts are not without their uses, for, by the terror they cause, they bring man to the knowledge of his Creator and lead him to call upon His name. And, further, at the transgression the thorn sprung out of the earth in accordance with the Lord's express declaration and was conjoined with the pleasures of the rose, that it might lead us to remember the transgression on account of which the earth was condemned to bring forth for us thorns and prickles. That this is the case is made worthy of belief from the fact that their endurance is secured by the word of the Lord, saying, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth. Further, some hold that the earth is in the form of a sphere, others that it is in that of a cone. At all events it is much smaller than the heaven, and suspended almost like a point in its midst. And it will pass away and be changed. But blessed is the man who inherits the earth promised to the meek.

⁵ For the earth that is to be the possession of the holy is immortal. Who, then, can fitly marvel at the boundless and incomprehensible wisdom of the Creator? Or who can render sufficient thanks to the Giver of so many blessings? [There are also provinces, or prefectures, of the earth which we recognise: Europe embraces thirty four, and the huge continent of Asia has forty-eight of these provinces, and twelve canons as they are called.]

CHAPTER XI.

¹ Concerning Paradise. Now when God was about to fashion man out of the visible and invisible creation in His own image and likeness to reign as king and ruler over all the earth and all that it contains, He first made for him, so to speak, a kingdom in which he should live a life of happiness and prosperity. And this is the divine paradise planted in Eden by the hands of God, a very storehouse of joy and gladness of heart (for "Eden" means luxuriousness). Its site is higher in the East than all the earth: it is temperate and the air that surrounds it is the rarest and purest: evergreen plants are its pride, sweet fragrances abound, it is flooded with light, and in sensuous freshness and beauty it transcends imagination: in truth the place is divine, a meet home for him who was created in God's image: no creature lacking reason made its dwelling there but man alone, the work of God's own hands.

² In its midst God planted the tree of life and the tree of knowledge. The tree of knowledge was for trial, and proof, and exercise of man's obedience

and disobedience: and hence it was named the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, or else it was because to those who partook of it was given power to know their own nature. Now this is a good thing for those who are mature, but an evil thing for the immature and those whose appetites are too strong being like solid food to tender babes still in need of milk. For our Creator, God, did not intend us to be burdened with care and troubled about many things, nor to take thought about, or make provision for, our own life. But this at length was Adam's fate: for he tasted and knew that he was naked and made a girdle round about him: for he took fig-leaves and girded himself about. But before they took of the fruit, They were both naked. Adam and Eve, and were not ashamed. For God meant that we should be thus free from passion, and this is indeed the mark of a mind absolutely void of passion. Yea, He meant us further to be free from care and to have but one work to perform, to sing as do the angels, without ceasing or intermission, the praises of the Creator, and to delight in contemplation of Him and to cast all our care on Him.

³ This is what the Prophet David proclaimed to us when He said, Cast thy burden on the Lord, and He will sustain thee. And, again, in the Gospels, Christ taught His disciples saying, Take no thought for your life what ye shall eat, nor for your body what ye shall put on. And further, Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you. And to Martha He said, Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things: but one thing is needful: and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her meaning, clearly, sitting at His feet and listening to His words. ⁴ The tree of life, on the other hand, was a tree having the energy that is the cause of life, or to be eaten only by those who deserve to live and are not subject to death. Some, indeed, have pictured Paradise as a realm of sense and others as a realm of mind. But it seems to me, that, just as man is a creature, in whom we find both sense and mind blended together, in like manner also man's most holy temple combines the properties of sense and mind, and has this twofold expression: for, as we said, the life in the body is spent in the most divine and lovely region, while the life in the soul is passed in a place far more sublime and of more surpassing beauty, where God makes His home, and where He wraps man about as with a glorious garment, and robes him in His grace, and delights and sustains him like an angel with the sweetest of all fruits, the con-

templation of Himself. Verily it has been filly named the tree of life. For since the life is not cut short by death, the sweetness of the divine participation is imparted to those who share it. And this is, in truth, what God meant by every tree, saying, Of every tree in Paradise thou mayest freely eat. For the 'every' is just Himself in Whom and through Whom the universe is maintained.

5 But the tree of the knowledge of good and evil was for the distinguishing between the many divisions of contemplation, and this is just the knowledge of one's own nature, which, indeed, is a good thing for those who are mature and advanced in divine contemplation (being of itself a proclamation of the magnificence of God), and have no fear of falling because they have through time come to have the habit of such contemplation, but it is an evil tiring to those still young and with stronger appetites, who by reason of their insecure bold on the better part, and because as yet they are not firmly established in the seat of the one and only good, are apt to be torn and dragged away from this to the care of their own body. 6 Thus, to my thinking, the divine Paradise is twofold, and the God-inspired Fathers handed down a true message, whether they taught this doctrine or that. Indeed, it is possible to understand by every tree the knowledge of the divine power derived from created things. In the words of the divine Apostle, For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made. But of all these thoughts and speculations the sublimest is that dealing with ourselves, that is, with our own composition. As the divine David says, The knowledge of Thee from me that is from my constitution, was made a wonder. But for the reasons we have already mentioned, such knowledge was dangerous for Adam who had been so lately created.

7 The tree of life too may be understood as that more divine thought that has its origin in the world of sense, and the ascent through that to the originating and constructive cause of all. And this was the name He gave to every tree, implying fulness and indivisibility, and conveying only participation in what is good. But by the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, we are to understand that sensible and pleasurable food which, sweet though it seems, in reality brings him who partakes of it into communion with evil. For God says, Of every tree in Paradise thou mayest freely eat. It is, methinks, as if God said, Through all My creations thou art to ascend to Me thy

creator, and of all the fruits titan mayest pluck one, that is, Myself who ant the true life: let every thing bear for thee the fruit of life, and let participation in Me be the support of your own being. For in this way than wilt be immortal. But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shall not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shall surely die. For sensible food is by nature for the replenishing of that which gradually wastes away and it passes into the drought and perisheth: and he cannot remain incorruptible who partakes of sensible food.

CHAPTER XII.

¹ Concerning Man. In this way, then, God brought into existence mental essence by which I mean, angels and all the heavenly orders. For these clearly have a mental and incorporeal nature: "incorporeal" I mean in comparison with the denseness of matter. For the Deity alone in reality is immaterial and incorporeal. But further He created in the same way sensible essence that is heaven and earth and the intermediate region; and so He created both the kind of being that is of His own nature (for the nature that has to do with reason is related to God, and apprehensible by mind alone), and the kind which, inasmuch as it clearly falls under the province of the senses, is separated from Him by the greatest interval. And it was also fit that there should be a mixture of both kinds of being, as a token of still greater wisdom and of the opulence of the Divine expenditure as regards natures, as Gregorius, the expounder of God's being and ways, puts it, and to be a sort of connecting link between the visible and invisible natures. And by the word "fit" I mean, simply that it was an evidence of the Creator's will, for that will is the law and ordinance most meet, and no one will say to his Maker, "Why hast Thou so fashioned me?" For the potter is able at his will to make vessels of various patterns out of his clay as a proof of his own wisdom.

² Now this being the case, He creates with His own hands man of a visible nature and an invisible, after His own image and likeness: on the one hand man's body He formed of earth, and on the other his reasoning and thinking soul He bestowed upon him by His own inbreathing, and this is what we mean by "after His image." For the phrase "after His image" clearly refers to the side of his nature which consists of mind and free will, whereas "after His likeness" means likeness in virtue so far as that is possible. Further, body and soul were formed at one and the same time not first the one and then the other, as Origen so senselessly supposes. God then made man without evil,

upright, virtuous, free from pain and care, glorified with every virtue, adorned with all that is good, like a sort of second microcosm within the great world. another angel capable of worship, compound, surveying the visible creation and initiated into the mysteries of the realm of thought, king over the things of earth, but subject to a higher king, of the earth and of the heaven, temporal and eternal, belonging to the realm of sight and to the realm of thought, midway between greatness and lowliness, spirit and flesh: for he is spirit by grace, but flesh by overweening pride: spirit that he may abide and glorify his Benefactor, and flesh that he may suffer, and suffering may be admonished and disciplined when he prides himself in his greatness: here, that is, in the present life, his life is ordered as an animal's, but elsewhere, that is, in the age to come, he is changed and-to complete the mystery-becomes deified by merely inclining himself towards God; becoming deified, in the way of participating in the divine glory and not in that of a change into the divine being.

³ But God made him by nature sinless, and endowed him with free will. By sinless, I mean not that sin could find no place in him (for that is the case with Deity alone), but that sin is the result of the free volition he enjoys rather than an integral part of his nature; that is to say, he has the power to continue and go forward in the path of goodness, by co-operating with the divine grace, and likewise to turn from good and take to wickedness, for God has conceded this by conferring freedom of will upon him. For there is no virtue in what is the result of mere force. The soul, accordingly is a living essence, simple, incorporeal, invisible in its proper nature to bodily eyes, immortal, reasoning and intelligent, formless, making use of an organised body, and being the source of its powers of life, and growth, and sensation, and generation mind being but its purest part and not in any wise alien to it; (for as the eye to the body, so is the mind to the soul); further it enjoys freedom and volition and energy, and is mutable, that is, it is given to change, because it is created. All these qualities according to nature it has received of the grace of the Creator, of which grace it has received both its being and this particular kind of nature.

⁴ Marg. The different applications of "incorporeal." We understand two kinds of what is incorporeal and invisible and formless: the one is such in essence, the other by free gift: and likewise the one is such in nature, and the other only in comparison with the denseness of matter. God then is incor-

poreal by nature, but the angels and demons and souls are said to be so by free gift, and in comparison with the denseness of matter. Further, body is that which has three dimensions, that is to say, it has length and breadth and depth, or thickness. And every body is composed of the four elements; the bodies of living creatures, moreover, are composed of the four humours. Now there are, it should be known, four elements: earth which is dry and cold: water which is cold and wet: air which is wet and warm: fire which is warm and dry. In like manner there are also four humours, analogous to the four elements: black bile, which bears an analogy to earth, for it is dry and cold: phlegm, analogous to water, for it is cold and wet: blood, analogous to air for it is wet and warm: yellow bile, the analogue to fire, for it is warm and city. Now, fruits are composed of the elements, and the humours are composed of the fruits, and the bodies of living creatures consist of the humours and dissolve back into them. For every thing that is compound dissolves back into its elements.

5 Marg. That man has community alike with inanimate things and animate creatures, whether they are devoid of or possess the faculty of reason. Man, it is to be noted, has community with things inanimate, and participates in the life of unreasoning creatures, and shares in the mental processes of those endowed with reason. For the bond of union between man and inanimate things is the body and its composition out of the four elements: and the bond between man and plants consists, in addition to these things, of their powers of nourishment and growth and seeding, that is, generation: and finally, over and above these links man is connected with unreasoning animals by appetite, that is anger and desire, and sense and impulsive movement. There are then five senses, sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch. Further, impulsive movement consists in change from place to place, and in the movements of the body as a whole and in the emission of voice and the drawing of breath. For we have it in our power to perform or refrain from performing these actions.

6 Lastly, man's reason unites him to incorporeal and intelligent natures, for he applies his reason and mind and judgment to everything, and pursues after virtues, and eagerly follows after piety, which is the crown of the virtues. And so man is a microcosm. Moreover, it should be known that division and flux and change are peculiar to the body alone. By change, I mean change in quality, that is in heat and cold and so forth: by flux, I mean

change in the way of depletion for dry things and wet things and spirit suffer depletion, and require repletion: so that hunger and thirst are natural affections. Again, division is the separation of the humours, one from another, and the partition into form and matter. But piety and thought are the peculiar properties of the soul. And the virtues are common to soul and body, although they are referred to the soul as if the soul were making use of the body.

7 The reasoning part, it should be understood, naturally bears rule over that which is void of reason. For the faculties of the soul are divided into that which has reason, and that which is without reason. Again, of that which is without reason there are two divisions: that which does not listen to reason, that is to say, is disobedient to reason, and that which listens and obeys reason. That which does not listen or obey reason is the vital or pulsating faculty, and the spermatic or generative faculty, and the vegetative or nutritive faculty: to this belong also the faculties of growth and bodily formation. For these are not under the dominion of reason but under that of nature. That which listens to and obeys reason, on the other hand is divided into anger and desire. And the unreasoning part of the soul is called in common the pathetic and the appetitive. Further, it is to be understood, that impulsive movement likewise belongs to the part that is obedient to reason.

8 The part which does not pay heed to reason includes the nutritive and generative and pulsating faculties: and the name "vegetative" is applied to the faculties of increase and nutriment and generation, and the name "vital" to the faculty of pulsation. Of the faculty of nutrition, then, there are four forces: an attractive force which attracts nourishment: a retentive force by which nourishment is retained and not suffered to be immediately excreted: an alterative force by which the food is resolved into the humours: and an excretive force, by which the excess of food is excreted into the draught and cast forth. The forces again inherent in a living creature are, it should be noted, partly psychical, partly vegetative, partly vital. The psychical forces are concerned with free volition, that is to say, impulsive movement and sensation. Impulsive movement includes change of place and movement of the body as a whole, and phonation and respiration. For it is in our power to perform or refrain from performing these acts. The vegetative and vital forces, however, are quite outside the province of will. The vegetative, moreover, include the faculties of nourishment and growth, and generation, and the vital

power is the faculty of pulsation. For these go on energising whether we will it or not.

9 Lastly, we must observe that of actual things, some are good, and some are bad. A good thing in anticipation constitutes desire: while a good thing in realisation constitutes pleasure. Similarly an evil thing in anticipation begets fear, and in realisation it begets pain. And when we speak of good in this connection we are to be understood to mean both real and apparent good: and, similarly, we mean real and apparent evil.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 Concerning Pleasures. There are pleasures of the soul and pleasures of the body. The pleasures of the soul are those which are the exclusive possession of the soul, such as the pleasures of learning and contemplation. The pleasures of the body, however, are those which are enjoyed by soul and body in fellowship, and hence are called bodily pleasures: and such are the pleasures of food and intercourse and the like. But one could not find any class of pleasures belonging solely to the body. Again, some pleasures are true, others false. And the exclusively intellectual pleasures consist in knowledge and contemplation, while the pleasures of the body depend upon sensation. Further, of bodily pleasures some are both natural and necessary, in the absence of which life is impossible, for example the pleasures of food which replenishes waste, and the pleasures of necessary clothing. Others are natural but not necessary, as the pleasures of natural and lawful intercourse. For though the function that these perform is to secure the permanence of the race as a whole, it is still possible to live a virgin life apart from them. Others, however, are neither natural nor necessary, such as drunkenness, lust, and surfeiting to excess. For these contribute neither to the maintenance of our own lives nor to the succession of the race, but on the contrary, are rather even a hindrance. He therefore that would live a life acceptable to God must follow after those pleasures which are both natural and necessary: and must give a secondary place to those which are natural but not necessary, and enjoy them only in fitting season, and manner, and measure; while the others must be altogether renounced.

2 Those then are to be considered moral pleasures which are not bound up with pain, and bring no cause for repentance, and result in no other harm and keep within the bounds of moderation, and do not draw us far away from serious occupations, nor make slaves of us.

CHAPTER XIV.

Concerning Pain. There are four varieties of pain, viz., anguish griefs envy, pity. Anguish is pain without utterance: grief is pain that is heavy to bear like a burden: envy is pain over the good fortune of others: pity is pain over the evil fortune of others.

CHAPTER XV.

Concerning Fear. Fear is divided into six varieties: viz., shrinking shame, disgrace, consternation, panic, anxiety. Shrinking is fear of some act about to take place. Shame is fear arising from the anticipation of blame: and this is the highest form of the affection. Disgrace is fear springing from some base act already done, and even for this form there is some hope of salvation. Consternation is fear originating in some huge product of the imagination. Panic is fear caused by some unusual product of the imagination. Anxiety is fear of failure, that is, of misfortune: for when we fear that our efforts will not meet with success, we suffer anxiety.

CHAPTER XVI.

¹ Concerning Anger. Anger is the ebullition of the heart's blood produced by bilious exhalation or turbidity. Hence it is that the words *xolh/* and *xo/loj* are both used in the sense of anger. Anger is sometimes lust for vengeance. For when we are wronged or think that we are wronged, we are distressed, and there arises this mixture of desire and anger. There are three forms of anger: rage, which the Greeks also call *xolh/* or *xo/loj*, *mh=nij* and *ko/toj*. When anger arises and begins to be roused, it is called rage or *xolh/* or *xo/loj*. Wrath again implies that the bile endures, that is to say, that the memory of the wrong abides: and indeed the Greek word for it, *mh=nijis* derived from *me/nein*, and means what abides and is transferred to memory. Rancour, on the other hand, implies watching for a suitable moment for revenge, and the Greek word for it is *ko/toj* from *kei=sqai*.

² Anger further is the satellite of reason, the vindicator of desire. For when we long after anything and are opposed in our desire by some one, we are angered at that person, as though we had been wronged: and reason evidently deems that there are just grounds for displeasure in what has happened, in the case of those who, like us, have in the natural course of things to guard their own position.

CHAPTER XVII.

Concerning Imagination. Imagination is a faculty of the unreasoning part of the soul. It is through the organs of sense that it is brought into action, and it is spoken of as sensation. And further, what is imagined and perceived is that which comes within the scope of the faculty of imagination and sensation. For example, the sense of sight is the visual faculty itself, but the object of sight is that which comes within the scope of the sense of sight, such as a stone or any other such object. Further, an imagination is an affection of the unreasoning part of the soul which is occasioned by some object acting upon the sensation. But an appearance is an empty affection of the unreasoning part of the soul, not occasioned by any object acting upon the sensation. Moreover the organ of imagination is the anterior ventricle of the brain.

CHAPTER XVIII.

¹ Concerning Sensation. Sensation is that faculty of the soul whereby material objects can be apprehended or discriminated. And the sensoria are the organs or members through which sensations are conveyed. And the objects of sense are the things that come within the province of sensation. And lastly, the subject of sense is the living animal which possesses the faculty of sensation. Now there are five senses, and likewise five organs of sense. The first sense is sight: and the sensoria or organs of sight are the nerves of the brain and the eyes. Now sight is primarily perception of colour, but along with the colour it discriminates the body that has colour, and its size and form, and locality, and the intervening space and the number: also whether it is in motion or at rest, rough or smooth, even or uneven, sharp or blunt, and finally whether its composition is watery or earthy, that is, wet or dry.

² The second sense is hearing, whereby voices and sounds are perceived. And it distinguishes these as sharp or deep, or smooth or loud. Its organs are the soft nerves of the brain, and the structure of the ears. Further, man and the ape are the only animals that do not move their ears. The third sense is smell, which is caused by the nostrils transmitting the vapours to the brain: and it is bounded by the extreme limits of the anterior ventricle of the brain. It is the faculty by which vapours are perceived and apprehended. Now, the most generic distinction between vapours is whether they have a good or an evil odour, or form an intermediate class with neither a good nor an evil odour. A good odour is produced by the thorough digestion in the body of

the humours. When they are only moderately digested the intermediate class is formed, and when the digestion is very imperfect or utterly wanting, an evil odour results.

3 The fourth sense is taste: it is the faculty whereby the humours are apprehended or perceived, and its organs of sense are the tongue, and more especially the lips, and the palate (which the Greeks call *su0rani/skoj*), and in these are nerves that come from the brain and are spread out, and convey to the dominant part of the soul the perception or sensation they have encountered. The so-called gustatory qualities of the humours are these: sweetness, pungency, bitterness, astringency, acerbity, sourness, saltiness, fattiness, stickiness; for taste is capable of discriminating all these. But water has none of these qualities, and is therefore devoid of taste. Moreover, astringency is only a more intense and exaggerated form of acerbity. The fifth sense is touch, which is common to all living things. Its organs are nerves which come from the brain and ramify all through the body. Hence the body as a whole, including even the other organs of sense, possesses the sense of touch. Within its scope come heat and cold, softness and hardness, viscosity and brittleness heaviness and lightness: for it is by touch alone that these qualities are discriminated. On the other hand, roughness and smoothness, dryness and wetness, thickness and thinness, up and down, place and size, whenever that is such as to be embraced in a single application of the sense of touch, are all common to touch and sight, as well as denseness and rareness, that is porosity, and rotundity if it is small, and some other shapes. In like manner also by the aid of memory and thought perception of the nearness of a body is possible, and similarly perception of number up to two or three, and such small and easily reckoned figures. But it is by sight rather than touch that these things are perceived.

4 The Creator, it is to be noted, fashioned all the other organs of sense in pairs, so that if one were destroyed, the other might fill its place. For there are two eyes, two ears, two orifices of the nose, and two tongues, which in some animals, such as snakes, are separate, but in others, like man, are united. But touch is spread over the whole body with the exception of bones, nerves, nails, horns, hairs, ligaments, and other such structures. Further, it is to be observed that sight is possible only in straight lines, whereas smell and hearing are not limited to straight lines only, but act in all directions.

Touch, again, and taste act neither in straight lines, nor in every direction, but only when each comes near to the sensible objects that are proper to it.

CHAPTER XIX.

Concerning Thought. The faculty of thought deals with judgments and assents, and impulse to action and disinclinations, and escapes from action: and more especially with thoughts connected with what is thinkable, and the virtues and the different branches of learning, and the theories of the arts and matters of counsel and choice. Further, it is this faculty which prophesies the future to us in dreams, and this is what the Pythagoreans, adopting the Hebrew view, hold to be the one true form of prophecy. The organ of thought then is the mid-ventricle of the brain, and the vital spirit it contains.

CHAPTER XX.

¹ Concerning Memory. The faculty of memory is the cause and storehouse of remembrance and recollection. For memory is a fantasy that is left behind of some sensation and thought manifesting itself in action; or the preservation of a sensation and thought. For the soul comprehends objects of sense through the organs of sense, that is to say, it perceives, and thence arises a notion: and similarly it comprehends the objects of thought through the mind, and thence arises a thought. It is then the preservation of the types of these notions and thoughts that is spoken of as memory. Further, it is worthy of remark that the apprehension of matters of thought depends on learning, or natural process of thought, and not on sensation. For though objects of sense are retained in the memory by themselves, only such objects of thought are remembered as we have learned, and we have no memory of their essence.

² Recollection is the name given to the recovery of some memory lost by forgetfulness. For forgetfulness is just loss of memory. The faculty of imagination then, having apprehended material objects through the senses, transmits this to the faculty of thought or reason (for they are both the same), and this after it has received and passed judgment on it, passes it on to the faculty of memory. Now the organ of memory is the posterior ventricle of the brain, which the Greeks call the *paregkefali*/³, and the vital spirit it contains.

CHAPTER XXI.

Concerning Conception and Articulation. Again the reasoning part of the soul is divided into conception and articulation. Conception is an activity of the soul originating in the reason without resulting in utterance. Accordingly, often, even when we are silent we run through a whole speech in our minds, and hold discussions in our dreams. And it is this faculty chiefly which constitutes us all reasoning beings. For those who are dumb by birth or have lost their voice through some disease or injury, are just as much reasoning beings. But articulation by voice or in the different dialects requires energy: that is to say, the word is articulated by the tongue and mouth, and this is why it is named articulation. It is, indeed, the messenger of thought, and it is because of it that we are called speaking beings.

CHAPTER XXII.

¹ Concerning Passion and Energy. Passion is a word with various meanings. It is used in regard to the body, and refers to diseases and wounds, and again, it is used in reference to the soul, and means desire and anger. But to speak broadly and generally, passion is an animal affection which is succeeded by pleasure and pain. For pain succeeds passion, but is not the same thing as passion. For passion is an affection of things without sense, but not so pain. Pain then is not passion, but the sensation of passion: and it must be considerable, that is to say, it must be great enough to come within the scope of sense. Again, the definition of passions of the soul is this: Passion is a sensible activity of the appetitive faculty, depending on the presentation to the mind of something good or bad. Or in other words, passion is an irrational activity of the soul, resulting from the notion of something good or bad. For the notion of something good results in desire, and the notion of something bad results in anger. But passion considered as a class, that is, passion in general, is defined as a movement in one thing caused by another. Energy, on the other hand, is a drastic movement, and by "drastic" is meant that which is moved of itself. Thus, anger is the energy manifested by the part of the soul where anger resides, whereas passion involves the two divisions of the soul, and in addition the whole body when it is forcibly impelled to action by anger. For there has been caused movement in one thing caused by another, and this is called passion.

² But in another sense energy is spoken of as passion. For energy is a movement in harmony with nature, whereas passion is a movement at variance with nature. According, then, to this view, energy may be spoken of as passion when it does not act in accord with nature, whether its movement is due to itself or to some other thing. Thus, in connection with the heart, its natural pulsation is energy, whereas its palpitation, which is an excessive and unnatural movement, is passion and not energy. But it is not every activity of the passionate part of the soul that is called passion, but only the more violent ones, and such as are capable of causing sensation: for the minor and unperceived movements are certainly not passions. For to constitute passion there is necessary a considerable degree of force, and thus it is on this account that we add to the definition of passion that it is a sensible activity. For the lesser activities escape the notice of the senses, and do not cause passion.

³ Observe also that our soul possesses twofold faculties, those of knowledge, and those of life. The faculties of knowledge are mind, thought, notion, presentation, sensation: and the vital or appetitive faculties are will and choice. Now, to make what has been said clearer, let us consider these things more closely, and first let us take the faculties of knowledge. Presentation and sensation then have already been sufficiently discussed above. It is sensation that causes a passion, which is called presentation, to arise in the soul, and from presentation comes notion. Thereafter thought, weighing the truth or falseness of the notion, determines what is true: and this explains the Greek word for thought, *dia/noia*, which is derived from *dianoiei=n*, meaning to think and discriminate. That, however, which is judged and determined to be true, is spoken of as mind. Or to put it otherwise: The primary activity of the mind, observe, is intelligence, but intelligence applied to any object is called a thought, and when this persists and makes on the mind an impression of the object of thought, it is named reflection, and when reflection dwells on the same object and puts itself to the test, and closely examines the relation of the thought to the soul, it gets the name prudence. Further, prudence, when it extends its area forms the power of reasoning, and is called conception, and this is defined as the fullest activity of the soul, arising in that part where reason resides, and being devoid of outward expression: and from it proceeds the uttered word spoken by the tongue. And now that we have discussed the faculties of knowledge, let us turn to the vital or appetitive faculties.

4 It should be understood that there is implanted in the soul by nature a faculty of desiring that which is in harmony with its nature, and of maintaining in close union all that belongs essentially to its nature: and this power is called will or *qe/lhsij*. For the essence both of existence and of living yearns after activity both as regards mind and sense, and in this it merely longs to realise its own natural and perfect being. And so this definition also is given of this natural will: will is an appetite, both rational and vital, depending only on what is natural. So that will is nothing else than the natural and vital and rational appetite of all things that go to constitute nature, that is, just the simple faculty. For the appetite of creatures without reason, since it is irrational, is not called will. Again *bou/lhsij* or wish is a sort of natural will, that is to say, a natural and rational appetite for some definite thing. For there is seated in the soul of man a faculty of rational desire. When, then, this rational desire directs itself naturally to some definite object it is called wish. For wish is rational desire and longing for some definite thing.

5 Wish, however, is used both in connection with what is within our power, and in connection with what is outside our power, that is, both with regard to the possible and the impossible. For we wish often to indulge lust or to be temperate, or to sleep and the like, and these are within our power to accomplish, and possible. But we wish also to be kings, and this is not within our power, or we wish perchance never to die, and this is an impossibility.

6 The wish then, has reference to the end alone, and not to the means by which the end is attained. The end is the object of our wish, for instance, to be a king or to enjoy good health: but the means by which the end is attained, that is to say, the manner in which we ought to enjoy good health, or reach the rank of king, are the objects of deliberation. Then after wish follow inquiry and speculation (*zh/thsij* and *ske/yij*), and after these, if the object is anything within our power, comes counsel or deliberation (*boulh/* or *bou/leusij*): counsel is an appetite for investigating lines of action lying within our own power. For one deliberates, whether one ought to prosecute any matter or not, and next, one decides which is the better, and this is called judgment (*kri/sij*). Thereafter, one becomes disposed to and forms a liking for that in favour of which deliberation gave judgment, and this is called inclination (*gnw/mh*). For should one form a judgment and not be disposed to or form a liking for the object of that judgment, it is not called inclination. Then, again, after one has become so disposed, choice or selection (*proai/resij*

and e0piloge/) comes into play. For choice consists in the choosing and selecting of one of two possibilities in preference to the other. Then one is impelled to action, and this is called impulse (o9rmh/): and thereafter it is brought into employment, and this is called use (xrh=sij). The last stage after we have enjoyed the use is cessation from desire.

7 In the case, however, of creatures without reason, as soon as appetite is roused for any-tiring, straightway arises impulse to action. For the appetite of creatures without reason is irrational, and they are ruled by their natural appetite. Hence, neither the names of will or wish are applicable to the appetite of creatures without reason. For will is rational, free and natural desire, and in the case of man, endowed with reason as he is, the natural appetite is ruled rather than rules For his actions are free, and depend upon reason, since the faculties of knowledge and life are bound up together in man. He is free in desire, free in wish, free in examination and investigation, free in deliberation, free in judgment, free in inclination, free in choice, free in impulse, and free in action where thai is in accordance with nature. But in the case of God it is to be remembered, we speak of wish, but it is not correct to speak of choice. For God does not deliberate, since that is a mark of ignorance, and no one deliberates about what he knows. But if counsel is a mark of ignorance, surely choice must also be so. God, then, since He has absolute knowledge of everything, does not deliberate.

8 Nor in the case of the soul of the Lord do we speak of counsel or choice, seeing that He had no part in ignorance. For, although He was of a nature that is not cognisant of the future, yet because of His oneness in subsistence with God the Word, He had knowledge of all things, and that not by grace, but, as we have said, because He was one in subsistence. For He Himself was both God and Man, and hence He did not possess the will that acts by opinion or disposition. While He did possess the natural and simple will which is to be observed equally in all the personalities of men, His holy soul had not opinion (or, disposition) that is to say, no inclination opposed to His divine will, nor aught else contrary to His divine will. For opinion (or, disposition) differs as persons differ, except in the case of the holy and simple and uncompound and indivisible Godhead. There, indeed, since the subsistences are in nowise divided or separated, neither is the object of will divided. And there, since there is but one nature, there is also but one natural will. And again,

since the subsistences are unseparated, the three subsistences have also one object of will, and one activity.

9 In the case of men, however, seeing that their nature is one, their natural will is also one, but since their subsistences are separated and divided from each other, alike in place and time, and disposition to things, and in many other respects, for this reason their acts of will and their opinions are different. But in the case of our Lord Jesus Christ, since He possesses different natures, His natural wills, that is, His volitional faculties belonging to Him as God and as Man are also different. But since the subsistence is one, and He Who exercises the will is one, the object of the will the gnomonic will is also one, His human will evidently following His divine will, and willing that which the divine will willed it to will. 10 Further note, that will (qe/lhsij_) and wish (bou/lhsij) are two different things: also the object of will (to\ qelhto/n) and the capacity for will (qelhtiko/n), and the subject that exercises will (o9 qe/lwn), are all different. For will is just the simple faculty of willing, whereas wish is will directed to some definite object. Again, the object of will is the matter underlying the will, that is to say, the thing that we will: for instance, when appetite is roused for food. The appetite pure and simple, however, is a rational will. The capacity for will, moreover, means that which possesses the volitional faculty, for example, man. Further, the subject that exercises will is the actual person who makes use of will. The word to\ qelhma, it is well to note, sometimes denotes the will, that is, the volitional faculty, and in this sense we speak of natural will: and sometimes it denotes the object of will, and we speak of will (qe/lehma gnwmiko/n) depending on inclination.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1 Concerning Energy. All the faculties we have already discussed, both those of knowledge and those of life, both the natural and the artificial, are, it is to be noted, called energies. For energy is the natural force and activity of each essence: or again, natural energy is the activity innate in every essence: and so, clearly, things that have the same essence have also the same energy, and things that have different natures have also different energies. For no essence can be devoid of natural energy. Natural energy again is the force in each essence by which its nature is made manifest. And again: natural energy is the primal, eternally-moving force of the intelligent soul: that is, the eternally-moving word of the soul, which ever springs naturally from it. And yet

again: natural energy is the force and activity of each essence which only that which is not lacks. But actions are also called energies: for instance, speaking, eating, drinking, and such like. The natural affections also are often called energies, for instance, hunger, thirst, and so forth. And yet again, the result of the force is also often called energy.

² Things are spoken of in a twofold way as being potential and actual. For we say that the child at the breast is a potential scholar, for he is so equipped that, if taught, he will become a scholar. Further, we speak of a potential and an actual scholar, meaning that the latter is versed in letters, while the former has the power of interpreting letters, but does not put it into actual use: again, when we speak of an actual scholar, we mean that he puts his power into actual use, that is to say, that he really interprets writings. It is, therefore, to be observed that in the second sense potentiality and actuality go together; for the scholar is in the one case potential, and in the other actual. The primal and only true energy of nature is the voluntary or rational and independent life which constitutes our humanity. I know not how those who rob the Lord of this can say that He became man.

³ Energy is drastic activity of nature: and by drastic is meant that which is moved of itself.

CHAPTER XXIV.

¹ Concerning what is Voluntary and what is Involuntary. The voluntary implies a certain definite action, and so-called involuntariness also implies a certain definite action. Further, many attribute true involuntariness not only to suffering, but even to action. We must then understand action to be rational energy. Actions are followed by praise or blame, and some of them are accompanied with pleasure and others with pain; some are to be desired by the actor, others are to be shunned: further, of those that are desirable, some are always so, others only at some particular time. And so it is also with those that are to be shunned. Again, some actions enlist pity and are pardonable, others are hateful and deserve punishment. Voluntariness, then, is assuredly followed by praise or blame, and renders the action pleasurable and desirable to the actor, either for all time or for the moment of its performance. Involuntariness, on the other hand, brings merited pity or pardon in its train, and renders the act painful and undesirable to the doer, and makes him leave it in a state of incompleteness even though force is brought to bear upon him.

² Further, what is involuntary, depends in part on force and in part on ignorance. It depends on force when the creative beginning in cause is from without, that is to say, when one is forced by another without being at all persuaded, or when one does not contribute to the act on one's own impulse, or does not co-operate at all, or do on one's own account that which is exacted by force. Thus we may give this definition: "An involuntary act is one in which the beginning is from without, and where one does not contribute at all on one's own impulse to that which one is forced" And by beginning we mean the creative cause. All involuntary act depends, on the other hand, on ignorance, when one is not the cause of the ignorance one's self, but events just so happen. For, if one commits murder while drunk, it is an act of ignorance, but yet not involuntary: for one was one's self responsible for the cause of the ignorance, that is to say, the drunkenness. But if while shooting at the customary range one slew one's father who happened to be passing by, this would be termed an ignorant and involuntary act.

³ As, then, that which is involuntary is in two parts, one depending on force, the other on ignorance, that which is voluntary is the opposite of both. For that which is voluntary is the result neither of force nor of ignorance. A voluntary act, then, is one of which the beginning or cause originates in an actor, who knows each individual circumstance through which and in which the action takes place. By "individual" is meant what the rhetoricians call circumstantial elements: for instance, the actor, the sufferer, the action (perchance a murder), the instrument, the place, the time, the manner, the reason of the action. Notice that there are certain things that occupy a place intermediate between what is voluntary and what is involuntary. Although they are unpleasant and painful we welcome them as the escape from a still greater trouble; for instance, to escape shipwreck we cast the cargo overboard.

⁴ Notice also that children and irrational creatures perform voluntary actions, but these do not involve the exercise of choice: further, all our actions that are done in anger and without previous deliberation are voluntary actions, but do not in the least involve free choice. Also, if a friend suddenly appears on the scene, or if one unexpectedly lights on a treasure, so far as we are concerned it is quite voluntary, but there is no question of choice in the matter. For all these things are voluntary, because we desire pleasure from them, but they do not by any means imply choice, because they are not the

result of deliberation. And deliberation must assuredly precede choice, as we have said above.

CHAPTER XXV.

¹ Concerning what is in our own power, that is, concerning Free-will. The first enquiry involved in the consideration of free-will, that is, of what is in our own power, is whether anything is in our power: for there are many who deny this. The second is, what are the things that are in our power, and over what things do we have authority? The third is, what is the reason for which God Who created us endued us with free-will? So then we shall take up the first question, and firstly we shall prove that of those things which even our opponents grant, some are within our power. And let us proceed thus. ² Of all the things that happen, the cause is said to be either God, or necessity, or fate, or nature, or chance, or accident. But God's function has to do with essence and providence: necessity deals with the movement of things that ever keep to the same course: fate with the necessary accomplishment of the things it brings to pass (for fate itself implies necessity): nature with birth, growth, destruction, plants and animals; chance with what is rare and unexpected. For chance is defined as the meeting and concurrence of two causes, originating in choice but bringing to pass something other than what is natural: for example, if a man finds a treasure while digging a ditch: for the man who hid the treasure did not do so that the other might find it, nor did the finder dig with the purpose of finding the treasure: but the former hid it that he might take it away when he wished, and the other's aim was to dig the ditch: whereas something happened quite different from what both had in view. Accident again deals with casual occurrences that take place among lifeless or irrational things, apart from nature and art. This then is their doctrine. Under which, then, of these categories are we to bring what happens through the agency of man, if indeed man is not the cause and beginning of action? for it would not be right to ascribe to God actions that are sometimes base and unjust:

³ nor may we ascribe these to necessity, for they are not such as ever continue the same: nor to fate, for fate implies not possibility only but necessity: nor to nature, for nature's province is animals and plants: nor to chance, for the actions of men are not rare and unexpected: nor to accident, for that is used in reference to the casual occurrences that take place in the world of lifeless and irrational things. We are left then with this fact, that the man

who acts and makes is himself the author of his own works, and is a creature endowed with free-will. ⁴Further, if man is the author of no action, the faculty of deliberation is quite superfluous for to what purpose could deliberation be put if man is the master of none of his actions? for all deliberation is for the sake of action. But to prove that the fairest and most precious of man's endowments is quite superfluous would be the height of absurdity. If then man deliberates, he deliberates with a view to action. For all deliberation is with a view to and on account of action.

CHAPTER XXVI.

¹ Concerning Events. Of events some are in our hands, others are not. Those then are in our hands which we are free to do or not to do at our will, that is all actions that are done voluntarily (for those actions are not called voluntary the doing of which is not in our hands), and in a word, all that are followed by blame or praise and depend on motive and law. Strictly all mental and deliberative acts are in our hands. Now deliberation is concerned with equal possibilities: and an 'equal possibility' is an action that is itself within our power and its opposite, and our mind makes choice of the alternatives, and this is the origin of action. The actions, therefore, that are in our hands are these equal possibilities: e.g. to be moved or not to be moved, to hasten or not to hasten, to long for unnecessaries or not to do so, to tell lies or not to tell lies, to give or not to give, to rejoice or not to rejoice as fits the occasion, and all such actions as imply virtue or vice in their performance, for we are free to do or not to do these at our pleasure. Amongst equal possibilities also are included the arts, for we have it in our power to cultivate these or not as we please.

² Note, however, that while the choice of what is to be done is ever in our power, the action itself often is prevented by some dispensation of the divine Providence.

CHAPTER XXVII.

¹ Concerning the reason of our endowment with Free-will. ² We hold, therefore, that free-will comes on the scene at the same moment as reason, and that change and alteration are congenital to all that is produced. For all that is produced is also subject to change. For those things must be subject to change whose production has its origin in change. And change consists in being brought into being out of nothing, and in transforming a substratum

of matter into something different. Inanimate things, then, and things without reason undergo the aforementioned bodily changes, while the changes of things endowed with reason depend on choice. For reason consists of a speculative and a practical part. The speculative part is the contemplation of the nature of things, and the practical consists in deliberation and defines the true reason for what is to be done. The speculative side is called mind or wisdom, and the practical side is called reason or prudence. Every one, then, who deliberates does so in the belief that the choice of what is to be done lies in his hands, that he may choose what seems best as the result of his deliberation, and having chosen may act upon it. And if this is so, free-will must necessarily be very closely related to reason. For either man is an irrational being, or, if he is rational, he is master of his acts and endowed with free-will. Hence also creatures without reason do not enjoy free-will: for nature leads them rather than they nature, and so they do not oppose the natural appetite, but as soon as their appetite longs after anything they rush headlong after it. But man, being rational, leads nature rather than nature him, and so when he desires aught he has the power to curb his appetite or to indulge it as he pleases. Hence also creatures devoid of reason are the subjects neither of praise nor blame, while man is the subject of both praise and blame.

³ Note also that the angels, being rational, are endowed with free-will, and, inasmuch as they are created, are liable to change. This in fact is made plain by the devil who, although made good by the Creator, became of his own free-will the inventor of evil, and by the powers who revolted with him that is the demons, and by the other troops of angels who abode in goodness.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Concerning what is not in our hands. Of things that are not in our hands some have their beginning or cause in those that are in our power, that is to say, the recompenses of our actions both in the present and in the age to come, but all the rest are dependent on the divine will. For the origin of all things is from God, but their destruction has been introduced by our wickedness for our punishment or benefit. For God did not create death, neither does He take delight in the destruction of living things. But death is the work rather of man, that is, its origin is in Adam's transgression, in like manner as all other punishments. But all other things must be referred to God. For our birth is to be referred to His creative power; and our continu-

ance to His conservative power; and our government and safety to His providential power; and the eternal enjoyment of good things by those who preserve the laws of nature in which we are formed is to be ascribed to His goodness. But since some deny the existence of Providence, let us further devote a few words to the discussion of Providence.

CHAPTER XXIX.

¹ Concerning Providence. Providence, then, is the care that God takes over existing things. And again: Providence is the will of God through which all existing things receive their fitting issue. But if Providence is God's will, according to true reasoning all things that come into being through Providence must necessarily be both most fair and most excellent, and such that they cannot be surpassed. For the same person must of necessity be creator of and provider for what exists: for it is not meet nor fitting that the creator of what exists and the provider should be separate persons. For in that case they would both assuredly be deficient, the one in creating, the other in providing. God therefore is both Creator and Provider, and His creative and preserving and providing power is simply His good-will. For whatsoever the Lord pleased that did He in heaven and in earth and no one resisted His will. He willed that all things should be and they were. He wills the universe to be framed and it is framed, and all that He wills comes to pass.

² That He provides, and that He provides excellently one can most readily perceive thus. God alone is good and wise by nature. Since then He is good, He provides: for he who does not provide is not good. For even men and creatures without reason provide for their own offspring according to their nature, and he who does not provide is blamed. Again, since He is wise, He takes the best care over what exists. When, therefore, we give heed to these things we ought to be filled with wonder at all the works of Providence, and praise them all and accept them all without enquiry, even though they are in the eyes of many unjust, because the Providence of God is beyond our ken and comprehension, while our reasonings and actions and the future are revealed to His eyes alone. And by "all" I mean those that are not in our hands: for those that are in our power are outside the sphere of Providence and within that of our Free-will.

³ Now the works of Providence are partly according to the good-will (of God) and partly according to permission. Works of good-will include all those that are undeniably good, while works of permission are For Provid-

ence often permits the just man to encounter misfortune in order that he may reveal to others the virtue that lies concealed within him as was the case with Job. At other times it allows something strange to be done in order that something great and marvellous might be accomplished through the seemingly-strange act, as when the salvation of men was brought about through the Cross. In another way it allows the pious man to suffer sore trials in order that he may not depart from a right conscience nor lapse into pride on account of the power and grace granted to him, as was the case with Paul.

4 One man is forsaken for a season with a view to another's restoration, in order that others when they see his state may be taught a lesson as in the case of Lazarus and the rich man. For it belongs to our nature to be cast down when we see persons in distress. Another is deserted by Providence in order that another may be glorified, and not for his own sin or that of his parents, just as the man who was blind from his birth ministered to the glory of the Son of Man. Again another is permitted to suffer in order to stir up emulation in the breasts of others, so that others by magnifying the glory of the sufferer may resolutely welcome suffering in the hope of future glory and the desire for future blessings, as in the case of the martyrs. Another is allowed to fall at times into some act of baseness in order that another worse fault may be thus corrected, as for instance when God allows a man who takes pride in his virtue and righteousness to fall away into fornication in order that he may be brought through this fall into the perception of his own weakness and be humbled and approach and make confession to the Lord.

5 Moreover, it is to be observed that the choice of what is to be done is in our own hands: but the final issue depends, in the one case when our actions are good, on the cooperation of God, Who in His justice brings help according to His foreknowledge to such as choose the good with a right conscience, and, in the other case when our actions are to evil, on the desertion by God, Who again in His justice stands aloof in accordance with His foreknowledge. Now there are two forms of desertion: for there is desertion in the matters of guidance and training, and there is complete and hopeless desertion. The former has in view the restoration and safety and glory of the sufferer, or the rousing of feelings of emulation and imitation in others, or the glory of God: but the latter is when man, after God has done all that was possible to save him, remains of his own set purpose blind and uncured, or rather incur-

able, and then he is handed over to utter destruction, as was Judas. May God be gracious to us, and deliver us from such desertion.

6 Observe further that the ways of God's providence are many, and they cannot be explained in words nor conceived by the mind. And remember that all the assaults of dark and evil fortune contribute to the salvation of those who receive them with thankfulness, and are assuredly ambassadors of help. Also one must bear in mind that God's original wish was that all should be saved and come to His Kingdom. For it was not for punishment that He formed us but to share in His goodness, inasmuch as He is a good God. But inasmuch as He is a just God, His will is that sinners should suffer punishment. The first then is called God's antecedent will and pleasure, and springs from Himself, while the second is called God's consequent will and permission, and has its origin in us. And the latter is two-fold; one part dealing with matters of guidance and training, and having in view our salvation, and the other being hopeless and leading to our utter punishment, as we said above. And this is the case with actions that are not left in our hands.

7 But of actions that are in our hands the good ones depend on His antecedent goodwill and pleasure, while the wicked ones depend neither on His antecedent nor on His consequent will, but are a concession to free-will. For that which is the result of compulsion has neither reason nor virtue in it. God makes provision for all creation and makes all creation the instrument of His help and training, yea often even the demons themselves, as for example in the cases of Job and the swine.

CHAPTER XXX.

1 Concerning Prescience and Predestination. We ought to understand that while God knows all things beforehand, yet He does not predetermine all things. For He knows beforehand those things that are in our power, but He does not predetermine them. For it is not His will that there should be wickedness nor does He choose to compel virtue. So that predetermination is the work of the divine command based on fore-knowledge. But on the other hand God predetermines those things which are not within our power in accordance with His prescience. For already God in His prescience has pre-judged all things in accordance with His goodness and justice. Bear in mind, too that virtue is a gift from God implanted in our nature, and that He Himself is the source and cause of all good, and without His co-operation and help we cannot will or do any good thing, But we have it in our power

either to abide in virtue and follow God, Who calls us into ways of virtue, or to stray from paths of virtue, which is to dwell in wickedness, and to follow the devil who summons but cannot compel us. For wickedness is nothing else than the withdrawal of goodness, just as darkness is nothing else than the withdrawal of light. While then we abide in the natural state we abide in virtue, but when we deviate from the natural state, that is from virtue, we come into an unnatural state and dwell in wickedness.

² Repentance is the returning from the unnatural into the natural state, from the devil to God, through discipline and effort. Man then the Creator made male, giving him to share in His own divine grace, and bringing him thus into communion with Himself: and thus it was that he gave in the manner of a prophet the names to living flyings, with authority as though they were given to be his slaves. For having been endowed with reason and mind, and free-will after the image of God, he was fully entrusted with dominion over earthly things by the common Creator and Master of all. But since God in His prescience knew that man would transgress and become liable to destruction, He made from him a female to be a help to him like himself; a help, indeed, for the conservation of the race after the transgression from age to age by generation. For the earliest formation is called 'making' and not 'generation.' For 'making' is the original formation at God's hands, while 'generation' is the succession from each Other made necessary by the sentence of death imposed on us on account of the transgression.

³ This man He placed in Paradise, a home that was alike spiritual and sensible. For he lived in the body on the earth in the realm of sense, while he dwelt in the spirit among the angels, cultivating divine thoughts, and being supported by them: living in naked simplicity a life free from artificiality, and being led up through His creations to the one and only Creator, in Whose contemplation he found joy and gladness. When therefore He had furnished his nature with free-will, He imposed a law on him, not to taste of the tree of knowledge. Concerning this tree, we have said as much as is necessary in the chapter about Paradise, at least as much as it was in our power to say. And with this command He gave the promise that, if he should preserve the dignity of the soul by giving the victory to reason, and acknowledging his Creator and observing His command, he should share eternal blessedness and live to all eternity, proving mightier than death: but if forsooth he should subject the soul to the body, and prefer the delights of the

body, comparing himself in ignorance of his true dignity to the senseless beasts and shaking off Iris Creator's yoke, and neglecting His divine injunction, he will be liable to death and corruption, and will be compelled to labour throughout a miserable life. For it was no profit to man to obtain incorruption while still untried and unproved, lest he should fall into pride and under the judgment of the devil. For through his incorruption the devil, when he had fallen as the result of his own free choice, was firmly established in wickedness, so that there was no room for repentance and no hope of change: just as, moreover, the angels also, when they had made free choice of virtue became through grace immoveably rooted in goodness.

⁴It was necessary, therefore, that man should first be put to the test (for man untried and unproved would be worth nothing), and being made perfect by the trial through the observance of the command should thus receive incorruption as the prize of his virtue. For being intermediate between God and matter he was destined, if he kept the command, to be delivered from his natural relation to existing things and to be made one with God's estate, and to be immoveably established in goodness, but, if he transgressed and inclined the rather to what was material, and tore his mind from the Author of his being, I mean God, his fate was to be corruption, and he was to become subject to passion instead of passionless, and mortal instead of immortal, and dependent on connection and unsettled generation. And in his desire for life he would cling to pleasures as though they were necessary to maintain it, and would fearlessly abhor those who sought to deprive him of these, and transfer his desire from God to matter, and his anger from the real enemy of his salvation to his own brethren. The envy of the devil then was the reason of man's fall. For that same demon, so full of envy and with such a hatred of good, would not suffer us to enjoy the pleasures of heaven, when he himself was kept below on account of his arrogance, and hence the false one tempts miserable man with the hope of Godhead, and leading him up to as great a height of arrogance as himself, he hurls him down into a pit of destruction just as deep.

BOOK 3

¹Book III. Chapter I. Concerning the Divine Oeconomy and God's care over us, and concerning our salvation. ²Man, then, was thus snared by the assault of the arch-fiend, and broke his Creator's command, and was stripped of grace and put off his confidence with God, and covered himself

with the asperities of a toilsome life (for this is the meaning of the fig-leaves¹); and was clothed about with death, that is, mortality and the grossness of flesh (for this is what the garment of skins signifies); and was banished from Paradise by God's just judgment, and condemned to death, and made subject to corruption. Yet, notwithstanding all this, in His pity, God, Who gave him his being, and Who in His graciousness bestowed on him a life of happiness, did not disregard man². But He first trained him in many ways and called him back, by groans and trembling, by the deluge of water, and the utter destruction of almost the whole race³ by confusion and diversity of tongues⁴ by the rule⁵ of angels⁶ by the burning of cities⁷ by figurative manifestations of God, by wars and victories and defeats, by signs and wonders, by manifold faculties, by the law and the prophets: for by all these means God earnestly strove to emancipate man from the wide-spread and enslaving bonds of sin, which had made life such a mass of iniquity, and to effect man's return to a life of happiness. For it was sin that brought death like a wild and savage beast into the world⁸ to the ruin of the human life.

³ But it behoved the Redeemer to be without sin, and not made liable through sin to death, and further, that His nature should be strengthened and renewed, and trained by labour and taught the way of virtue which leads away from corruption to the life eternal and, in the end, is revealed the mighty ocean of love to man that is about Him⁹. For the very Creator and Lord Himself undertakes a struggle in behalf of the work of His own hands, and learns by toil to become Master. And since the enemy snares man by the hope of Godhead, he himself is snared in turn by the screen of flesh, and so are shown at once the goodness and wisdom, the justice and might of God. God's goodness is revealed in that He did not disregard the frailty of His own handiwork, but was moved with compassion for him in his fall, and stretched forth His hand to him: and His justice in that when man was overcome He did not make another victorious over the tyrant, nor did He snatch man by might from death, but in His goodness and justice He made him, who had become through his sins the slave of death, himself once more conqueror and rescued like by like, most difficult though it seemed: and His wisdom is seen in His devising the most fitting solution of the difficulty.

⁴ For by the good pleasure of our God and Father, the Only-begotten Son and Word of God and God, Who is in the bosom of the God and Father of like essence with the Father and the Holy Spirit, Who was before the ages,

Who is without beginning and was in the beginning, Who is in the presence of the God and Father, and is God and made in the form of God bent the heavens and descended to earth: that is to say, He humbled without humiliation His lofty station which yet could not be humbled, and condescends to His servants with a condescension ineffable and incomprehensible: (for that is what the descent signifies). And God being perfect becomes perfect man, and brings to perfection the newest of all new things the only new thing under the Sun, through which the boundless might of God is manifested. For what greater thing is there, than that God should become Man? And the Word became flesh without being changed, of the Holy Spirit, and Mary the holy and ever-virgin one, the mother of God. And He acts as mediator between God and man, He the only lover of man conceived in the Virgin's chaste womb without will or desire, or any connection with man or pleasurable generation, but through the Holy Spirit and the first offspring of Adam.

5 And He becomes obedient to the Father Who is like unto us, and finds a remedy for our disobedience in what He had assumed from us, and became a pattern of obedience to us without which it is not possible to obtain salvation. 6 Chapter II. Concerning the manner in which the Word was conceived, and concerning His divine incarnation. The angel of the Lord was sent to the holy Virgin, who was descended from David's line. For it is evident that our Lord sprang out of Judah, of which tribe no one turned his attention to the altar as the divine apostle said: but about this we will speak more accurately later. And bearing glad tidings to her, he said, Hail thou highly favoured one, the Lord is with thee. And she was troubled at his word, and the angel said to her, Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God, and shalt bring forth a Son and shalt call His name Jesus; for He shall save His people from their sins. Hence it comes that Jesus has the interpretation Saviour. And when she asked in her perplexity, How can this be, seeing I know not a man? the angel again answered her, The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee. Therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God. And she said to him, Behold the handmaid of the Lord: be it unto me according to Thy word.

7 So then, after the assent of the holy Virgin, the Holy Spirit descended on her, according to the word of the Lord which the angel spoke, purifying her and granting her power to receive the divinity of the Word, and likewise

power to bring forth. And then was she overshadowed by the enhypostatic Wisdom and Power of the most high God, the Son of God Who is of like essence with the Father as of Divine seed, and from her holy and most pure blood He formed flesh animated with the spirit of reason and thought, the first-fruits of our compound nature: not by procreation but by creation through the Holy Spirit: not developing the fashion of the body by gradual additions but perfecting it at once, He Himself, the very Word of God, standing to the flesh in the relation of subsistence. For the divine Word was not made one with flesh that had an independent pre-existence but taking up His abode in the womb of the holy Virgin, He unreservedly in His own subsistence took upon Himself through the pure blood of the eternal Virgin a body of flesh animated with the spirit of reason and thought, thus assuming to Himself the first-fruits of man's compound nature, Himself, the Word, having become a subsistence in the flesh. So that He is at once flesh, and at the same time flesh of God the Word, and likewise flesh animated, possessing both reason and thought.

⁸ Wherefore we speak not of man as having become God, but of God as having become Man. For being by nature perfect God, He naturally became likewise perfect Man: and did not change His nature nor make the dispensation an empty show, but became, without confusion or change or division, one in subsistence with the flesh, which was conceived of the holy Virgin, and animated with reason and thought, and had found existence in Him, while He did not change the nature of His divinity into the essence of flesh, nor the essence of flesh into the nature of His divinity, and did not make one compound nature out of His divine nature and the human nature He had assumed. ⁹ Chapter III. Concerning Christ's two natures, in apposition to those who hold that He has only one. For the two natures were united with each other without change or alteration, neither the divine nature departing from its native simplicity, nor yet the human being either changed into the nature of God or reduced to non-existence, nor one compound nature being produced out of the two. For the compound nature cannot be of the same essence as either of the natures out of which it is compounded, as made one thing out of others: for example, the body is composed of the four elements, but is not of the same essence as fire or air, or water or earth, nor does it keep these names. If, therefore, after the union, Christ's nature was, as the heretics hold, a compound unity, He had changed from a simple into a com-

pound nature and is not of the same essence as the Father Whose nature is simple, nor as the mother, who is not a compound of divinity and humanity. Nor will He then be in divinity and humanity: nor will He be called either God or Man, but simply Christ: and the word Christ will be the name not of the subsistence, but of what in their view is the one nature.

¹⁰ We, however, do not give it as our view that Christ's nature is compound, nor yet that He is one thing made of other things and differing from them as man is made of soul and body, or as the body is made of the four elements, but hold that, though He is constituted of these different parts He is yet the same. For we confess that He alike in His divinity and in His humanity both is and is said to be perfect God, the same Being, and that He consists of two natures, and exists in two natures. Further, by the word "Christ" we understand the name of the subsistence, not in the sense of one kind, but as signifying the existence of two natures. For in His own person He anointed Himself; as God anointing His body with His own divinity, and as Man being anointed. For He is Himself both God and Man. And the anointing is the divinity of His humanity. For if Christ, being of one compound nature, is of like essence to the Father, then the Father also must be compound and of like essence with the flesh, which is absurd and extremely blasphemous.

¹¹ How, indeed, could one and the same nature come to embrace opposing and essential differences? For how is it possible that the same nature should be at once created and uncreated, mortal and immortal, circumscribed and uncircumscribed? But if those who declare that Christ has only one nature should say also that that nature is a simple one, they must admit either that He is God pure and simple, and thus reduce the incarnation to a mere pretence, or that He is only man, according to Nestorius. And how then about His being "perfect in divinity and perfect in humanity"? And when can Christ be said to be of two natures, if they hold that He is of one composite nature after the union? For it is surely clear to every one that before the union Christ's nature was one. But this is what leads the heretics astray, viz., that they look upon nature and subsistence as the same thing. For when we speak of the nature of men as one observe that in saying this we are not looking to the question of soul and body. For when we compare together the soul and the body it cannot be said that they are of one nature. But since there are very many subsistences of men, and yet all have the same kind of nature: for all are composed of soul and body, and all have part in the

nature of the soul, and possess the essence of the body, and the common form: we speak of the one nature of these very many and different subsistences; while each subsistence, to wit, has two natures, and fulfils itself in two natures, namely, soul and body.

¹² But a common form cannot be admitted in the case of our Lord Jesus Christ. For neither was there ever, nor is there, nor will there ever be another Christ constituted of deity and humanity, and existing in deity and humanity at once perfect God and perfect man. And thus in the case of our Lord Jesus Christ we cannot speak of one nature made up of divinity and humanity, as we do in the case of the individual made up of soul and body. For in the latter case we have to do with an individual, but Christ is not an individual. For there is no predicable form of Christlihood, so to speak, that He possesses. And therefore we hold that there has been a union of two perfect natures, one divine and one human; not with disorder or confusion, or intermixture or commingling, as is said by the God-accursed Dioscorus and by Eutyches and Severus, and all that impious company: and not in a personal or relative manner, or as a matter of dignity or agreement in will, or equality in honour, or identity in name, or good pleasure, as Nestorius, hated of God, said, and Diodorus and Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and their diabolical tribe: but by synthesis; that is, in subsistence, without change or confusion or alteration or difference or separation, and we confess that in two perfect natures there is but one subsistence of the Son of God incarnate;

¹³ holding that there is one and the same subsistence belonging to His divinity and His humanity, and granting that the two natures are preserved in Him after the union, but we do not hold that each is separate and by itself, but that they are united to each other in one compound subsistence. For we look upon the union as essential, that is, as true and not imaginary. We say that it is essential moreover, not in the sense of two natures resulting in one compound nature, but in the sense of a true union of them in one compound subsistence of the Son of God, and we hold that their essential difference is preserved. For the created remaineth created, and the uncreated, uncreated: the mortal remaineth mortal; the immortal, immortal: the circumscribed, circumscribed: the uncircumscribed, uncircumscribed: the visible, visible: the invisible, invisible. "The one part is all glorious with wonders: while the other is the victim of insults."

¹⁴ Moreover, the Word appropriates to Himself the attributes of humanity: for all that pertains to His holy flesh is His: and He imparts to the flesh His own attributes by way of communication in virtue of the interpenetration of the parts one with another, and the oneness according to subsistence, and inasmuch as He Who lived and acted both as God and as man, taking to Himself either form and holding intercourse with the other form, was one and the same. Hence it is that the Lord of Glory is said to have been crucified although His divine nature never endured the Cross, and that the Son of Man is allowed to have been in heaven before the Passion, as the Lord Himself said. For the Lord of Glory is one and the same with Him Who is in nature and in truth the Son of Man, that is, Who became man, and both His wonders and His sufferings are known to us, although His wonders were worked in His divine capacity, and His sufferings endured as man. For we know that, just as is His one subsistence, so is the essential difference of the nature preserved. For how could difference be preserved if the very things that differ from one another are not preserved? For difference is the difference between things that differ. In so far as Christ's natures differ from one another, that is, in the matter of essence, we hold that Christ unites in Himself two extremes:

¹⁵ in respect of His divinity He is connected with the Father and the Spirit, while in respect of His humanity He is connected with His mother and all mankind. And in so far as His natures are united, we hold that He differs from the Father and the Spirit on the one hand, and from the mother and the rest of mankind on the other. For the natures are united in His subsistence, having one compound subsistence, in which He differs from the Father and the Spirit, and also from the mother and us. ¹⁶ Chapter IV. Concerning the manner of the Mutual Communication. Now we have often said already that essence is one thing and subsistence another, and that essence signifies the common and general form of subsistences of the same kind, such as God, man, while subsistence marks the individual, that is to say, Father, Son, Holy Spirit, or Peter, Paul. Observe, then, that the names, divinity and humanity, denote essences or natures: while the names, God and man, are applied both in connection with natures, as when we say that God is incomprehensible essence, and that God is one, and with reference to subsistences, that which is more specific having the name of the more general applied to it, as when the Scripture says, Therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee or again, There

was a certain man in the land of Uz for it was only to Job that reference was made.

¹⁷ Therefore, in the case of our Lord Jesus Christ, seeing that we recognise that He has two natures but only one subsistence compounded of both, when we contemplate His natures we speak of His divinity and His humanity, but when we contemplate the subsistence compounded of the natures we sometimes use terms that have reference to His double nature, as “Christ,” and “at once God and man,” and “God Incarnate;” and sometimes those that imply only one of His natures, as “God” alone, or “Son of God,” and “man” alone, or “Son of Man;” sometimes using names that imply His loftiness and sometimes those that imply His lowliness. For He Who is alike God and man is one, being the former from the Father ever without cause, but having become the latter afterwards for His love towards man. ¹⁸ When, then, we speak of His divinity we do not ascribe to it the properties of humanity. For we do not say that His divinity is subject to passion or created. Nor, again, do we predicate of His flesh or of His humanity the properties of divinity: for we do not say that His flesh or His humanity is uncreated. But when we speak of His subsistence, whether we give it a name implying both natures, or one that refers to only one of them, we still attribute to it the properties of both natures. For Christ, which name implies both natures, is spoken of as at once God and man, created and uncreated, subject to suffering and incapable of suffering: and when He is named Son of God and God, in reference to only one of His natures, He still keeps the properties of the co-existing nature, that is, the flesh, being spoken of as God who suffers, and as the Lord of Glory crucified not in respect of His being God but in respect of His being at the same time man. Likewise also when He is called Man and Son of Man, He still keeps the properties and glories of the divine nature, a child before the ages, and man who knew no beginning; it is not, however, as child or man but as God that He is before the ages, and became a child in the end. And this is the manner of the mutual communication, either nature giving in exchange to the other its own properties through the identity of the subsistence and the interpenetration of the parts with one another. Accordingly we can say of Christ: This our God was seen upon the earth and lived amongst men and This man is uncreated and impossible and uncircumscribed.

¹⁹ Chapter V. Concerning the number of the Natures. ²⁰ In the case, therefore, of the Godhead we confess that there is but one nature, but hold that there are three subsistences actually existing, and hold that all things that are of nature and essence are simple, and recognise the difference of the subsistences only in the three properties of independence of cause and Fatherhood, of dependence on cause and Sonship, of dependence on cause and procession. And we know further that these are indivisible and inseparable from each other and united into one, and interpenetrating one another without confusion. Yea, I repeat, united without confusion, for they are three although united, and they are distinct, although inseparable. For although each has an independent existence, that is to say, is a perfect subsistence and has an individuality of its own, that is, has a special mode of existence, yet they are one in essence and in the natural properties. and in being inseparable and indivisible from the Father's subsistence, and they both are and are said to be one God. In the very same way, then, in the case of the divine and ineffable dispensation exceeding all thought and comprehension, I mean the Incarnation of the One God the Word of the Holy Trinity, and our Lord Jesus Christ, we confess that there are two natures, one divine and one human, joined together with one another and united in subsistence so that one compound subsistence is formed out of the two natures:

²¹ but we hold that the two natures are still preserved, even after the union, in the one compound subsistence, that is, in the one Christ, and that these exist in reality and have their natural properties; for they are united without confusion, and are distinguished and enumerated without being separable. And just as the three subsistences of the Holy Trinity are united without confusion, and are distinguished and enumerated without being separable the enumeration not entailing division or separation or alienation or cleavage among them (for we recognise one God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit), so in the same way the natures of Christ also, although they are united, yet are united without confusion; and although they interpenetrate one another, yet they do not permit of change or transmutation of one into the other. For each keeps its own natural individuality strictly unchanged. And thus it is that they can be enumerated without the enumeration introducing division. For Christ, indeed, is one, perfect both in divinity and in humanity. For it is not the nature of number to cause separation or unity, but its nature is to indicate the quantity of what is enumerated,

whether these are united or separated: for we have unity, for instance, when fifty stones compose a wall, but we have separation when the fifty stones lie on the ground;

²² and again, we have unity when we speak of coal having two natures, namely, fire and wood, but we have separation in that the nature of fire is one thing, and the nature of wood another thing; for these things are united and separated not by number, but in another way. So, then, just as even though the three subsistences of the Godhead are united with each other, we cannot speak of them as one subsistence because we should confuse and do away with the difference between the subsistences, so also we cannot speak of the two natures of Christ as one nature, united though they are in subsistence, because we should then confuse and do away with and reduce to nothing the difference between the two natures. ²³ Chapter. VI. That in one of its subsistences the divine nature is united in its entirety to the human nature, in its entirety and not only part to part. What is common and general is predicated of the included particulars. Essence, then, is common as being a form while subsistence is particular. It is particular not as though it had part of the nature and had not the rest, but particular in a numerical sense, as being individual. For it is in number and not in nature that the difference between subsistences is said to lie. Essence, therefore, is predicated of subsistence, because in each subsistence of the same form the essence is perfect. Wherefore subsistences do not differ from each other in essence but in the accidents which indeed are the characteristic properties, but characteristic of subsistence and not of nature. For indeed they define subsistence as essence along with accidents. So that the subsistence contains both the general and the particular, and has an independent existence while essence has not an independent existence but is contemplated in the subsistences. Accordingly when one of the subsistences suffers, the whole essence, being capable of suffering is held to have suffered in one of its subsistences as much as the subsistence suffered, but it does not necessarily follow, however, that all the subsistences of the same class should suffer along with the suffering subsistence.

²⁴ Thus, therefore, we confess that the nature of the Godhead is wholly and perfectly in each of its subsistences, wholly in the Father, wholly in the Son, and wholly in the Holy Spirit. Wherefore also the Father is perfect God, the Son is perfect God, and the Holy Spirit is perfect God. In like manner, too, in the Incarnation of the Trinity of the One God the Word of the Holy

Trinity, we hold that in one of its subsistences the nature of the Godhead is wholly and perfectly united with the whole nature of humanity, and not part united to part. The divine Apostle in truth says that in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily that is to say in His flesh. And His divinely-inspired disciple, Dionysius, who had so deep a knowledge of things divine, said that the Godhead as a whole had fellowship with us in one of its own subsistences. But we shall not be driven to hold that all the subsistences of the Holy Godhead, to wit the three, are made one in subsistence with all the subsistences of humanity. For in no other respect did the Father and the Holy Spirit take part in the incarnation of God the Word than according to good will and pleasure. But we hold that to the whole of human nature the whole essence of the Godhead was united. For God the Word omitted none of the things which He implanted in our nature when He formed us in the beginning, but took them all upon Himself, body and soul both intelligent and rational, and all their properties. For the creature that is devoid of one of these is not man. But He in His fulness took upon Himself me in my fulness, and was united whole to whole that He might in His grace bestow salvation on the whole man. For what has not been taken cannot be healed.

²⁵ The Word of God then, was united to flesh through the medium of mind which is intermediate between the purity of God and the grossness of flesh. For the mind holds sway over soul and body, but while the mind is the purest part of the soul God is that of the mind. And when it is allowed by that which is more excellent, the mind of Christ gives proof of its own authority but it is under the dominion of and obedient to that which is more excellent, and does those things which the divine will purposes. Further the mind has become the seat of the divinity united with it in subsistence, just as is evidently the case with the body too, not as an inmate which is the impious error into which the heretics fall when they say that one bushel cannot contain two bushels, for they are judging what is immaterial by material standards. How indeed could Christ be called perfect God and perfect man, and be said to be of like essence with the Father and with us, if only part of the divine nature is joined in Him to part of the human nature?

²⁶ We hold, moreover, that our nature has been raised from the dead and has ascended to the heavens and taken its seat at the right hand of the Father: not that all the persons of men have risen from the dead and taken their seat at the right hand of the Father, but that this has happened to the whole

of our nature in the subsistence of Christ. Verily the divine Apostle says, God hath raised us up together and made us sit together in Christ. And this further we hold, that the union took place through common essences. For every essence is common to the subsistences contained in it, and there cannot be found a partial and particular nature, that is to say, essence: for otherwise we would have to hold that the same subsistences are at once the same and different in essence, and that the Holy Trinity in respect of the divinity is at once the same and different in essence. So then the same nature is to be observed in each of the subsistences, and when we said that the nature of the word became flesh, as did the blessed Athanasius and Cyrillus, we mean that the divinity was joined to the flesh. Hence we cannot say "The nature of the Word suffered;" for the divinity in it did not suffer, but we say that the human nature, not by any means, however, meaning all the subsistences of men, suffered in Christ, and we confess further that Christ suffered in His human nature. So that when we speak of the nature of the Word we mean the Word Himself. And the Word has both the general element of essence and the particular element of subsistence.

²⁷ Chapter VII. Concerning the one compound subsistence of God the Word. We hold then that the divine subsistence of God the Word existed before all else and is without time and eternal, simple and uncompound, uncreated, incorporeal, invisible, intangible, uncircumscribed, possessing all the Father possesses, since He is of the same essence with Him, differing from the Father's subsistence in the manner of His generation and the relation of the Father's subsistence, being perfect also and at no time separated from the Father's subsistence: and in these last days, without leaving the Father's bosom, took up His abode in an uncircumscribed manner in the womb of the holy Virgin, without the instrumentality of seed, and in an incomprehensible manner known only to Himself, and causing the flesh derived from the holy Virgin to subsist in the very subsistence that was before all the ages.

²⁸ So then He was both in all things and above all things and also dwelt in the womb of the holy Mother of God, but in it by the energy of the incarnation. He therefore became flesh and He took upon Himself thereby the first-fruits of our compound nature viz., the flesh animated with the intelligent and national soul, so that the very subsistence of God the Word was changed into the subsistence of the flesh, and the subsistence of the Word, which was formerly simple, became compound yea compounded of two perfect natures,

divinity and humanity, and bearing the characteristic and distinctive property of the divine Sonship of God the Word in virtue of which it is distinguished from the Father and the Spirit, and also the characteristic and distinctive properties of the flesh, in virtue of which it differs from the Mother and the rest of mankind, bearing further the properties of the divine nature in virtue of which it is united to the Father and the Spirit, and the marks of the human nature in virtue of which it is united to the Mother and to us. And further it differs from the Father and the Spirit and the Mother and us in being at once God and man. For this we know to be the most special property of the subsistence of Christ.

²⁹ Wherefore we confess Him, even after the incarnation, the one Son of God, and likewise Son of Man, one Christ, one Lord, the only-begotten Son and Word of God, one Lord Jesus. We reverence His two generations, one from the Father before time and beyond cause and reason and time and nature, and one in the end for our sake, and like to us and above us; for our sake because it was for our salvation, like to us in that He was man born of woman at full time and above us because it was not by seed, but by the Holy Spirit and the Holy Virgin Mary transcending the laws of parturition. We proclaim Him not as God only, devoid of our humanity, nor yet as man only, stripping Him of His divinity, nor as two distinct persons, but as one and the same, at once God and man, perfect God and perfect man, wholly God and wholly man, the same being wholly God, even though He was also flesh and wholly man, even though He was also most high God. And by “perfect God” and “perfect man” we mean to emphasize the fulness and unfailingness of the natures: while by “wholly God” and “wholly man” we mean to lay stress on the singularity and individuality of the subsistence.

³⁰ And we confess also that there is one incarnate nature of God the Word, expressing by the word “incarnate” the essence of the flesh, according to the blessed Cyril. And so the Word was made flesh and yet did not abandon His own proper immateriality: He became wholly flesh and yet remained wholly uncircumscribed. So far as He is body He is diminished and contracted into narrow limits, but inasmuch as He is God He is uncircumscribed, His flesh not being coextensive with His uncircumscribed divinity. He is then wholly perfect God, but yet is not simply God: for He is not only God but also man. And He is also wholly perfect man but not simply man, for He is not only man but also God. For “simply” here has reference to His

nature, and “wholly “ to His subsistence, just as “another thing” would refer to nature, while “another “ would refer to subsistence.

³¹ But observe that although we hold that the natures of the Lord permeate one another, yet we know that the permeation springs from the divine nature. For it is that that penetrates and permeates all things, as it wills, while nothing penetrates it: and it is it, too, that imparts to the flesh its own peculiar glories, while abiding itself impossible and without participation in the affections of the flesh. For if the sun imparts to us his energies and yet does not participate in ours, how much the rather must this be true of the Creator anti Lord of the Sun. Chapter VIII. In reply to those who ask whether the natures of the Lord are brought under a continuous or a discontinuous quantity. If any one asks concerning the natures of the Lord if they are brought under a continuous or discontinuous quantity we will say that the natures of the Lord are neither one body nor one superficies nor one line, nor time, nor place, so as to be reduced to a continuous quantity. For these are the things that are reckoned continuously.

³² Further note that number deals with things that differ, and it is quite impossible to enumerate things that differ from one another in no respect: and just so far as they differ are they enumerated: for instance, Peter and Paul are not counted separately in so far as they are one. For since they are one in respect of their essence they cannot be spoken of as two natures, but as they differ in respect of subsistence they are spoken of as two subsistences. So that number deals with differences, and just as the differing objects differ from one another so far they are enumerated. The natures of the Lord, then, are united without confusion so far as regards subsistence, and they are divided without separation according to the method and manner of difference. And it is not according to the manner in which they are united that they are enumerated, for it is not in respect of subsistence that we hold that there are two natures of Christ: but according to the manner in which they are divided without separation they are enumerated, for it is in respect of the method and manner of difference that there are two natures of Christ. For being united in subsistence and permeating one another, they are united without confusion, each preserving throughout its own peculiar and natural difference. Hence, since they are enumerated according to the manner of difference, and that alone, they must be brought under a discontinuous quantity.

³³ Christ, therefore is one, perfect God and perfect man: and Him we worship along with the Father and the Spirit, with one obeisance, adoring even His immaculate flesh and not holding that the flesh is not meet for worship: for in fact it is worshipped in the one subsistence of the Word, which indeed became subsistence for it. But in this we do not do homage to that which is created. For we worship Him, not as mere flesh, but as flesh united with divinity, and because His two natures are brought under the one person and one subsistence of God the Word. I fear to touch coal because of the fire bound up with the wood. I worship the twofold nature of Christ because of the divinity that is in Him bound up with flesh. For I do not introduce a fourth person into the Trinity. God forbid! but I confess one person of God the Word and of His flesh, and the Trinity remains Trinity, even after the incarnation of the Word.

³⁴ In reply to those who ask whether the two natures are brought under a continuous or a discontinuous quantity. The natures of the Lord are neither one body nor one superficies, nor one line, nor place, nor time, so as to be brought under a continuous quantity: for these are the things that are reckoned continuously. But the natures of the Lord are united without confusion in respect of subsistence, and are divided without separation according to the method and manner of difference. And according to the manner in which they are united they are not enumerated. For we do not say that the natures of Christ are two subsistences or two in respect of subsistence. But according to the manner in which they are divided without division, are they enumerated. For there are two natures according to the method and manner of difference. For being united in subsistence and permeating one another they are united without confusion, neither having been changed into the other, but each preserving its own natural difference even after the union. For that which is created remained created, and that which is uncreated, uncreated. By the manner of difference, then, and in that alone, they are enumerated, and thus are brought under discontinuous quantity. For things which differ from each other in no respect cannot be enumerated, but just so far as they differ are they enumerated; for instance, Peter and Paul are not enumerated in those respects in which they are one: for being one in respect of their essence they are not two natures nor are they so spoken of. But inasmuch as they differ in subsistence they are spoken of as two subsistences. So that difference is the cause of number.

³⁵ Chapter IX. In reply to the question whether there is Nature that has no Subsistence. For although there is no nature without subsistence, nor essence apart from person (since in truth it is in persons and subsistences that essence and nature are to be contemplated), yet it does not necessarily follow that the natures that are united to one another in subsistence should have each its own proper subsistence. For after they have come together into one subsistence, it is possible that neither should they be without subsistence, nor should each have its own peculiar subsistence, but that both should have one and the same subsistence. For since one and the same subsistence of the Word has become the subsistence of the natures, neither of them is permitted to be without subsistence, nor are they allowed to have subsistences that differ from each other, or to have sometimes the subsistence of this nature and sometimes of that, but always without division or separation they both have the same subsistence—a subsistence which is not broken up into parts or divided, so that one part should belong to this, and one to that, but which belongs wholly to this and wholly to that in its absolute entirety. For the flesh of God the Word did not subsist as an independent subsistence, nor did there arise another subsistence besides that of God the Word, but as it existed in that it became rather a subsistence which subsisted in another, than one which was an independent subsistence. Wherefore, neither does it lack subsistence altogether, nor yet is there thus introduced into the Trinity another subsistence.

³⁶ Chapter X. Concerning the Trisagium (“the Thrice Holy”). ³⁷ This being so we declare that the addition which the vain-minded Peter the Fuller made to the Trisagium or “Thrice Holy” Hymn is blasphemous; for it introduces a fourth person into the Trinity, giving a separate place to the Son of God, Who is the truly subsisting power of the Father, and a separate place to Him Who was crucified as though He were different from the “Mighty One,” or as though the Holy Trinity was considered possible, and the Father and the Holy Spirit suffered on the Cross along with the Son. Have done with this blasphemous and nonsensical interpolation! For we hold the words “Holy God” to refer to the Father, without limiting the title of divinity to Him alone, but acknowledging also as God the Son and the Holy Spirit: and the words “Holy and Mighty” we ascribe to the Son, without stripping the Father and the Holy Spirit of might: and the words “Holy and Immortal” we attribute to the Holy Spirit, without depriving the Father and the Son of im-

mortality. For, indeed, we apply all the divine names simply and unconditionally to each of the subsistences in imitation of the divine Apostle's words. But to us there is but one God, the Father, of Whom are all things, and we in Him:

³⁸and one Lord Jesus Christ by Whom are all things, and we by Him And, nevertheless, we follow Gregory the Theologian when he says, "But to us there is but one God, the Father, of Whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through Whom are all things, and one Holy Spirit, in Whom are all things: for the words "of Whom" and "through Whom" and "in Whom" do not divide the natures (for neither the prepositions nor the order of the names could ever be changed), but they characterise the properties of one unconfused nature. And this becomes clear from the fact that they are once more gathered into one, if only one reads with care these words of the same Apostle, Of Him and through Him and in Him are all things: to Him be the glory for ever and ever. Amen. ³⁹For that the "Trisagium" refers not to the Son alone but to the Holy Trinity, the divine and saintly Athanasius and Basil and Gregory, and all the band of the divinely-inspired Fathers bear witness: because, as a matter of fact, by the threefold holiness the Holy Seraphim suggest to us the three subsistences of the superessential Godhead. But by the one Lordship they denote the one essence and dominion of the supremely-divine Trinity. Gregory the Theologian of a truth says "Thus, then, the Holy of Holies, which is completely veiled by the Seraphim, and is glorified with three consecrations, meet together in one lordship and one divinity." This was the most beautiful and sublime philosophy of still another of our predecessors.

⁴⁰Ecclesiastical historians then, say that once when the people of Constantinople were offering prayers to God to avert a threatened calamity during Proclus' tenure of the office of Archbishop, it happened that a boy was snatched up from among the people, and was taught by angelic teachers the "Thrice Holy" Hymn, "Thou Holy God, Holy and Mighty One, Holy and Immortal One, have mercy upon us:" and when once more he was restored to earth, he told what he had learned, and all the people sang the Hymn, and so the threatened calamity was averted. And in the fourth holy and great (Ecumenical Council, I mean the one at Chalcedon, we are told that it was in this form that the Hymn was sung; for the minutes of this holy assembly so record it. It is, therefore, a matter for laughter and ridicule that this

“Thrice Holy” Hymn, taught us by the angels, and confirmed by the averting of calamity ratified and established by so great an assembly of the holy Fathers, and sung first by the Seraphim as a declaration of the three subsistences of the Godhead, should be mangled and forsooth emended to suit the view of the stupid Fuller as though he were higher than the Seraphim. But oh! the arrogance! not to say folly! But we say it thus, though demons should rend us in pieces, “Do Thou, Holy God, Holy and Mighty One, Holy and Immortal One, have mercy upon us.”

⁴¹ Chapter XI. Concerning the Nature as viewed in Species and in Individual, and concerning the difference between Union and Incarnation: and how this is to be understood, “The one Nature of God the Word Incarnate.”

⁴² Nature is regarded either abstractly as a matter of pure thought (for it has no independent existence): or commonly in all subsistences of the same species as their bond of union, and is then spoken of as nature viewed in species: or universally as the same, but with the addition of accidents, in one subsistence, and is spoken of as nature viewed in the individual, this being identical with nature viewed in species. God the Word Incarnate, therefore, did not assume the nature that is regarded as an abstraction in pure thought (for this is not incarnation, but only an imposture and a figment of incarnation), nor the nature viewed in species (for He did not assume all the subsistences): but the nature viewed in the individual, which is identical with that viewed in species. For He took on Himself the elements of our compound nature, and these not as having an independent existence or as being originally an individual, and in this way assumed by Him, but as existing in His own subsistence. For the subsistence of God the Word in itself became the subsistence of the flesh, and accordingly “the Word became flesh “ clearly without any change, and likewise the flesh became Word without alteration, and God became man. For the Word is God, and man is God, through having one and the same subsistence. And so it is possible to speak of the same thing as being the nature of the Word and the nature in the individual. For it signifies strictly and exclusively neither the individual, that is, the subsistence, nor the common nature of the subsistences, but the common nature as viewed and presented in one of the subsistences.

⁴³ Union, then, is one thing, and incarnation is something quite different. For union signifies only the conjunction, but not at all that with which union is effected. But incarnation (which is just the same as if one said “the

putting on of man's nature") signifies that the conjunction is with flesh, that is to say, with man, just as the heating of iron implies its union with fire. Indeed, the blessed Cyril himself, when he is interpreting the phrase, "one nature of God the Word Incarnate," says in the second epistle to Succensus, "For if we simply said 'the one nature of the Word' and then were silent, and did not add the word 'incarnate,' but, so to speak, quite excluded the dispensation there would be some plausibility in the question they feign to ask, 'If one nature is the whole, what becomes of the perfection in humanity, or how has the essence like us come to exist?' But inasmuch as the perfection in humanity and the disclosure of the essence like us are conveyed in the word 'incarnate,' they must cease from relying on a mere straw" Here, then, he placed the nature of the Word over nature itself. For if He had received nature instead of subsistence, it would not have been absurd to have omitted the "incarnate." For when we say simply one subsistence of God the Word, we do not err. In like manner, also, Leontius the Byzantine considered this phrase to refer to nature, and not to subsistence. But in the Defence which he wrote in reply to the attacks that Theodoret made on the second anathema, the blessed Cyril says this: "The nature of the Word, that is, the subsistence, which is the Word itself." So that "the nature of the Word" means neither the subsistence alone, nor "the common nature of the subsistence," but "the common nature viewed as a whole in the subsistence of the Word."

⁴⁴ It has been said, then, that the nature of the Word became flesh, that is, was united to flesh: but that the nature of the Word suffered in the flesh we have never heard up till now, though we have been taught that Christ suffered in the flesh. So that "the nature of the Word" does not mean "the subsistence." It remains, therefore, to say that to become flesh is to be united with the flesh, while the Word having become flesh means that the very subsistence of the Word became without change the subsistence of the flesh. It has also been said that God became man, and man God. For the Word which is God became without alteration man. But that the Godhead became man, or became flesh, or put on the nature of man, this we have never heard. This, indeed, we have learned, that the Godhead was united to humanity in one of its subsistences, and it has been stated that God took on a different form or essence to wit our own. For the name God is applicable to each of the subsistences, but we cannot use the term Godhead in reference to subsistence. For we are never told that the Godhead is the Father alone, or the Son alone, or

the Holy Spirit alone. For “Godhead” implies “nature,” while “Father” implies subsistence just as “Humanity” implies nature, and “Peter” subsistence. But “God” indicates the common element of the nature, and is applicable derivatively to each of the subsistences, just as “man” is. For He Who has divine nature is God, and he who has human nature is man.

⁴⁵ Besides all this, notice that the Father and the Holy Spirit take no part at all in the incarnation of the Word except in connection with the miracles, and in respect of good will and purpose. Chapter XII. That the holy Virgin is the Mother of God: an argument directed against the Nestorians.

⁴⁶ Moreover we proclaim the holy Virgin to be in strict truth the Mother of God. For inasmuch as He who was born of her was true God, she who bare the true God incarnate is the true mother of God. For we hold that God was born of her, not implying that the divinity of the Word received from her the beginning of its being, but meaning that God the Word Himself, Who was begotten of the Father timelessly before the ages, and was with the Father and the Spirit without beginning anti through eternity, took up His abode in these last days for the sake of our salvation in the Virgin’s womb, and was without change made flesh and born of her. For the holy Virgin did not bare mere man but true God: and not mere God but God incarnate, Who did not bring down His body from Heaven, nor simply passed through the Virgin as channel, but received from her flesh of like essence to our own and subsisting in Himself. For if the body had come down from heaven and had not partaken of our nature, what would have been the use of His becoming man? For the purpose of God the Word becoming man was that the very same nature, which had sinned and fallen and become corrupted, should triumph over the deceiving tyrant and so be freed from corruption, just as the divine apostle puts it, For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. If the first is true the second must also be true.

⁴⁷ Although however, he says, The first Adam is of the earth earthy; the second Adam is Lord from Heaven he does not say that His body is from heaven, but emphasises the fact that He is not mere man. For, mark, he called Him both Adam and Lord, thus indicating His double nature. For Adam is, being interpreted, earth-born: and it is clear that man’s nature is earth-born since he is formed from earth, but the title Lord signifies His divine essence. And again the Apostle says: God sent forth His only-begotten Son, made of a woman. He did not say “made by a woman.” Wherefore the

divine apostle meant that the only-begotten Son of God and God is the same as He who was made man of the Virgin, and that He who was born of the Virgin is the same as the Son of God and God. ⁴⁸ But He was born after the bodily fashion inasmuch as He became man, and did not take up His abode in a man formed beforehand, as in a prophet, but became Himself in essence and truth man, that is He caused flesh animated with the intelligent and reasonable to subsist in His own subsistence, and Himself became subsistence for it. For this is the meaning of “made of a woman.” For how could the very Word of God itself have been made under the law, if He did not become man of like essence with ourselves? Hence it is with justice and truth that we call the holy Mary the Mother of God. For this name embraces the whole mystery of the dispensation. For if she who bore Him is the Mother of God, assuredly He Who was born of her is God and likewise also man. For how could God, Who was before the ages, have been born of a woman unless He had become man? For the son of man must clearly be man himself. But if He Who was born of a woman is Himself God, manifestly He Who was born of God the Father in accordance with the laws of an essence that is divine and knows no beginning, and He Who was in the last days born of the Virgin in accordance with the laws of an essence that has beginning and is subject to time, that is, an essence which is human, must be one and the same. The name in truth signifies the one subsistence and the two natures and the two generations Of our Lord Jesus Christ.

⁴⁹ But we never say that the holy Virgin is the Mother of Christ because it was in order to do away with the title Mother of God, and to bring dishonour on the Mother of God, who alone is in truth worthy of honour above all creation, that the impure and abominable Judaizing Nestorius that vessel of dishonour, invented this name for an insult. For David the king, and Aaron, the high priest, are also called Christ for it is customary to make kings and priests by anointing: and besides every God-inspired man may be called Christ. but yet he is not by nature God: yea, the accursed Nestorius insulted Him Who was born of the Virgin by calling Him God-bearer. May it be far from us to speak of or think of Him as God-bearer only Who is in truth God incarnate. For the Word Himself became flesh, having been in truth conceived of the Virgin, but coming forth as God with the assumed nature which, as soon as He was brought forth into being, was deified by Him, so that these three things took place simultaneously, the assumption of our

nature, the coming into being, and the deification of the assumed nature by the Word.

⁵⁰ And thus it is that the holy Virgin is thought of and spoken of as the Mother of God, not only because of the nature of the Word, but also because of the deification of man's nature, the miracles of conception and of existence being wrought together, to wit, the conception the Word, and the existence of the flesh in the Word Himself. For the very Mother of God in some marvellous manner was the means of fashioning the Framer of all things and of bestowing manhood on the God and Creator of all, Who deified the nature that He assumed, while the union preserved those things that were united just as they were united, that is to say, not only the divine nature of Christ but also His human nature, not only that which is above us but that which is of us. For He was not first made like us and only later became higher than us, but ever from His first coming into being He existed with the double nature, because He existed in the Word Himself from the beginning of the conception. Wherefore He is human in His own nature, but also, in some marvellous manner, of God and divine. Moreover He has the properties of the living flesh: for by reason of the dispensation the Word received these which are, according to the order of natural motion, truly natural.

⁵¹ Chapter XIII. Concerning the properties of the two Natures. Confessing, then, the same Jesus Christ, our Lord, to be perfect God and perfect man, we hold that the same has all the attributes of the Father save that of being ingenerate, and all the attributes of the first Adam, save only his sin, these attributes being body and the intelligent and rational soul; and further that He has, corresponding to the two natures, the two sets of natural qualities belonging to the two natures: two natural volitions, one divine and one human, two natural, energies, one divine and one human, two natural free-wills, one divine and one human, and two kinds of wisdom and knowledge, one divine and one human. For being of like essence with God and the Father, He wills and energises freely as God, and being also of like essence with us He likewise wills and energises freely as man. For His are the miracles and His also are the passive states.

⁵² Chapter XIV. Concerning the volitions and free-will of our Lord Jesus Christ. Since, then, Christ has two natures, we hold that He has also two natural wills and two natural energies. But since His two natures have one subsistence, we hold that it is one and the same person who wills and ener-

gises naturally in both natures, of which, and in which, and also which is Christ our Lord: and moreover that He wills and energises without separation but as a united whole. For He wills and energises in either form in close communion with the other. For things that have the same essence have also the same will and energy, while things that are different in essence are different in will and energy; and vice versa, things that have the same will anti energy have the same essence, while things that are different in will and energy are different in essence.

⁵³ Wherefore in the case of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit we recognise, from their sameness in will and energy, their sameness in nature. But in the case of the divine dispensation we recognise from their difference in will and energy the difference of the two natures, and as we perceive the difference of the two natures we confess that the wills and energies also are different. For just as the number of the natures of one and the same Christ, when considered and spoken of with piety, do not cause a division of the one Christ but merely bring out the fact that the difference between the natures is maintained even in the union, so it is with the number of wills and energies that belong essentially to His natures. (For He was endowed with the powers of willing and energising in both natures, for the sake of our salvation) It does not introduce division: God forbid! but merely brings out the fact that the differences between them are safeguarded and preserved even in the union. For we hold that wills and energies are faculties belonging to nature, not to subsistence; I mean those faculties of will and energy by which He Who wills and energises does so. For if we allow that they belong to subsistence, we will be forced to say that the three subsistences of the Holy Trinity have different wills and different energies.

⁵⁴ For it is to be noted that willing and the manner of willing are not the same thing. For to will is a faculty of nature, just as seeing is, for all men possess it; but the manner of willing does not depend on nature but on our judgment, just as does also the manner of seeing, whether well or ill. For all men do not will in the same way, nor do they all see in the same way. And this also we will grant in connection with energies. For the manner of willing, or seeing, or energising, is the mode of using the faculties of will and sight and energy, belonging only to him who uses them, and marking him off from others by the generally accepted difference. Simple willing then is spoken of as volition or the faculty of will being a rational propension and natural will;

but in a particular way willing, or that which underlies volition, is the object of will and will dependent on judgment. Further that which has innate in it the faculty of volition is spoken of as capable of willing: as for instance the divine is capable of willing, and the human in like manner. But he who exercises volition, that is to say the subsistence, for instance Peter, is spoken of as willing.

⁵⁵ Since, then Christ is one and His subsistence is one, He also Who wills both as God and as man is one and the same. And since He has two natures endowed with volition, inasmuch as they are rational (for whatever is rational is endowed with volition and free-will), we shall postulate two volitions or natural wills in Him. For He in His own person is capable of volition in accordance with both His natures. For He assumed that faculty of volition which belongs naturally to us. And since Christ, Who in His own person wills according to either nature, is one, we shall postulate the same object of will in His case, not as though He wills only those things which He willed naturally as God (for it is no part of Godhead to will to eat or drink and so forth), but as willing also those things which human nature requires for its support and this without involving any opposition in judgment, but simply as the result of the individuality of the natures. For then it was that He thus willed naturally, when His divine volition so willed and permitted the flesh to suffer and do that which was proper to it.

⁵⁶ But that volition is implanted in man by nature is manifest from this. Excluding the divine life, there are three forms of life: the vegetative, the sentient, and the intellectual. The properties of the vegetative life are the functions of nourishment, and growth, and production: that of the sentient life is impulse: and that of the rational and intellectual life is freedom of will. If, then, nourishment belongs by nature to the vegetative life and impulse to the sentient, freedom of will by nature belongs to the rational and intellectual life. But freedom of will is nothing else than volition. The Word, therefore, having become flesh, endowed with life and mind and free-will, became also endowed with volition. Further, that which is natural is not the result of training: for no one learns how to think, or live, or hunger, or thirst, or sleep. Nor do we learn how to will: so that willing is natural.

⁵⁷ And again: if in the case of creatures devoid of reason nature rules, while nature is ruled in man who is moved of his own free-will and volition, it follows, then, that man is by nature endowed with volition. And again: if

man has been made after the image of the blessed and super-essential God-head, and if the divine nature is by nature endowed with free-will and volition, it follows that man, as its image, is free by nature and volitive. For the fathers defined freedom as volition. And further: if to will is a part of the nature of every man and not present in some and absent in others, and if that which is seen to be common to all is a characteristic feature of the nature that belongs to the individuals of the class, surely, then, man is by nature endowed with volition. And once more: if the nature receives neither more nor less, but all are equally endowed with volition and not some more than others, then by nature man is endowed with volition. So that since man is by nature endowed with volition, the Lord also must be by nature endowed with volition, not only because He is God, but also because He became man. For just as He assumed our nature, so also He has assumed naturally our will. And in this way the Fathers said that He formed our will in Himself.

⁵⁸ If the will is not natural, it must be either hypostatic or unnatural. But if it is hypostatic, the Son must thus, forsooth, have a different will from what the Father has: for that which is hypostatic is characteristic of subsistence only. And if it is unnatural, will must be a defection from nature: for what is unnatural is destructive of what is natural. The God and Father of all things wills either as Father or as God. Now if as Father, His will will be different from that of the Son, for the Son is not the Father. But if as God, the Son is God and likewise the Holy Spirit is God, and so volition is part of His nature, that is, it is natural. Besides if according to the view of the Fathers, those who have one and the same will have also one and the same essence, and if the divinity and humanity of Christ have one and the same will, then assuredly these have also one and the same essence.

⁵⁹ And again: if according to the view of the Fathers the distinction between the natures is not seen in the single will, we must either, when we speak of the one will, cease to speak of the different natures in Christ or, when we speak of the different natures of Christ, cease to speak of the one will. And further the divine Gospel says, The Lord came into the borders of Tyre and Sidon and entered into a house, and would have no man know it; but He could not be hid. If, then, His divine will is omnipotent, but yet, though He would, He could not be hid, surely it was as man that He would and could not, and so as man He must be endowed with volition. And once

again the Gospel tells us that, He, having come into the place, said 'I thirst': and they gave Him same vinegar mixed with gall, and when He had tasted it fare would not drink. If, then, on the one hand it was as God that He suffered thirst and when He had tasted would not drink, surely He must be subject to passion also as God, for thirst and taste are passions. But if it was not as God but altogether as man that He was athirst, likewise as man He must be endowed with volition.

⁶⁰ Moreover, the blessed Paul the Apostle says, He became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. But obedience is subjection of the real will, not of the unreal will. For that which is irrational is not said to be obedient or disobedient. But the Lord having become obedient to the Father, became so not as God but as man. For as God He is not said to be obedient or disobedient. For these things are of the things that are under one's hand as the inspired Gregorius said. Wherefore, then, Christ is endowed with volition as man. While, however, we assert that will is natural, we hold not that it is dominated by necessity, but that it is free. For if it is rational, it must be absolutely free. For it is not only the divine and uncreated nature that is free from the bonds of necessity, but also the intellectual and created nature. And this is manifest: for God, being by nature good and being by nature the Creator and by nature God, is not all this of necessity. For who is there to introduce this necessity?

⁶¹ It is to be observed further that freedom of will is used in several senses, one in connection with God, another in connection with angels, and a third in connection with men. For used in reference to God it is to be understood in a superessential manner, and in reference to angels it is to be taken in the sense that the election is concomitant with the state and admits of the interposition of no interval of time at all: for while the angel possesses free-will by nature, he uses it without let or hindrance, having neither antipathy on the part of the body to overcome nor any assailant. Again, used in reference to men, it is to be taken in the sense that the state is considered to be anterior in time to the election. For man is free and has free-will by nature, but he has also the assault of the devil to impede him and the motion of the body: and thus through the assault and the weight of the body, election comes to be later than the state.

⁶² If, then, Adam obeyed of his own will and ate of his own will, surely in us the will is the first part to suffer. And if the will is the first to suffer, and

the Word Incarnate did not assume this with the rest of our nature, it follows that we have not been freed from sin. Moreover, if the faculty of free-will which is in nature is His work and yet He did not assume it, He either condemned His own workmanship as not good, or grudged us the comfort it brought, and so deprived us of the full benefit, and shewed that He was Himself subject to passion since He was not willing or not able to work out our perfect salvation. ⁶³ Moreover, one cannot speak of one compound thing made of two wills in the same way as a subsistence is a composition of two natures. Firstly because the compositions are of things in subsistence (hypotasis), not of things viewed in a different category, not in one proper to them: and secondly, because if we speak of composition of wills and energies, we will be obliged to speak of composition of the other natural properties, such as the uncreated and the created, the invisible and the visible, and so on. And what will be the name of the will that is compounded out of two wills? For the compound cannot be called by the name of the elements that make it up. For otherwise we should call that which is compounded of natures nature and not subsistence. And further, if we say that there is one compound will in Christ, we separate Him in will from the Father, for the Father's will is not compound. It remains, therefore, to say that the subsistence of Christ alone is compound and common, as in the case of the natures so also in that of the natural properties.

⁶⁴ And we cannot if we wish to be accurate, speak of Christ as having judgment (gnwvmh) and preference. For judgment is a disposition with reference to the decision arrived at after investigation and deliberation concerning something unknown, that is to say, after counsel and decision. And after judgment comes preference which chooses out and selects the one rather than the other. But the Lord being not mere man but also God, and knowing all things, had no need of inquiry, and investigation, and counsel, and decision, and by nature made whatever is good His own and whatever is bad foreign to Him. For thus says Isaiah the prophet, Before the child shall know to prefer the evil, he shall choose the good; because before the child knows good or evil, he refuses wickedness by choosing the good. For the word "before" proves that it is not with investigation and deliberation, as is the way with us, but as God and as subsisting in a divine manner in the flesh, that is to say, being united in subsistence to the flesh, and because of His very existence and all-embracing knowledge, that He is possessed of good in His

own nature. For the virtues are natural qualities and are implanted in all by nature and in equal measure, even if we do not all in equal measure employ our natural energies. By the transgression we were driven from the natural to the unnatural.

⁶⁵ But the Lord led us back from the unnatural into the natural. For this is what is the meaning of in our image, after our likeness. And the discipline and trouble of this life were not designed as a means for our attaining virtue which was foreign to our nature, but to enable us to cast aside the evil that was foreign and contrary to our nature: just as on laboriously removing from steel the rust which is not natural to it but acquired through neglect, we reveal the natural brightness of the steel. ⁶⁶ Observe further that the word judgment (*gnwvmh*) is used in many ways and in many senses. Sometimes it signifies exhortation: as when the divine apostle says, Now concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord; yet I give my judgment: sometimes it means counsel, as when the prophet David says, They have taken crafty counsel against Thy people: sometimes it means a decree, as when we read in Daniel, Concerning whom (or, what) went this shameless decree forth? At other times it is used in the sense of belief, or opinion, or purpose, and, to put it shortly, the word judgment has twenty-eight different meanings. Chapter XV. Concerning the energies in our Lord Jesus Christ. We hold, further, that there are two energies in our Lord Jesus Christ. For He possesses on the one hand, as God and being of like essence with the Father, the divine energy, and, likewise, since He became man and of like essence to us, the energy proper to human nature.

⁶⁷ But observe that energy and capacity for energy, and the product of energy, and the agent of energy, are all different. Energy is the efficient (*drastikhv*) and essential activity of nature: the capacity for energy is the nature from which proceeds energy: the product of energy is that which is effected by energy: and the agent of energy is the person or subsistence which uses the energy. Further, sometimes energy is used in the sense of the product of energy, and the product of energy in that of energy, just as the terms creation and creature are sometimes transposed. For we say “all creation,” meaning creatures. Note also that energy is an activity and is energised rather than energises; as Gregory the Theologian says in his thesis concerning the Holy Spirit: “If energy exists, it must manifestly be energised and will not energise: and as soon as it has been energised, it will cease.”

⁶⁸Life itself, it should be observed, is energy, yea, the primal energy of the living creature and so is the whole economy of the living creature, its functions of nutrition and growth, that is, the vegetative side of its nature, and the movement stirred By impulse, that is, the sentient side, and its activity of intellect and free-will. Energy, moreover, is the perfect realisation of power. If, then, we contemplate all these in Christ, surely we must also hold that He possesses human energy. ⁶⁹The first thought that arises in us is called energy: and it is simple energy not involving any relationship, the mind sending forth the thoughts peculiar to it in an independent and invisible way, for if it did not do so it could not justly be called mind. Again, the revelation and unfolding of thought by means of articulate speech is said to be energy. But this is no longer simple energy that revolves no relationship, but it is considered in relation as being composed of thought and speech. Further, the very relation which be who does anything bears to that which is brought about is energy; and the very thing that is effected is called energy. The first belongs to the soul alone, the second to the soul making use of the body, the third to the body animated by mind, and the last is the effect. For the mind sees beforehand what is to be and then performs it thus by means of the body. And so the hegemony belongs to the soul, for it uses the body as an instrument, leading and restraining it. But the energy of the body is quite different, for the booty is led and moved by the soul. And with regard to the effect, the touching and handling and, so to speak, the embrace of what is effected, belong to the body, while the figuration and formation belong to the soul.

⁷⁰And so in connection with our Lord Jesus Christ, the power of miracles is the energy of His divinity, while the work of His hands and the willing and the saying, I will, be thou clean are the energy of His humanity. And as to the effect, the breaking of the loaves and the fact that the leper heard the "I will," belong to His humanity, while the multiplication of the loaves and the purification of the leper belong to His divinity. For through both, that is through the energy of the booty anti the energy of the soul. He displayed one and the same, cognate and equal divine energy. For just as we saw that His natures were united and permeate one another, and yet do not deny that they are different but even enumerate them, although we know they are inseparable, so also in connection with the wills and the energies we know their union, and we recognise their difference and enumerate them without

introducing separation. For just as the flesh was deified without undergoing change in its own nature, in the same way also will and energy are deified without transgressing their own proper limits. For whether He is the one or the other, He is one and the same, and whether He wills and energises in one way or the other, that is as God or as man, He is one and the same.

⁷¹ We must, then, maintain that Christ has two energies in virtue of His double nature. For things that have diverse natures, have also different energies, and things that have diverse energies, have also different natures. And so conversely, things that have the same nature have also the same energy, and things that have one and the same energy have also one and the same essence which is the view of the Fathers, who declare the divine meaning. One of these alternatives, then, must be true: either, if we hold that Christ has one energy. we must also hold that He has but one essence, or, if we are solicitous about truth. and confess that He has according to the doctrine of the Gospels and the Fathers two essences, we must also confess that He has two energies corresponding to and accompanying them. For as He is of like essence with God and the Father in divinity, He will be His equal also in energy. And as He likewise is of like essence with us in humanity He will be our equal also in energy. For the blessed Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, says “Things that have one and the same energy, have also absolutely the same power.” For all energy is the effect of power. But it cannot be that uncreated and created nature have one and the same nature or power or energy. But if we should hold that Christ has but one energy, we should attribute to the divinity of the Word the passions of the intelligent spirit, viz. tear and grief and anguish.

⁷² If they should say indeed, that the holy Fathers said in their disputation concerning the Holy Trinity, “Things that have one and the same essence have also one and the same energy, and things which have different essences have also different energies,” and that it is not right to transfer to the dispensation what has reference to matters of theology, we shall answer that if it has been said by the Fathers solely with reference to theology. and if the Son has not even after the incarnation the same energy as the Father assuredly He cannot have the same essence. But to whom shall we attribute this, My Father worketh hitherto and I work: and this, What things soever He seeth the Father doing, these also doeth the Son likewise: and this, If ye believe not Me, believe My works: and this, The work which I do bear wit-

ness concerning Me: and this. As the Father raised up the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom He will. For all these shew not only that He is of like essence to the Father even after the incarnation, but that He has also the same energy.

73 And again: if the providence that embraces all creation is not only of the Father and the Holy Spirit, but also of the Son even after the incarnation, assuredly since that is energy, He must have even after the incarnation the same energy as the Father. But if we have learnt from the miracles that Christ has the same essence as the Father, and since the miracles happen to be the energy of God, assuredly He must have even after the incarnation the same energy as the Father. But, if there is one energy belonging to both His divinity and His humanity, it will be compound, and will be either a different energy from that of the Father, or the Father, too, will have a compound energy. But if the Father has a compound energy, manifestly He must also have a compound nature. But if they should say that together with energy is also introduced personality we shall reply that if personality is introduced along with energy, then the true converse must hold good that energy is also introduced along with personality; and there will be also three energies of the Holy Trinity just as there are three persons or subsistences, or there will be one person and one subsistence just as there is only one energy. Indeed, the holy Fathers have maintained with one voice that things that have the same essence have also the same energy.

74 But further, if personality is introduced along with energy, those who divine that neither one nor two energies of Christ are to be spoken of, do not maintain that either one or two persons of Christ are to be spoken of. Take the case of the flaming sword; just as in it the natures of the fire and the steel are preserved distinct so also are their two energies and their effects. For the energy of the steel is its cutting power, and that of the fire is its burning power, and the cut is the effect of the energy of the steel, and the burn is the effect of the energy of the fire: and these are kept quite distinct in the burnt cut, and in the cut burn, although neither does the burning take place apart from the cut after the union of the two, nor the cut apart from the burning: and we do not maintain on account of the twofold natural energy that there are two flaming swords, nor do we confuse the essential difference of the energies on account of the unity of the flaming sword. In like manner also, in the case of Christ, His divinity possesses an energy that is divine and omni-

potent while His humanity has an energy such as is our own. And the effect of His human energy was His taking the child by the hand and drawing her to Himself, while that of His divine energy was the restoring of her to life. For the one is quite distinct from the other, although they are inseparable from one another in theandric energy. But if, because Christ has one subsistence, He must also have one energy, then, because He has one subsistence, He must also have one essence.

75 And again: if we should hold that Christ has but one energy, this must be either divine or human, or neither. But if we hold that it is divine we must maintain that He is God alone, stripped of our humanity. And if we hold that it is human, we shall be guilty of the impiety of saying that He is mere man. And if we hold that it is neither divine nor human, we must also hold that He is neither God nor man, of like essence neither to the Father nor to us. For it is as a result of the union that the identity in hypostasis arises, but yet the difference between the natures is not done away with. But since the difference between the natures is preserved, manifestly also the energies of the natures will be preserved. For no nature exists that is lacking in energy.

76 If Christ our Master has one energy, it must be either created or uncreated; for between these there is no energy, just as there is no nature. If, then, it is created, it will point to created nature alone, but if it is uncreated, it will betoken uncreated essence alone. For that which is natural must completely correspond with its nature: for there cannot exist a nature that is defective. But the energy that harmonises with nature does not belong to that which is external: and this is manifest because, apart from the energy that harmonises with nature, no nature can either exist or be known. For through that in which each thing manifests its energy, the absence of change confirms its own proper nature. If Christ has one energy, it must be one and the same energy that performs both divine and human actions. But there is no existing thing which abiding in its natural state can act in opposite ways: for fire does not freeze and boil, nor does water dry up and make wet. How then could He Who is by nature God, and Who became by nature man, have both performed miracles, and endured passions with one and the same energy?

77 If, then, Christ assumed the human mind, that is to say, the intelligent and reasonable soul, undoubtedly He has thought, and will think for ever. But thought is the energy of the mind: and so Christ, as man, is endowed

with energy, and will be so for ever. Indeed, the most wise and great and holy John Chrysostom says in his interpretation of the Acts, in the second discourse “One would not err if he should call even His passion action: for in that He suffered all things, tie accomplished that great and marvellous work, the overthrow of death, and all His other works.” ⁷⁸ If all energy is defined as essential movement of some nature, as those who are versed in these matters say, where does one perceive any nature that has no movement, and is completely devoid of energy, or where does one find energy that is not movement of natural power? But, as the blessed Cyril says no one in his senses could admit that there was but one natural energy of God and His creation. It is not His human nature that raises up Lazarus from the dead, nor is it His divine power that sheds tears: for the shedding of tears is peculiar to human nature while the life is peculiar to the enhypostatic life. But yet they are common the one to the other, because of the identity in subsistence. For Christ is one, and one also is His person or subsistence, but yet He has two natures, one belonging to His humanity, and another belonging to His divinity. And the glory, indeed, which proceeded naturally from His divinity became common to both through the identity in subsistence. and again on account of His flesh that which was lowly became common to both. For He Who is the one or the other, that is God or man, is one and the same, and both what is divine and what is human belong to Himself. For while His divinity performed the miracles, they were not done apart from the flesh, and while His flesh performed its lowly offices, they were not done apart from the divinity. For His divinity was joined to the suffering flesh, yet remaining without passion, and endured the saving passions, and the holy mind was joined to the energising divinity of the Word, perceiving and knowing what was being accomplished.

⁷⁹ And thus His divinity communicates its own glories to the body while it remains itself without part in the sufferings of the flesh. For His flesh did not suffer through His divinity in the same way that His divinity energised through the flesh. For the flesh acted as the instrument of His divinity. Although, therefore, from the first conception there was no division at all between the two forms but the actions of either form through all the time became those of one person, nevertheless we do not in any way confuse those things that took place without separation, but recognise from the quality of its works what sort of form anything has. Christ, then, energises according

to both His natures and either nature energises in Him in communion with the other, the Word performing through the authority and power of its divinity all the actions proper to the Word, i.e. all acts of supremacy and sovereignty, and the body performing all the actions proper to the body, in obedience to the will of the Word that is united to it, and of whom it has become a distinct part. For He was not moved of Himself to the natural passions nor again did He in that way recoil from the things of pain, and pray for release from them, or suffer what befel from without, but He was moved in conformity with His nature, the Word willing and allowing Him economically to suffer that, and to do the things proper to Him, that the truth might be confirmed by the works of nature.

⁸⁰ Moreover, just as He received in His birth of a virgin superessential essence, so also He revealed His human energy in a superhuman way, walking with earthly feet on unstable water, not by turning the water into earth, but by causing it in the superabundant power of His divinity not to flow away nor yield beneath the weight of material feet. For not in a merely human way did He do human things: for He was not only man, but also God, and so even His sufferings brought life and salvation: nor yet did He energise as God, strictly after the manner of God, for He was not only God, but also man, and so it was by touch and word and such like that He worked miracles. ⁸¹ But if any one should say, "We do not say that Christ has but one nature, in order to do away with His human energy, but we do so because human energy, in opposition to divine energy, is called passion *pavtqo*." we shall answer that, according to this reasoning, those also who hold that He has but one nature do not maintain this with a view to doing away with His human nature, but because human nature in opposition to divine nature is spoken of as passible *paqhtikhv*. But God forbid that we should call the human activity passion, when we are distinguishing it from divine energy. For, to speak generally, of nothing is the existence recognised or defined by comparison or collation. If it were so, indeed, existing things would turn out to be mutually the one the cause of the other. For if the human activity is passion because the divine activity is energy, assuredly also the human nature must be wicked because the divine nature is good, and, by conversion and opposition, if the divine activity is called energy because the human activity is called passion, then also the divine nature must be good because the human nature is bad. And so all created things must be bad, and he must have

spoken falsely who said, And God saw every thing that He had made, and, behold, it was very good.

⁸² We, therefore, maintain that the holy Fathers gave various names to the human activity according to the underlying notion. For the called it power, and energy, and difference, and activity, and property, and quality, and passion, not in distinction from the divine activity, but power, because it is a conservative and invariable force; and energy, because it is a distinguishing mark, and reveals the absolute similarity between all things of the same class; and difference, because it distinguishes; and activity, because it makes manifest; and property, because it is constituent and belongs to that alone, and not to any other; and quality, because it gives form; and passion, because it is moved, For all things that are of God and after God suffer in respect of being moved, forasmuch as they have not in themselves motion or power. Therefore, as has been said, it is not in order to distinguish the one from the other that it has been named, but it is in accordance with the plan implanted in it in a creative manner by the Cause that framed the universe. Wherefore, also, when they spoke of it along with the divine nature they called it energy. For he who said, "For either form energises close communion with the other," did something quite different from him who said, And when He had fasted forty days, He was afterwards an hungered:(for He allowed His nature to energise when it so willed, in the way proper to itself) or from those who hold there is a different energy in Him or that He has a twofold energy, or now one energy and now another. For these statements with the change in terms signify the two energies. Indeed, often the number is indicated both by change of terms and by speaking of them as divine and human. For the difference is difference in differing things, but how do things that do not exist differ?

⁸³ Chapter XVI. In reply to those who say "If man has two natures and two energies, Christ must be held to have three natures and as many energies." Each individual man, since he is composed of two natures, soul and body, and since these natures are unchangeable in him, could appropriately be spoken of as two natures: for he preserves even after their union thee natural properties of either. For the body is not immortal, but corruptible; neither is the soul mortal, but immortal: and the body is not invisible pot the soul visible to bodily eyes: but the soul is rational and intellectual, and incorporeal, while the body is dense and visible, and irrational. But things

that are opposed to one another in essence have not one nature, and, therefore, soul and body cannot have one essence. And again: if man is a rational and mortal animal, and every definition is explanatory of the underlying natures, and the rational is not the same as the mortal according to the plan of nature, man then certainly cannot have one nature, according to the rule of his own definition.

⁸⁴ But if man should at any time be said to have one nature, the word “nature” is here used instead of “species,” as when we say that man does not differ from man in any difference of nature. But since all men are fashioned in the same way, and are composed of soul and body, and each has two distinct natures, they are all brought under one definition. And this is not unreasonable, for the holy Athanasius spake of all created things as having one nature forasmuch as they were all produced, expressing himself thus in his Oration against those who blasphemed the Holy Spirit: “That the Holy Spirit is above all creation, and different from the nature of things produced and peculiar to divinity, we may again perceive. For whatever is seen to be common to many things, and not more in one and less in another, is called essence. since, then, every man is composed of soul and body, accordingly we speak of man as having one nature. But we cannot speak of our Lord’s subsistence as one nature: for each nature preserves, even after the union, its natural properties, nor can we find a class of Christs. For no other Christ was born both of divinity and of humanity to be at once God and man.”

⁸⁵ And again: man’s unity in species is not the same thing as the unity of soul and body in essence. For man’s unity in species makes clear the absolute similarity between all men, while the unity of soul and body in essence is an insult to their very existence, and reduces them to nothingness: for either the one must change into the essence of the other, or from different things something different must be produced, and so both would be changed, or if they keep to their own proper limits there must be two natures. For, as regards the nature of essence the corporeal is not the same as the incorporeal. Therefore, although holding that man has one nature, not because the essential quality of his soul and that of his body are the same, but because the individuals included under the species are exactly the same, it is not necessary for us to maintain that Christ also has one nature, for in this case there is no species embracing many subsistences.

⁸⁶ Moreover, every compound is said to be composed of what immediately composes it. For we do not say that a house is composed of earth and water, but of bricks and timber. Otherwise, it would be necessary to speak of man as composed of at least five things, viz., the four elements and soul. And so also, in the case of our Lord Jesus Christ we do not look at the parts of the parts, but at those divisions of which He is immediately composed, viz., divinity and humanity. And further, if by saying that man has two natures we are obliged to hold that Christ has three, you, too, by saying that man is composed of two natures must hold that Christ is composed of three natures: and it is just the same with the energies. For energy must correspond with nature: and Gregory the Theologian bears witness that man is said to have and has two natures, saying, "God and man are two natures, since, indeed, soul and body also are two natures." And in his discourse "Concerning Baptism" he says, "Since we consist of two parts, soul and body. the visible and the invisible nature, the purification is likewise twofold, that is, by water and Spirit."

⁸⁷ Chapter XVII. Concerning the deification of the nature of our Lord's flesh and of His will. It is worthy of note that the flesh of the Lord is not said to have been deified and made equal to God and God in respect of any change or alteration, or transformation, or confusion of nature: as Gregory the Theologian says, "Whereof the one deified, and the other was deified, and, to speak boldly, made equal to God: and that which anointed became man, and that which was anointed became God." For these words do not mean any change in nature, but rather the oeconomical union(I mean the union in subsistence by virtue of which it was united inseparably with God the Word), and the permeation of the natures through one another, just as we saw that burning permeated the steel. For, just as we confess that God became man without change or alteration, so we consider that the flesh became God without change. For because the Word became flesh, He did not overstep the limits of His own divinity nor abandon the divine glories that belong to Him: nor, on the other hand, was the flesh, when deified, changed in its own nature or in its natural properties. For even after the union, both the natures abode unconfused and their properties unimpaired. But the flesh of the Lord received the riches of the divine energies through the purest union with the Word, that is to say, the union in subsistence, without entailing the loss of any of its natural attributes. For it is not in virtue of any energy of its own but through the Word united to it, that it manifests divine energy:

for the flaming steel burns, not because it has been endowed in a physical way with burning energy, but because it has obtained this energy by its union with fire.

⁸⁸ Wherefore the same flesh was mortal by reason of its own nature and life-giving through its union with the Word in subsistence. And we hold that it is just the same with the deification of the will; for its natural activity was not changed but united with His divine and omnipotent will, and became the will of God, made man. And so it was that, though He wished, He could not of Himself escape because it pleased God the Word that the weakness of the human will, which was in truth in Him, should be made manifest. But He was able to cause at His will the cleansing of the leper because of the union with the divine will. Observe further, that the deification of the nature and the will points most expressly and most directly both to two natures and two wills. For just as the burning does not change into fire the nature of the thing that is burnt, but makes distinct both what is burnt, and what burned it, and is indicative not of one but of two natures, so also the deification does not bring about one compound nature but two, and their union in subsistence. Gregory the Theologian, indeed, says, "Whereof the one deified, the other was deified," and by the words "whereof," "the one," "the other," he assuredly indicates two natures.

⁸⁹ Chapter XVIII. Further concerning volitions and free-wills: minds, too, and knowledges and wisdoms. When we say that Christ is perfect God and perfect man, we assuredly attribute to Him all the properties natural to both the Father and mother. For He became man in order that that which was overcome might overcome. For He Who was omnipotent did not in His omnipotent authority and might lack the power to rescue man out of the hands of the tyrant. But the tyrant would have had a ground of complaint if, after He had overcome man, God should have used force against him. Wherefore God in His pity and love for man wished to reveal fallen man himself as conqueror, and became man to restore like with like. But that man is a rational and intelligent animal, no one will deny. How, then, could He have become man if He took on Himself flesh without soul, or soul without mind? For that is not man. Again, what benefit would His becoming man have been to us if He Who suffered first was not saved, nor renewed and strengthened by the union with divinity? For that which is not assumed is not remedied. He, therefore, assumed the whole man, even the fairest part

of him, which had become diseased, in order that He might bestow salvation on the whole. And, indeed, there could never exist a mind that had not wisdom and was destitute of knowledge. For if it has not energy or motion, it is utterly reduced to nothingness.

⁹⁰ Therefore, God the Word wishing to restore that which was in His own image, became man. But what is that which was in His own image, unless mind? So He gave up the better and assumed the worse. For mind is in the border-land between God and flesh, for it dwells indeed in fellowship with the flesh, and is, moreover, the image of God. Mind, then, mingles with mind, and mind holds a place midway between the pureness of God and the denseness of flesh. For if the Lord assumed a soul without mind, He assumed the soul of an irrational animal. But if the Evangelist said that the Word was made flesh note that in the Holy Scripture sometimes a man is spoken of as a soul, as, for example, with seventy-five souls came Jacob into Egypt: and sometimes a man is spoken of as flesh, as, for example, All flesh shall see the salvation of God. And accordingly the Lord did not become flesh without soul or mind, but man. He says, indeed, Himself, Why seek ye to kill Me, a Man that hath told you the truth? He, therefore, assumed flesh animated with the spirit of reason and mind, a spirit that holds sway over the flesh but is itself under the dominion of the divinity of the Word.

⁹¹ So, then, He had by nature, both as God and as man, the power of will. But His human will was obedient anti subordinate to His divine will, not being guided by its own inclination, but willing those things which the divine will willed. For it was with the permission of the divine will that He suffered by nature what was proper to Him. For when He prayed that He might escape the death, it was with His divine will naturally willing and permitting it that He did so pray and agonize and fear, and again when His divine will willed that His human will should choose tire death, the passion became voluntary to Him. For it was not as God only, but also as man, that He voluntarily surrendered Himself to the death. And thus He bestowed on us also courage in the face of death. So, indeed, He said before His saving passion, Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me," manifestly as though He were to drink the cup as man and not as God. It was as man, then, that He wished the cup to pass from Him: but these are the words of natural timidity. Nevertheless, He said, not My will, that is to say, not in so far as I am of a different

essence from Thee, but Thy will be done the is to say, My will and Thy will, in so far as I am of the same essence as Thou.

⁹² Now these are the words of a brave heart. For the Spirit of the Lord, since He truly became man in His good pleasure, on first testing its natural weakness was sensible of the natural fellow-suffering involved in its separation from the body, but being strengthened by the divine will it again grew bold in the face of death. For since He was Himself wholly God although also man, and wholly man although also God, He Himself as man subjected in Himself and by Himself His human nature to God and the Father, and became obedient to the Father, thus making Himself the most excellent type and example for us. ⁹³ Of His own free-will, moreover, He exercised His divine and human will. For free-will is assuredly implanted in every rational nature. For to what end would it possess reason, if it could not reason at its own free-will? For the Creator hath implanted even in the unreasoning brutes natural appetite to compel them to sustain their own nature. For devoid of reason, as they are, they cannot guide their natural appetite but are guided by it. And so, as soon as the appetite for anything has sprung up, straightway arises also the impulse for action. And thus they do not win praise or happiness for pursuing virtue, nor punishment for doing evil. But the rational nature, although it does possess a natural appetite, can guide and train it by reason wherever the laws of nature are observed. For the advantage of reason consists in this, tire free-will, by which we mean natural activity in a rational subject. Wherefore in pursuing virtue it wins praise and happiness, and in pursuing vice it wins punishment.

⁹⁴ So that the soul of the Lord being moved of its own free-will willed, but willed of its free-will those things which His divine will willed it to will. For the flesh was not moved at a sign from the Word, as Moses and all the holy men were moved at a sign from heaven. But He Himself, Who was one and yet both God and man, willed according to both His divine and His human will. Wherefore it was not in inclination but rather in natural power that the two wills of the Lord differed from one another. For His divine will was without beginning and all-effecting, as having power that kept pace with it, and free from passion; while His human will had a beginning in time, and itself endured the natural and innocent passions, and was not naturally omnipotent. But yet it was omni-potent because it truly and naturally had its origin in the God-Word.

⁹⁵ Chapter XIX. Concerning the theandric energy. When the blessed Dionysius says that Christ exhibited to us some sort of novel theandric energy he does not do away with the natural energies by saying that one energy resulted from the union of the divine with the human energy: for in the same way we could speak of one new nature resulting from the union of the divine with the human nature. For, according to the holy Fathers, things that have one energy have also one essence. But Ire wished to indicate the novel and ineffable manner in which the natural energies of Christ manifest themselves, a manner befitting the ineffable manner in which the natures of Christ mutually, permeate one another, and further how strange and wonder-rid and, in the nature of things, unknown was His life as man and lastly the manner of the mutual interchange arising from the ineffable union. For we hold that the energies are not divided and that the natures do not energies separately, but that each conjointly in complete community with the other energises with its own proper energy. For the human part did not energise merely in a human manner, for He was not mere man; nor did the divine part energise only after the manner of God, for He was not simply God, but He was at once God and man. For just as in the case of natures we recognise both their union and their natural difference, so is it also with the natural wills and energies.

⁹⁶ Note, therefore, that in the case of our Lord Jesus Christ, we speak sometimes of His two natures and sometimes of His one person: anti the one or the other is referred to one conception. For the two natures are one Christ, and the one Christ is two natures. Wherefore it is all the same whether we say "Christ energises according to either of His natures," or "either nature energises in Christ in communion with the other." The divine nature, then, has communion with the flesh in its energising, because it is by the good pleasure of the divine will that the flesh is permitted to suffer and do the things proper to itself, and because the energy of the flesh is altogether saving, and this is an attribute not of human but of divine energy. On the other hand the flesh has communion with the divinity of the Word in its energising, because the divine energies are performed, so to speak, through the organ of the body, and because He Who energises at once as God and man is one and the same.

⁹⁷ Further observe that His holy mind also performs its natural energies, thinking and knowing that it is God's mind and that it is worshipped by all

creation, and remembering the times He spent on earth and all He suffered, but it has communion with the divinity of the Word in its energising and orders and governs the universe, thinking and knowing and ordering not as the mere mind of man, but as united in subsistence with God and acting as the mind of God. This, then, the theandric energy makes plain that when God became man, that is when He became incarnate, both His human energy was divine, that is deified, and not without part in His divine energy, and His divine energy was not without part in His human energy, but either was observed in conjunction with the other. Now this manner of speaking is called a periphrasis, viz., when one embraces two things in one statement. For just as in the case of the flaming sword we speak of the cut burn as one, and the burnt cut as one, but still hold that the cut and the burn have different energies and different natures, the burn having the nature of fire and the cut the nature of steel, in the same way also when we speak of one theandric energy of Christ, we understand two distinct energies of His two natures, a divine energy belonging to His divinity, and a human energy belonging to His humanity.

⁹⁸ Chapter XX. Concerning the natural and innocent passions. We confess then, that He assumed all the natural and innocent passions of man. For He assumed the whole man and all man's attributes save sin. For that is not natural, nor is it implanted in us by the Creator, but arises voluntarily in our mode of life as the result of a further implantation by the devil, though it cannot prevail over us by force. For the natural and innocent passions are those which are not in our power, but which have entered into the life of man owing to the condemnation by reason of the transgression; such as hunger, thirst, weariness, labour, the tears, the corruption, the shrinking from death, the fear, the agony with the bloody sweat, the succour at the hands of angels because of the weakness of the nature, and other such like passions which belong by nature to every man.

⁹⁹ All, then, He assumed that He might sanctify all. He was tried and overcame in order that He might prepare victory for us and give to nature power to overcome its antagonist, in order that nature which was overcome of old might overcome its former conqueror by the very weapons wherewith it had itself been overcome. The wicked one then, made his assault from without, not by thoughts prompted inwardly, just as it was with Adam. For it was not by inward thoughts, but by the serpent that Adam was assailed. But

the Lord repulsed the assault and dispelled it like vapour, in order that the passions which assailed him and were overcome might be easily subdued by us, and that the new Adam should save the old. Of a truth our natural passions were in harmony with nature and above nature in Christ. For they were stirred in Him after a natural manner when He permitted the flesh to suffer what was proper to it: but they were above nature because that which was natural did not in the Lord assume command over the will. For no compulsion is contemplated in Him but all is voluntary. For it was with His will that He hungered and thirsted and feared and died.

¹⁰⁰ Chapter XXI. Concerning ignorance and servitude. He assumed, it is to be noted the ignorant and servile nature. For it is man's nature to be the servant of God, his Creator, and he does not possess knowledge of the future. If, then, as Gregory the Theologian holds, you are to separate the realm of sight from the realm of thought, the flesh is to be spoken of as both servile and ignorant, but on account of the identity of subsistence and the inseparable union the soul of the Lord was enriched with the knowledge of the future as also with the other miraculous powers. For just as the flesh of men is not in its own nature life-giving, while the flesh of our Lord which was united in subsistence with God the Word Himself, although it was not exempt from the mortality of its nature, yet became life-giving through its union in subsistence with the Word, and we may not say that it was not and is not for ever life-giving: in like manner His human nature does not in essence possess the knowledge of the future, but the soul of the Lord through its union with God the Word Himself and its identity in subsistence was enriched, as I said, with the knowledge of the future as well as with the other miraculous powers.

¹⁰¹ Observe further that we may not speak of Him as servant. For the words servitude and mastership are not marks of nature but indicate relationship, to something, such as that of fatherhood and sonship. For these do not signify essence but relation. It is just as we said, then, in connection with ignorance, that if you separate with subtle thoughts, that is, with fine imaginings, the created from the uncreated, the flesh is a servant, unless it has been united with God the Word. But how can it be a servant when it is once united in subsistence? For since Christ is one, He cannot be His own servant and Lord. For these are not simple predications but relative. Whose servant, then could He be? His Father's? The Son, then, would not have all the Fath-

er's attributes, if He is the Father's servant and yet in no respect His own. Besides, how could the apostle say concerning us who were adopted by Him, So that you are no longer a servant but a son if indeed He is Himself a servant? The word servant, then, is used merely as a title, though not in the strict meaning: but for our sakes He assumed the form of a servant and is called a servant among us. For although He is without passion, yet for our sake He was the servant of passion and became the minister of our salvation. Those, then, who say that He is a servant divide the one Christ into two, just as Nestorius did. But we declare Him to be Master and Lord of all creation, the one Christ, at once God and man, and all-knowing. For in Him are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, the hidden treasures.

¹⁰² Chapter XXII. Concerning His growth. He is, moreover, said to grow in wisdom and age and grace increasing in age indeed and through the increase in age manifesting the wisdom that is in Him; yea, further, making men's progress in wisdom and grace, and the fulfilment of the Father's goodwill, that is to say, men's knowledge of God and men's salvation, His own increase, and everywhere taking as His own that which is ours. But those who hold that He progressed in wisdom and grace in the sense of receiving some addition to these attributes, do not say that the union took place at the first origin of the flesh, nor yet do they give precedence to the union in subsistence, but giving heed to the foolish Nestorius they imagine some strange relative union and mere indwelling, understanding neither what they say nor whereof they affirm. For if in truth the flesh was united with God the Word from its first origin, or rather if it existed in Him and was identical in subsistence with Him, how was it that it was not endowed completely with all wisdom and grace? not that it might itself participate in the grace, nor share by grace in what belonged to the Word, but rather by reason of the union in subsistence, since both what is human and what is divine belong to the one Christ, and that He Who was Himself at once God and man should pour forth like a fountain over the universe His grace and wisdom and plenitude of every blessing.

¹⁰³ Chapter XXIII. Concerning His Fear. The word fear has a double meaning. For fear is natural when the soul is unwilling to be separated from the body, on account of the natural sympathy and close relationship planted in it in the beginning by the Creator, which makes it fear and struggle against death and pray for an escape from it. It may be defined thus: natural

fear is the force whereby we cling to being with shrinking. For if all things were brought by the Creator out of nothing into being, they all have by nature a longing after being and not after non-being. Moreover the inclination towards those things that support existence is a natural property of them. Hence God the Word when He became man had this longing, manifesting, on the one hand, in those things that support existence, the inclination of His nature in desiring food and drink and sleep, and having in a natural manner made proof of these things, while on the other hand displaying in those things that bring corruption His natural disinclination in voluntarily shrinking in the hour of His passion before the flee of death. For although what happened did so according to the laws of nature, yet it was not, as in our case, a matter of necessity. For He willingly and spontaneously accepted that which was natural. So that fear itself and terror and agony belong to the natural and innocent passions and are not under the dominion of sin.

¹⁰⁴ Again, there is a fear which arises from treachery of reasoning and want of faith, and ignorance of the hour of death, as when we are at night affected by fear at some chance noise. This is unnatural fear, and may be thus defined: unnatural fear is an unexpected shrinking. This our Lord did not assume. Hence He never felt fear except in the hour of His passion, although He often experienced a feeling of shrinking in accordance with the dispensation. For He was not ignorant of the appointed time. But the holy Athanasius in his discourse against Apollinarius says that He did actually feel fear. "Wherefore the Lord said: Now is My soul troubled. The 'now' indeed means just 'when He willed,' but yet points to what actually was. For He did not speak of what was not, as though it were present, as if the things that were said only apparently happened. For all things happened naturally and actually." And again, after some other matters, he says, "In nowise does His divinity admit passion apart from a suffering body, nor yet does it manifest trouble and pain apart from a pained and troubled soul, nor does it suffer anguish and offer up prayer apart from a mind that suffered anguish and offered up prayer. For, although these occurrences were not due to any overthrow of nature, yet they took place to shew forth His real being." The words "these occurrences were not due to any overthrow of His nature," prove that it was not involuntarily that He endured these things.

¹⁰⁵ Chapter XXIV. Concerning our Lord's Praying. Prayer is an uprising of the mind to God or a petitioning of God for what is fitting. How then did

it happen that our Lord offered up prayer in the case of Lazarus, and at the hour of His passion? For His holy mind was in no need either of any uprising towards God, since it had been once and for all united in subsistence with the God Word, or of any petitioning of God. For Christ is one. But it was because He appropriated to Himself our personality and took our impress on Himself, and became an ensample for us, and taught us to ask of God and strain towards Him, and guided us through His own holy mind in the way that leads up to God. For just as He endured the passion, achieving for our sakes a triumph over it, so also He offered up prayer, guiding us, as I said, in the way that leads up to God, and “fulfilling all righteousness” on our behalf, as He said to John, and reconciling His Father to us, and honouring Him as the beginning and cause, and proving that He is no enemy of God. For when He said in connection with Lazarus, Father, I thank Thee that Thou hast heard Me. And I know that Thou hearest Me always, but because of the people which stand by I said it, that they may believe that Thou hast sent Me is it not most manifest to all that He said this in honour of His Father as the cause even of Himself, and to shew that He was no enemy of God?

106 Again, when he said, Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me: yet, not as I will but as Thou wilt is it not clear to all that He said this as a lesson to us to ask help in our trials only from God, and to prefer God’s will to our own, and as a proof that He did actually appropriate to Himself the attributes of our nature, and that He did in truth possess two wills, natural, indeed, and corresponding with His natures but yet in no wise opposed to one another? “Father” implies that He is of the same essence, but “if it be possible” does not mean that He was in ignorance (for what is impossible to God?), but serves to teach us to prefer God’s will to our own. For that alone is impossible which is against God’s will and permission. “But not as I will but as Thou wilt,” for inasmuch as He is God, He is identical with the Father, while inasmuch as He is man, He manifests the natural will of mankind. For it is this that naturally seeks escape from death.

107 Further, these words, My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me? He said as making our personality His own. For neither would God be regarded with us as His Father, unless one were to discriminate with subtle imaginings of the mind between that which is seen and that which is thought, nor was He ever forsaken by His divinity: nay, it was we who were

forsaken and disregarded. So that it was as appropriating our personality that He offered these prayers. Chapter XXV. Concerning the Appropriation. It is to be observed that there are two appropriations: one that is natural and essential, and one that is personal and relative. The natural and essential one is that by which our Lord in His love for man took on Himself our nature and all our natural attributes, becoming in nature and truth man, and making trial of that which is natural: but the personal and relative appropriation is when any one assumes the person of another relatively, for instance, out of pity or love, and in his place utters words concerning him that have no connection with himself. And it was in this way that our Lord appropriated both our curse and our desertion, and such other things as are not natural: not that He Himself was or became such, but that He took upon Himself our personality and ranked Himself as one of us. Such is the meaning in which this phrase is to be taken: Being made a curse for our sakes.

¹⁰⁸ Chapter XXVI. Concerning the Passion of our Lord's body, and the Impassibility of His divinity. The Word of God then itself endured all in the flesh, while His divine nature which alone was passionless remained void of passion. For since the one Christ, Who is a compound of divinity and humanity, and exists in divinity and humanity, truly suffered, that part which is capable of passion suffered as it was natural it should, but that part which was void of passion did not share in the suffering. For the soul, indeed, since it is capable of passion shares in the pain and suffering of a bodily cut, though it is not cut itself but only the body: but the divine part which is void of passion does not share in the suffering of the body. ¹⁰⁹ Observe, further that we say that God suffered in the flesh, but never that His divinity suffered in the flesh, or that God suffered through the flesh. For if, when the sun is shining upon a tree, the axe should cleave the tree, and, nevertheless, the sun remains uncut and void of passion, much more will the passionless divinity of the Word, united in subsistence to the flesh, remain void of passion when the body undergoes passion. And should any one pour water over flaming steel, it is that which naturally suffers by the water, I mean, the fire, that is quenched, but the steel remains untouched (for it is not the nature of steel to be destroyed by water): much more, then, when the flesh suffered did His only passionless divinity escape all passion although abiding inseparable from it. For one must not take the examples too absolutely and strictly: indeed, in the examples, one must consider both what is like and what is un-

like, otherwise it would not be an example. For, if they were like in all respects they would be identities, and not examples, and all the more so in dealing with divine matters. For one cannot find an example that is like in all respects whether we are dealing with theology or the dispensation.

¹¹⁰ Chapter XXVII. Concerning the fact that the divinity of the Word remained inseparable from the soul and the body, even at our Lord's death, and that His subsistence continued one. Since our Lord Jesus Christ was without sin (for He committed no sin, He Who took away the sin of the world, nor was there any deceit found in His mouth) He was not subject to death, since death came into the world through sin. He dies, therefore, because He took on Himself death on our behalf, and He makes Himself an offering to the Father for our sakes. For we had sinned against Him, and it was meet that He should receive the ransom for us, and that we should thus be delivered from the condemnation. God forbid that the blood of the Lord should have been offered to the tyrant. Wherefore death approaches, and swallowing up the body as a bait is transfixed on the hook of divinity, and after tasting of a sinless and life-giving body, perishes, and brings up again all whom of old he swallowed up. For just as darkness disappears on the introduction of light, so is death repulsed before the assault of life, and brings life to all, but death to the destroyer.

¹¹¹ Wherefore, although He died as man and His Holy Spirit was severed from His immaculate body, yet His divinity remained inseparable from both, I mean, from His soul and His body, and so even thus His one hypostasis was not divided into two hypostases. For body and soul received simultaneously in the beginning their being in the subsistence of the Word, and although they were severed from one another by death, yet they continued, each of them, having the one subsistence of the Word. So that the one subsistence of the Word is alike the subsistence of the Word, and of soul and body. For at no time had either soul or body a separate subsistence of their own, different from that of the Word, and the subsistence of the Word is for ever one, and at no time two. So that the subsistence of Christ is always one. For, although the soul was separated from the body topically, yet hypostatically they were united through the Word.

¹¹² Chapter XXVIII. Concerning Corruption and Destruction. The word corruption has two meanings. For it signifies all the human sufferings, such as hunger, thirst, weariness, the piercing with nails, death, that is, the separ-

ation of soul and body, and so forth. In this sense we say that our Lord's body was subject to corruption. For He voluntarily accepted all these things. But corruption means also the complete resolution of the body into its constituent elements, and its utter disappearance, which is spoken of by many preferably as destruction. The body of our Lord did not experience this form of corruption, as the prophet David says, For Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt Thou suffer Thine holy one to see corruption.¹¹³ Wherefore to say, with that foolish Julianus and Gaianus, that our Lord's body was incorruptible, in the first sense of the word, before His resurrection is impious. For if it were incorruptible it was not really, but only apparently, of the same essence as ours, and what the Gospel tells us happened, viz. the hunger, the thirst, the nails, the wound in His side, the death, did not actually occur. But if they only apparently happened, then the mystery of the dispensation is an imposture and a sham, and He became man only in appearance, and not in actual fact, and we are saved only in appearance, and not in actual fact. But God forbid, and may those who so say have no part in the salvation. But we have obtained and shall obtain the true salvation. But in the second meaning of the word "corruption," we confess that our Lord's body is incorruptible, that is, indestructible, for such is the tradition of the inspired Fathers. Indeed, after the resurrection of our Saviour from the dead, we say that our Lord's body is incorruptible even in the first sense of the word. For our Lord by His own body bestowed the gifts both of resurrection and of subsequent incorruption even on our own body, He Himself having become to us the firstfruits both of resurrection and incorruption, and of passionlessness. For as the divine Apostle says, This corruptible must put an incorruption.

¹¹⁴ Chapter XXIX. Concerning the Descent to Hades. The soul when it was deified descended into Hades, in order that, just as the Sun of Righteousness rose for those upon the earth, so likewise He might bring light to those who sit under the earth in darkness and shadow of death: in order that just as He brought the message of peace to those upon the earth, and of release to the prisoners, and of sight to the blind and became to those who believed the Author of everlasting salvation and to those who did not believe a reproach of their unbelief so He might become the same to those in Hades: That every knee should bow to Him, of things in heaven, and things in earth and things under the earth. And thus after He had freed those who had been

bound for ages, straightway He rose again from the dead, shewing us the way of resurrection.

¹¹⁵ 1Gen. iii. 7; cf. Greg. Naz., Orat. 38 and 42; Greg. Nyss., Orat. Catech. c. 8. 2Text, parei'den. Variant, periei'den. 3Gen. vi. 13. 4Ibid. xi. 7. 5ejpistasiva, care, or dominion. 6Gen. xviii. I seqq. 7Ibid xix. I seqq. 8Wisd. ii. 24. 9Greg. Naz., Orat. 12 and 38. 1Text, pavlhn. Variant, plavsin, cf. "plasmationem" (Faber). 1Text, pareivde. Variant, periei'den. 1Greg. Nyss., Orat. Cathec., ch. 20 et seqq. 1St. John i. 18. 1Phil. ii. 6. 1"Condescends to His servants" is absent in some mss. 1Eccles. i. 10. 1Greg. Nyss., Cat. ch 16. 1Athan., De salut. adv. Christi. 1Text, tou` Lovlou. Variant, tou` Qeou` Lovlou: so Dei Verbi (Faber). 2St. Luke i. 27. 2Hebr. vii. 14. 2St. Luke i. 28. 2Ibid. 30, 31. 2St. Matt. i. 21. 2St. Luke i. 34 2"Of thee" is wanting in some mss. 2St. Luke i. 35. 2Ibid. 38. 2Ibid. 27, 28 3Greg. Naz., Orat. 38 and 42.

¹¹⁶ 3Cf. Athan., Ep. ad Serap., De Spiritu Sancto; Greg. Nyss., Contr. Apoll. 6, 25; Rufinus, Exp. Symb.; Tertullian, De Carne Christi and Contr. Prax.; Hilary, De Trin. II. 26. 3Basil, Christi Nativ. 3Cyril, Apolog. 5 and 8 anathem. 3Cf. Greg. Naz., I Ep. ad Cledon; Cyril, I Ep. ad Nestor.; Theodor., ep. ad Joan. Antioch., &c. 3Cyril., Epist. ad Monach. 3Procl., Epist. 2 ad Arm. 3rhn oijkonomivan, the oeconomy, the Incarnation. 3Cod. R. 2428 adds here some statements taken from the Dissertation against the Nestorians. 3kata; Monofusitw'n: these words are absent in mss. 4Cf. Eulogius and also Polemon in the Collect. Contr. Severianos. 4Max. Epist. ad Joan. cubic. p. 279. 4Ibid. p. 286. 4ejx ejtevrwn ta; aujtav. 4Cf. Niceph. Call., Hist. xviii. 46. 4Eulog. apud Max., t. ii. p. 145. 4Cf. Sever., Ep. 2 ad Joannem. 4Anast. Siniata, in JODhgw`, ch. 9; Leontius, contr. Nest. et Eutych. 4Greg. Naz., Ep. ad Cled., I.

¹¹⁷ 4to;n aujto;n ejpidevcontai lo:gon th`" fuvsew"; perhaps—all admit the same account of the nature,—all can be dealt with in the same way in respect of nature. 5Leontius, Contr. Sev. et Eutych. Max. loc. cit., p. 277. 5Reading w[sper ejpi; ajtovmou, &c. These words are omitted in Cod. S. Hil. Reg. 10, Colb. 3, and N. 5h[suvgkrasin, h] ajnavkrasin. The mss. omit the latter. 5The word Eujruchv". however, is omitted by the best copies. 5Procl., Epist. 2 ad Arm. 5Greg. Naz., Hom. 5. See also John's Dialect., 65. 5Leo papa, Epist. 10, ch. 4. 5kata; to;n ajntidovsew" trovpon, in the way of a communication of properties. 5dia` th`n ejj" a[llhla tw`n merw`h pericwvrhsin. See Leont., De Sect., 7, Contr. Nest. et Eutych., I. 5Leo papa, epist. 10, ch. 4. 61 Cor. ii. 8. 6St.

John iii. 13. 6Cf. Athan., De Salut. adv. Christi; Greg. Naz., Orat. 38; Greg. Nyss., Contr. Apoll.; Leont., Contr. Nestor. et Eutych., bk. I; Thomas Aquinas, III., quaest. 16, art. 4, 5.

¹¹⁸ 6ei]do", form, class, species. 6Ps. xlv. 7. 6Job i. I. 6aje; ajnaitivw" ejk Patrov". 6Greg. Naz., Orat. 35. 6I Cor. ii. 8. 6Baruch iii. 38: these words are absent in many mss. 7Leont., Resp. ad argum. Sever. 7For kai; th` ajtiarh` kai; uji>kh`, kai; th` ajtiath` kai; ejkporeuth` we get kai; th` ajtiatikh`, kai; poreuth` in Cod. Colb. I, Cod. Reg. 3, and so Faber also. 7oijkonomiva", incarnation. 7Leont., Resp. ad argum. Sever. 7See Leont., Act. 7. De Sect., with reference to one of the arguments of the Nestorians; also Greg. Naz., Orat. 36; Max., Ep. I ad Joan. Cubic. 7Infr. ch. vii.: Basil, Epist. 40 and Bk. De Spir. Sanct ch. 17 7ei]do", form, class, species. 7These words are found only in Cod. Reg. 2927. 7The words ou`siva paqthtv and pevponqe are omitted in some editions. 7Against Arias, Apollinaris, and the Severians. 8Col. ii. 9. 8Dion., De div. nom., ch. 2.

¹¹⁹ 8Athan., De salut. adv. Christ: Greg. Naz., Epist. I ad Cled. et Orat. I: Cyril, in John viii. 8Cf. Greg. Naz., Orat. I, &c. 8Greg., Orat. I, 38–51. 8pericwrei`tai uppo tou kreivttono". 8Infr., ch. xviii. 8ou suvnoiko". It is proposed to read aujtou` suvnoiko", or wj" suvnoiko". 8Greg., Epist. I ad Cled. 8Athan., De salut. adv. Christ. 9Ephes. ii. 6. 9Text, upjemfaivnonte". Variant, ejmfaivnomen. 9ajparch;n tou` hjmrevrou furavmato". 9suvnqeton genesqai th;n proteron ajplh`n ou`san tou` Lovgou uppovsttasin, suvnqeton de; ejk duvo telei;wn fuvsewn. 9Text, kai; crov nw kuhvsew". Various readings, kai trovpw kuhvsew": kai; crov nw kai; kuhvsew". 9Cf. Ruf., Expos. symb.; Epiph., in the epilogue to his De Haer.; Joan. Scyth., Epist. Dionys. 4. 9Maria" is absent in most mss. 9Expositio fidei a Patribus Nicaenis contra Paul. Samos. III. p. conc. Ephes. 9Commonit. ad Eulog. et Epist. 2 ad Succes.; cf. supr. ch. vi. et infr. ch. xi. 9o[lo" me;n ou`u ejsti Qeo;" te;leio", oujc o[lon de; Oeov"

¹²⁰ 1o[lo". 1o[lon. 1o[lon. 1o[lo". 1Greg. Naz., Orat. 51. 1the following is added in R. 2927: ejn pa`si me;n h`n, kai; upje;r ta; pavnta, kai ejn th gavstri th"" Qeomhvtoro", ajllā ejn taujth te, ejnergeva th"" sarkwvsew". This is assuredly and interpolation. 1u. supr. ch. iii. 1Leontius de sectis, Act. 3. 1Directed against the Severians. See Leont., De Sect., Act. 7; Greg. Naz., Orat. 37. 1upo; to; sunece;" po;son ajna`gontai aij tou` Kurivou fuvdei", h] ijpo to; diwrismevnon. 1Text, ajnavgontai. Variants, ajnafevrointo and diafevrointo. 1miva ejpifavneia. 1Cyril, De Anath. 8 cont. Theod. 1The Apollinarians at-

tacked the orthodox as ajnqrwpolavtrai, man-worshippers, and as making the Trinity a Quaternity by their doctrine of two perfect natures in Christ. see greg. Naz., Ep. I ad Cied.; Athanas., Ep. ad Epictet.; Anastas. Anitioch., De Operationibus; Cyril, Contr. Nestor. et Eutyech. I.; John of Dam., Dialect. 29. 1See Migne on the position of this section. 1Another allegation of the Severian party is in view here. see Leont., De Sect., Act. 7, Contr. Nestor. et Eutyech. I.; John of Dam., Dialect. 29.

¹²¹ 1Leont., De sect., Act 7. 1Dam., Epist. ad Jord. Archim. 1Text, blavsfhmon. Variant, blasfhmivan. 1Text, blavsfhmon. Variant, blasfhmivan. 11 Cor. viii. 5. 1These words which refer to the Holy Spirit are absent in R. 2930 and in I Cor. viii., but are present in other Codices and in Basil, De Spirit. Sancto, and in Greg. Nazianz., Orat. 39, and further in the Damascene himself Parallel, and elsewhere, and could not be omitted here. 1Orat. 39. 1Rom. xi. 36. 1Vid. Epist. ad Jordan. 1Orat. 42. at the beginning. 1Epist. ad Petrum Fullonem; Theoph., Ad Arn. 5930. 1See Niceph. Call., Hist. xviii. 51. 1Conc. Chal., Act. I, at the end. 1In Cod. S. Hil. is written above the line h[qehlavtoug ojrgh" pauvsei, which explains the author's meaning. 1Niceph. Call., Hist. xviii. 51, speaks of this Hymn and also the fw" ijlarovn as coming from the Apostles themselves. The writer of the Life of Basil supposed to be Amphilochius of Iconium, declares that the Trisagium was recited by Basil at Nicaea.

¹²² 1h] yilh` qewriva katanoei`tai. 1This division is absent in some copies and is not restored in the old translation, but is not superfluous. 1St. John i. 14. 1tou` sidhvrou is absent in some codices and also in the old translation. 1th;n oijkonomijan, the incarnation. 1hj kaql hjmav" oujsiva. 1Supr. ch. 6 and 7 1Leont., De sect. Act. 8. 1Cyril, Defens. II., Anath. cont. Thoed. 1oj Qeo;" morfou`rai, h[toi oujsioutai to; ajlllovtrion. Gregory of Nazianzum in his Carmen used the term oujsiou`sqai of the word after the assumption of our nature. See also Dionys., De div. nom., ch. 2; Ep. ad Carmen, 4; &c. 1Dion., De div. nom., ch. 8. 1See especially Greg. Naz., Ep. I ad Cled.; Theod., Haer. fab., v. 18. 1Greg. Naz., Epist. I. ad Cledon. 1Ibid. 1Infr. ch. 18. 11 Cor. xv. 21. 1Greg. Naz., ibid. 11 Cor. xv. 47. 1Gal. iv. 4. 1cristotovko", as opposed to qeotovko".

¹²³ 1Cyril, ad Monachos, Epist. I. 1wj" ejphreazomevnhn is absent in Vegelinus. 1i.e. Anointed One. 1qeofovro", Deigerus. See Greg. Naz., Ep. 2, ad Cied. Basil, De Spir. Sanc., ch. 5, &c. 1Cyril, cont. Nest., bk. I. 1ajeiv is absent

in Vegelinus. 1oijkonomiva" lovgw, by reason of the incarnation. 1Reading ginovmena, for which Cod. R. 2930 gives uJph`rcon. 1Leo, Epist. 10, ad Flavian. 1Max., Disp. cum Pyrrho. 1Supr., bk. ii. ch. 22. 1oijkonomiva". incarnation. 1Max., Dial. cum Pyrrho; Anast. in JOdhgov", ch. 6, p. 40. 1to; mevn ajplw" qe;leinm qevlhsi", h[toi hj qelhtikh; duvnami". 1o[rexi". 1qevlhton, willed, the thing willed. 1qevlhma gnmikovn. dispositional volition, will of judgment. 1qelhtikovn, volitive. volitivum. volitive, is the Scholastic translation qelhtikovn. 1Max., Dial. cum Pyrrh. 1Max., ibid. 1Max., ibid. 1qelhtikov", endowed with volition. 1qevlhsi", will. 1qelhtikov". 1qelhtikov". 1kai; kata; tou`to oij Patevre" to; hjmevteron ejn ejautw` tupw`sai aujto`n e[fhsan qevlhma: and according to this the Fathers said that He typified, moulded, had the form of our will in Himself.

¹²⁴ 1Greg. Nyss., Cont. Apollin and others, Act. 10, sext. syn. 1Max., Agatho pap. Epist. Syn. in VI Syn., Act. 4. 1St. Mark vii. 24 1Max., ibid. 1St. Matt. xxvii. 33 and 34; St. John xix. 28 and 29 1ejmpaqhv", passible, sensible, possessed of sensibility. 1pavqo", sensibility. 1In N. is added: kai; ei; e;n th` hjmevra to` pavqou" levgei J Pavter, ej dunato;n, parelqevtw to; pothvriou touto ajpj ejmou`. 1Plh;n oujc wj" ejgw; qevlw, ajll J wj" suv. 1Aidou` duvo qelhvsei", qei>kh; a[ma kai; ajnqrwpivnh. 1Phil. ii. 8. 1Max., ut supr. 1tw`n ujpo; cei`ra ga;r tau`ta. 1Orat. 36, some distance from the beginning. 1Max., Disp. cum Pyrrh. 1wj" suntrecouvsh" tq e[cei th"" proceirivsew", the choice, or decision, being synchronous with the moral disposition. 1Max., Disp. cum Pyrrh. 1prw`ton me;n, o[ti ajj sunqevsei" tw`n ejn uJpostavsei o[ntwn, kai; ouj tw`n ejtevrw lovgw, kai; ouj iudivw qewroumevnwn eijsiv. 1Max., Dial. cum Pyrrh. 1Max., Epist. ad marin.

¹²⁵ 1proavresi". 1Basil, on Ps. xlv., or rather on Isiah vii. 1Is. vii. 16, sec. LXX. 1Fusikai; men gavr eijsin ajj ajretaiv; cf. Cicero, De leg. I. 1Supr., bk. ii., ch. 30. 2Max., Dial. cum Pyrrh. 2Gen. i. 26. 21Cor. vii. 25. 2Ps. lxxiii. 3. 2Dan. ii. 15. peri; tivno" djxh`lqen hj gnmvmh hJ ajnaidh;" au[th. In our A.V., Why is the decree so hasty from the king? 2Text, kata; ei[kosi ojktw; Variants, kata; koinou`, kata; poluv, secunda multa (old trans.), and secundum plurima (Faber). Maximus gave 28 meanings of gnmvmh. 2Cf. Anast., De operationibus, I.; Joan. Scyth, Con. Sever. VIII., &c. 2Supr. bk. ii.: Max., Dial. cum Pyrrh. 2Orat. 37, near the beginning. 2Anast. Antioch., De operationibus. 2kai; aujto; to; ajpotelouvmenon; cf. Max., ad Marin. II. 2Max. tom.

ii., *Dogmat. ad Marin.*, p. 124. 2St. Matt. viii. 3. 2St. John vi. 11. 2See Act. 10 sextae synodi. 2Text, qehgovrou". Variant, qeovfrou".

¹²⁶ 2Orat. de natura et hyp. Also in Basil. 43. 2Max., Dial. cum Pyrrh. 2Max., Dial. cum Pyrrh. 2St. John v. 17. 2Ibid. 19. 2Ibid. x. 38. 2Ibid. v. 36. 2Ibid. 21. 2Max., ibid. 2Maxim., lib. De duab. vol. et Dial. cum Pyrrh. 2St. Luke viii. 54; Max., Dial. cum Pyrrh. 2Max., ibid. 2Max., ibid. 2Text, hJ de; kata; fuvsin ejnevrgeia. Variant, eij dev. 2Hom. 1. 2Thes., xxxii., ch. 2; Act. 10, sextae Synodi. 2The Monotheletes made much of the case of the raising of the daughter of Jairus. See Cyril, In Joan., p. 351; Max., Dial. cum Pyrrh., Epist. ad Nicand., epist. ad Mon. Sicil.; Scholiast in Collect. cont. Severum, ch. 20. 2oi;kouomw", in incarnate form. 2Leo, Epist. cit. 2ouj ga;r ajfV eJautou; pro;" ta; fusika; pajqh th;n oJrmh;n ejpoiei'to oujdA aujth;n ejk tw'n luph w'n aJformh;n kai; paraivthsin. 2The term is morfhw, as in Phil. ii. 6, 7. 2Dion., ch. 2, De div. nom. et Epist. 4.

¹²⁷ 2Max., Dial. cum Pyrrh. 2See the reply of Maximus in the Dialogue cum Pyrrh. 2Gen. i. 31. 2Max., Opusc. Polem., pp. 31, 32. 2Leo, Epist. 10. 2St. Matt. iv. 2. 2Nyss., adv. Apoll. 2Chrysost., Hom. in s. Thom. 2diA ajntwnu-miva". 2Cyril, in Joan., bk. viii. 2This is directed to another argument of the Severians. Cf. Leont., De Sect., 7, Contr. Nest. et Eutych., I. 2Epist. 2 ad Serap., towards the end; Collect., as above, c. 19. 2Anast., Collect., ch. 19. 2Epist. 1, ad Cledon. 2Orat. 4, not far from the beginning. 2Cf. Greg. Naz., Orat. 38, 39, 42, 51; Niceph., C.P. adv. Ep. Euseb., c. 50; Euthym., Panopl., II. 7. 2Greg., Orat. 42. 2Id., Orat. 39; Max. bk. De duabus voluntatibus. 2Max., Epist. ad Nicandr. 2Greg. Naz., Orat. 36. 2Ibid. 35, p. 595. 2St. Mark vii. 24. 2St. Matt. viii. 3. 2Greg. Naz., Orat. 42. 2Against the Apollinarians and the Monotheletes. Cf. Max., ut supra, II. p. 151.

¹²⁸ 2Greg. Naz., Carm. sen. adv. Apollin., Epist. ad Cled., and elsewhere. 2See also ch. 6 above, and Gregory's lines against the Apollinarians. 2St. John i. 14. 2Gen. xlvi. 27, ap. LXX.; Acts vii. 14. 2Is. xl. 5; St. Luke iii. 6. 2St. John viii. 40. 2Sophron., Epist. Synod. 2See Cyril, In Joann., ch. x. 2St. Matt. xxvi. 39; St. Luke xxii. 22. 2Ibid. 2Max., Dial. cum Pyrrh.; Greg. Naz., Ep. 1, ad Cledon. 2Dionys., Epist. 4, ad Caium. 2See Severus, Ep. 3, ad Joann. Hegum.; Anastas., Sinait. Hodegus, p. 240 2Max., Dial. cum Pyrrh. 2Leo, Epist. 1 ad Flav. 2Perhaps from Joann. Scythop., bk. viii.; cf. Niceph., C.P. Antirrh., III. 59. 2Max., Dogm. ad Marin., p. 43. 2Or, sensibilities. 2Cf. Greg. Nyss., Contr. Apoll.; Leont., De Sect., Act. 10; Anastas., Hodegus, 13. &c. 2Cf. Athanas.,

De Salut., Adventu Christi. 2Greg. Naz., Orat. 36. 2Photius, Cod. 230; Eulog., bk. x., Ep. 35; Sophron., Ep. ad Serg.; Leont., De Sect., Act. 10.

¹²⁹ 2Cf. Sophron., Ep. ad Serg., who refers to the Duliani (ἌDouliaoiv); the opinions of Felix and Elipandas, condemned at the Synod of Frankfort; and Thomas Aquinas, III., Quæst. 20, Art. 1. 2Greg. Naz., Orat. 24. 2Gal. iv. 7. 2Col. ii. 3. 2St. Luke ii. 52. 2Athanas., Contr. Arian., bk. iv.; Greg. Naz., Ep. I. ad Cled., and Orat. 20; Cyril, Contr. Nest., bk. iii.; Greg. Nyss., Contr. Apoll., II. 28, &c. 2Text has peiqomai: surely it should be peiqovmenoi. 21 Tim. i. 1. 2Max., Dial. cum Pyrrh. 2St. John xii. 27. 2S. Athanas., De salutari adventu Christi, contra Apollinarem towards the end. 2St. Matt., Greg. Naz., Orat. 36 2St. Matt. iii. 15 2St. John xi 42. 2Greg., Naz., Orat. 42; Chyrs., Hom. 63 in Joan. 3St. Matt. xxvi. 39 3Chyrs. In Cat. In St. Matt. xxvi 3Greg., Orat. 36 3St. Matt. xxvii. 46. 3Greg., Orat. 36; Cyril, De recta fide; Athanas., Contr. Arian., bk. Iv.

¹³⁰ 3Greg. Nyss., Orat. 38 3Max. ad Marin. In solut. I dubit. Theod. 3Greg. Naz., Orat. 36; Athanas., De Salut. Adv. Christi 3Gal. iii. 15. 3Photius, Cod. 46 3Athanas., De salut. Adv. Christi 3Is. liii. 9; St. John i. 29. 3Rom. v. 12. 3Greg., Orat. 42 3Cf. Epiph., Hoeres. 69; Greg. Nyss., Contr. Eunom., II. p. 55. 3Ἰpovstasi", hypostasis. 3Leont. De sect., Act. 10, and Dial.cont.Aphthartodoc. 3Anast Sinait., Hodegus, p. 295 3Ps. xvi. 10 3Anast. Sinait., Hodegus, p. 293. 31 Cor. xv. 20. 3Ibid. 53. 3Cf. Ruf., Expos. Symbol. Apost.; Cassian, Contr. Nestor, bk. vi.; Cyril, Calech. 14. 3Mal. Iv. 2. 3Is. Ix. 2. 3Is. Lxi. I; St. Luke iv. 19. 31 Pet. iii. 19. 3Iren., iv. 45; Greg. Naz., Orat. 42. 3Phil. ii. 10. BOOK IV

BOOK 4

¹ Book IV. Chapter I. Concerning what followed the Resurrection. After Christ was risen from the dead He laid aside all His passions, I mean His corruption or hunger or thirst or sleep or weariness or such like. For, although He did taste food after the resurrection¹ yet He did not do so because it was a law of His nature (for He felt no hunger), but in the way of economy, in order that He might convince us of the reality of the resurrection, and that it was one and the same flesh which suffered and rose again². But He laid aside none of the divisions of His nature, neither body nor spirit, but possesses both the body and the soul intelligent and reasonable, volitional and energetic, and in this wise He sits at the right hand of the Father, using His will both as God and as man in behalf of our salvation, energising in His divine

capacity to provide for and maintain and govern all things, and remembering in His human capacity the time He spent on earth, while all the time He both sees and knows that He is adored by all rational creation. For His Holy Spirit knows that He is one in substance with God the Word, and shares as Spirit of God and not simply as Spirit the worship accorded to Him. Moreover, His ascent from earth to heaven, and again, His descent from heaven to earth, are manifestations of the energies of His circumscribed body. For He shall so come again to you, saith he, in like manner as ye have seen Him go into Heaven³.

² Chapter II. Concerning the sitting at the right hand of the Father. We hold, moreover, that Christ sits in the body at the right hand of God the Father, but we do not hold that the right hand of the Father is actual place. For how could He that is uncircumscribed have a right hand limited by place? Right hands and left hands belong to what is circumscribed. But we understand the right hand of the Father to be the glory and honour of the Godhead in which the Son of God, who existed as God before the ages, and is of like essence to the Father, and in the end became flesh, has a seat in the body, His flesh sharing in the glory. For He along with His flesh is adored with one adoration by all creation⁴. Chapter III. In reply to those who say⁵ “If Christ has two natures, either ye do service to the creature in worshipping created nature, or ye say that there is one nature to be worshipped, and another not to be worshipped.”

³ Along with the Father and the Holy Spirit we worship the Son of God, Who was incorporeal before He took on humanity, and now in His own person is incarnate and has become man though still being also God. His flesh, then, in its own nature⁶ if one were to make subtle mental distinctions between what is seen and what is thought, is not deserving of worship since it is created. But as it is united with God the Word, it is worshipped on account of Him and in Him. For just as the king deserves homage alike when unrobed and when robed, and just as the purple robe, considered simply as a purple robe, is trampled upon and tossed about, but after becoming the royal dress receives all honour and glory, and whoever dishonours it is generally condemned to death: and again, just as wood in itself⁷ is not of such a nature that it cannot be touched, but becomes so when fire is applied to it, and it becomes charcoal, and yet this is not because of its own nature, but because of the fire united to it, and the nature of the wood is not such as cannot be

touched, but rather the charcoal or burning wood: so also the flesh, in its own nature, is not to be worshipped, but is worshipped in the incarnate God Word, not because of itself, but because of its union in subsistence with God the Word. And we do not say that we worship mere flesh, but God's flesh, that is, God incarnate.

4 Chapter IV. Why it was the Son of God, and not the Father or the Spirit, that became man: and what having become man He achieved. The Father is Father⁸ and not Son⁹: the Son is Son and not Father: the Holy Spirit is Spirit and not Father or Son. For the individuality is unchangeable. How, indeed, could individuality continue to exist at all if it were ever changing and altering? Wherefore the Son of God became Son of Man in order that His individuality might endure. For since He was the Son of God, He became Son of Man, being made flesh of the holy Virgin and not losing the individuality of Sonship. 5 Further, the Son of God became man, in order that He might again bestow on man that favour for the sake of which He created him. For He created him after His own image, endowed with intellect and free-will, and after His own likeness, that is to say, perfect in all virtue so far as it is possible for man's nature to attain perfection. For the following properties are, so to speak, marks of the divine nature: viz. absence of care and distraction and guile, goodness, wisdom, justice, freedom from all vice. So then, after He had placed man in communion with Himself (for having made him for incorruption He led him up through communion wills Himself to incorruption), and when moreover, through the transgression of the command we had confused and obliterated the marks of the divine image, and had become evil, we were stripped of our communion with God (for what communion hath light with darkness?): and having been shut out from life we became subject to the corruption of death: yea, since He gave us to share in the better part, and we did not keep it secure, He shares in the inferior part, I mean our own nature, in order that through Himself and in Himself He might renew that which was made after His image and likeness, and might teach us, too, the conduct of a virtuous life, making through Himself the way thither easy for us, and might by the communication of life deliver us from corruption, becoming Himself the firstfruits of our resurrection, and might renovate the useless and worn vessel calling us to the knowledge of God that He might redeem us from the tyranny of the devil, and might

strengthen and teach us how to overthrow the tyrant through patience and humility.

6 The worship of demons then has ceased: creation has been sanctified by the divine blood: altars and temples of idols have been overthrown, the knowledge of God has been implanted in men's minds, the co-essential Trinity, the uncreate divinity, one true God, Creator and Lord of all receives men's service: virtues are cultivated, the hope of resurrection has been granted through the resurrection of Christ, the demons shudder at those men who of old were under their subjection. And the marvel, indeed, is that all this has been successfully brought about through His cross and passion and death. Throughout all the earth the Gospel of the knowledge of God has been preached; no wars or weapons or armies being used to rout the enemy, but only a few, naked, poor, illiterate, persecuted and tormented men, who with their lives in their hands, preached Him Who was crucified in the flesh and died, and who became victors over the wise and powerful. For the omnipotent power of the Cross accompanied them. Death itself, which once was man's chiefest terror, has been overthrown, and now that which was once the object of hate and loathing is preferred to life. These are the achievements of Christ's presence: these are the tokens of His power. For it was not one people that He saved, as when through Moses He divided the sea and delivered Israel out of Egypt and the bondage of Pharaoh; nay, rather He rescued all mankind from the corruption of death and the bitter tyranny of sin:

7 not leading them by force to virtue, not overwhelming them with earth or burning them with fire, or ordering the sinners to be stoned, but persuading men by gentleness and long-suffering to choose virtue and vie with one another, and find pleasure in the struggle to attain it. For, formerly, it was sinners who were persecuted, and yet they clung all the closer to sin, and sin was looked upon by them as their God: but now for the sake of piety and virtue men choose persecutions and crucifixions and death. 8 Hail! O Christ, the Word and Wisdom and Power of God, and God omnipotent! What can we helpless ones give Thee in return for all these good gifts? For all are Thine, and Thou askest naught from us save our salvation, Thou Who Thyself art the Giver of this, and yet art grateful to those who receive it, through Thy unspeakable goodness. Thanks be to Thee Who gave us life, and granted us the grace of a happy life, and restored us to that, when we had gone astray, through Thy unspeakable condescension. Chapter V. In reply to those who

ask if Christ's subsistence is create or uncreate. The subsistence of God the Word before the Incarnation was simple and uncompound, and incorporeal and uncreate: but after it became flesh, it became also the subsistence of the flesh, and became compounded of divinity which it always possessed, and of flesh which it had assumed: and it bears the properties of the two natures, being made known in two natures: so that the one same subsistence is both uncreate in divinity and create in humanity, visible and invisible. For otherwise we are compelled either to divide the one Christ and speak of two subsistences, or to deny the distinction between the natures and thus introduce change and confusion.

9 Chapter VI. Concerning the question, when Christ was called. 10 The mind was not united with God the Word, as some falsely assert before the Incarnation by the Virgin and from that time called Christ. That is the absurd nonsense of Origen who lays down the doctrine of the priority of the existence of souls. But we hold that the Son and Word of God became Christ after He had dwelt in the womb of His holy ever-virgin Mother, and became flesh without change, and that the flesh was anointed with divinity. For this is the anointing of humanity, as Gregory the Theologian says. And here are the words of the most holy Cyril of Alexandria which he wrote to the Emperor Theodosius: "For I indeed hold that one ought to give the name Jesus Christ neither to the Word that is of God if He is without humanity, nor yet to the temple born of woman if it is not united with the Word. For the Word that is of God is understood to be Christ when united with humanity in ineffable manner in the union of the oeconomy. And again, he writes to the Empresses thus: "Some hold that the name 'Christ' is rightly given to the Word that is begotten of God the Father, to Him alone, and regarded separately by Himself. But we have not been taught so to think and speak. For when the Word became flesh, then it was, we say, that He was called Christ Jesus.

11 For since He was anointed with the oil of gladness, that is the Spirit, by Him Who is God and Father, He is for this reason called Christ. But that the anointing was an act that concerned Him as man could be doubted by no one who is accustomed to think rightly. Moreover, the celebrated Athanasius says this in his discourse "Concerning the Saving Manifestation: "The God Who was before the sojourn in the flesh was not man, but God in God, being invisible and without passion, but when He became man, He received in

addition the name of Christ because of the flesh, since, indeed, passion and death follow in the train of this name.”¹² And although the holy Scripture says, Therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness it is to be observed that the holy Scripture often uses the past tense instead of the future, as for example here: Thereafter He was seen upon the earth and dwelt among men. For as yet God was not seen nor did He dwell among men when this was said. And here again: By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down; yea wept. For as yet these things had not come to pass. Chapter VII. In answer to those who enquire whether the holy Mother of God bore two natures, and whether two natures hung upon the Cross.

¹³ *ajgevnhton* and *genhtovn*, written with one ‘n’/sqY\80{\strike\i0\b0\cap"0\scap"0\super 28}{\v "3.v9.a4.w1.b4.f26} and meaning uncreated and created, refer to nature: but *ajgevnhton* and *gevnhta*, that is to say, unbegotten and begotten, as the double ‘n’ indicates, refer not to nature but to subsistence. The divine nature then is *ajgevnhto*”, that is to say, uncreate, but all things that come after the divine nature are *gevnhta*, that is, created. In the divine and uncreated nature, therefore, the property of being *ajgevnhton* or unbegotten is contemplated in the Father (for He was not begotten), that of being *gevnhton* or begotten in the Son (for He has been eternally begotten of the Father), and that of procession in the Holy Spirit. Moreover of each species of living creatures, the first members were *ajgevnhta* but not *ajgevnhta*: for they were brought into being by their Maker, but were not the offspring of creatures like themselves. For *gevnesei*” is creation, while *gevnnesi*” or begetting is in the case of God the origin of a co-essential Son arising from the Father alone, and in the case of bodies, the origin of a co-essential subsistence arising from the contact of male and female. And thus we perceive that begetting refers not to nature but to subsistence. For if it did refer to nature, to *gevnhton* and to *ajgevnhton*, i.e. the properties of being begotten and unbegotten, could not be contemplated in one and the same nature. Accordingly the holy Mother of God bore a subsistence revealed in two natures; being begotten on the one hand, by reason of its divinity, of the Father timelessly, and, at last, on the other hand, being incarnated of her in time and born in the flesh.

¹⁴ But if our interrogators should hint that He Who is begotten of the holy Mother of God is two natures, we reply, “Yea! He is two natures: for He is in His own person God and man. And the same is to be said concerning

the crucifixion and resurrection and ascension. For these refer not to nature but to subsistence. Christ then, since He is in two natures, suffered and was crucified in the nature that was subject to passion. For it was in the flesh and not in His divinity that He hung upon the Cross. Otherwise, let them answer us, when we ask if two natures died. No, we shall say. And so two natures Were not crucified but Christ was begotten, that is to say, the divine Word having become man was begotten in the flesh, was crucified in the flesh, suffered in the flesh, while His divinity continued to be impossible.”

¹⁵ Chapter VIII. How the Only-begotten Son of God is called first-born. He who is first begotten is called first-born whether he is only-begotten or the first of a number of brothers. If then the Son of God was called first-born, but was not called Only-begotten, we could imagine that He was the first-born of creatures, as being a creature. But since He is called both first-born and Only-begotten, both senses must be preserved in His case. We say that He is first-born of all creation since both He Himself is of God and creation is of God, but as He Himself is born alone and timelessly of the essence of God the Father, He may with reason be called Only-begotten Son, first-born and not first-created. For the creation was not brought into being out of the essence of the Father, but by His will out of nothing. And He is called First-born among many brethren for although being Only-begotten, He was also born of a mother. Since, indeed, He participated just as we ourselves do in blood and flesh and became man, while we too through Him became sons of God, being adopted through the baptism, He Who is by nature Son of God became first-born amongst us who were made by adoption and grace sons of God, and stand to Him in the relation of brothers. Wherefore He said, I ascend unto My Father and your Father. He did not say “our Father,” but “My Father,” clearly in the sense of Father by nature, and “your Father,” in the sense of Father by grace. And “My God and your God.” He did not say “our God,” but “My God:” and if you distinguish with subtle thought that which is seen from that which is thought, also “your God,” as Maker and Lord.

¹⁶ Chapter IX. Concerning Faith and Baptism. ¹⁷ We confess one baptism for the remission of sins and for life eternal. For baptism declares the Lord’s death. We are indeed “buried with the Lord through baptism,” as saith the divine Apostle. So then, as our Lord died once for all, we also must be baptized once for all, and baptized according to the Word of the Lord, In the

Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit being taught the confession in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Those then, who, after having been baptized into Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and having been taught that there is one divine nature in three subsistences, are rebaptized, these, as the divine Apostle says, crucify the Christ afresh. For it is impossible, he saith, for those who were once enlightened, &c., to renew them again unto repentance: seeing they crucify to themselves the Christ afresh, and put Him to an open shame. But those who were not baptized into the Holy Trinity, these must be baptized again. For although the divine Apostle says: Into Christ and into His death were we baptized he does not mean that the invocation of baptism must be in these words, but that baptism is an image of the death of Christ. For by the three immersions baptism signifies the three days of our Lord's entombment. The baptism then into Christ means that believers are baptized into Him.

¹⁸ We could not believe in Christ if we were not taught confession in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. For Christ is the Son of the Living God Whom the Father anointed with the Holy Spirit: in the words of the divine David, Therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows. And Isaiah also speaking in the person of the Lord says, The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because He hath anointed me. Christ, however, taught His own disciples the invocation and said, Baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. For since Christ made us for incorruption and we transgressed His saving command. He condemned us to the corruption of death in order that that which is evil should not be immortal, and when in His compassion He stooped to His servants and became like us, He redeemed us from corruption through His own passion. He caused the fountain of remission to well forth for us out of His holy and immaculate side water for our regeneration, and the washing away of sin and corruption; and blood to drink as the hostage of life eternal. And He laid on us the command to be born again of water and of the Spirit through prayer and invocation, the Holy Spirit drawing nigh unto the water.

¹⁹ For since man's nature is twofold, consisting of soul and body, He bestowed on us a twofold purification, of water and of the Spirit the Spirit renewing that part in us which is after His image and likeness, and the water by the grace of the Spirit cleansing the body from sin and delivering it from corruption, the water indeed expressing the image of death, but the Spirit af-

fording the earnest of life. ²⁰ For from the beginning the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters and anew the Scripture witnesseth that water has the power of purification. In the time of Noah God washed away the sin of the world by water. By water every impure person is purified according to the law, even the very garments being washed with water. Elias shewed forth the grace of the Spirit mingled with the water when he burned the holocaust by pouring on water. And almost everything is purified by water according to the law: for the things of sight are symbols of the things of thought. The regeneration, however, takes place in the spirit: for faith has the power of making us sons (of God), creatures as we are, by the Spirit, and of leading us into our original blessedness. The remission of sins, therefore, is granted alike to all through baptism: but the grace of the Spirit is proportional to the faith and previous purification. Now, indeed, we receive the firstfruits of the Holy Spirit through baptism, and the second birth is for us the beginning and seal and security and illumination of another life.

²¹ It behoves as, then, with all our strength to steadfastly keep ourselves pure from filthy works, that we may not, like the dog returning to his vomit make ourselves again the slaves of sin. For faith apart from works is dead, and so likewise are works apart from faith. For the true faith is attested by works. Now we are baptized into the Holy Trinity because those things which are baptized have need of the Holy Trinity for their maintenance and continuance, and the three subsistences cannot be otherwise than present, the one with the other. For the Holy Trinity is indivisible. ²² The first baptism was that of the flood for the eradication of sin. The second was through the sea and the cloud: for the cloud is the symbol of the Spirit and the sea of the water. The third baptism was that of the Law: for every impure person washed himself with water, and even washed his garments, and so entered into the camp. The fourth was that of John being preliminary and leading those who were baptized to repentance, that they might believe in Christ: I, indeed, he said, baptize you with water; but He that cometh after me, He will baptize you in the Holy Spirit and in fire. Thus John's purification with water was preliminary to receiving the Spirit. The fifth was the baptism of our Lord, whereby He Himself was baptized. Now He is baptized not as Himself requiring purification but as making my purification His own, that He may break the heads of the dragons on the water, that He may wash away sin and bury all the old Adam in water, that He may sanctify the Baptist, that He

may fulfil the Law, that He may reveal the mystery of the Trinity, that he may become the type and ensample to us of baptism. But we, too, are baptized in the perfect baptism of our Lord, the baptism by water and the Spirit. Moreover, Christ is said to baptize with fire: because in the form of flaming tongues He poured forth on His holy disciples the grace of the Spirit:

²³ as the Lord Himself says, John truly baptized with water: but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit and with fire, not many days hence: or else it is because of the baptism of future fire wherewith we are to be chastized. The sixth is that by repentance and tears, which baptism is truly grievous. The seventh is baptism by blood and martyrdom, which baptism Christ Himself underwent in our behalf, He Who was too august and blessed to be defiled with any later stains. The eighth is the last, which is not saving, but which destroys evil: for evil and sin no longer have sway: yet it punishes without end. ²⁴ Further, the Holy Spirit descended in bodily form as a dove, indicating the firstfruits of our baptism and honouring the body: isnce even this, that is the body, was God by the deification; and besides the dove was wont formerly to announce the cessation of the flood. But to the holy Apostles He came down in the form of fire: for He is God, and God is a consuming fire. Olive oil is employed in baptism as a significant of our anointing, and as making us anointed, and as announcing to us through the Holy Spirit God's pity: for it was the fruit of the olive that the dove brought to those who were saved from the flood. John was baptized, putting his hand upon the divine head of his Master, and with his own blood. It does not behove us to delay baptism when the faith of those coming forward is testified to by their works. For he that cometh forward deceitfully to baptism will receive condemnation rather than benefit.

²⁵ Chapter X Concerning Faith Moreover, fiath is twofold. for faith cometh by hearing. For by hearing the divine Scriptures we believe in the teaching of the Holy spirit. The same is perfected by all the things enjoined by Christ, believing in work, cultivating piety, and doing the commands of Him Who restored us. For he that believeth not according to the tradition of the Catholic Church, or who hat intercourse with the devil through strange works, is an unbeliever. But again, faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen or undoubting and unambiguous hope alike of what God hat promised us and of the good issue of our prayers. The first, therefore, belongs t our will, while the second is of the gifts of the Spirit.

Further, observe that by baptism we cut off all the covering which we have worn since birth, that is to say, sin, and become spiritual Israelites and God's people.

²⁶ Chapter XI Concernin the Cross and here further concerning Faith. The word 'Cross' is foolishness to those that perish, but to us who are saved is the power of God. For he that is spiritual judgeth all things, but the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit. For it is foolishness to those who do not recieve in faith and who do not consider God's goodness and omnipotence, but search out divine things with human and natural reasonings. For all the things that are of God aare above nature and reason and conception. For should any one consider how and for what purpose God brought all things out of nothing and into being, and aim at arriving at that by natural reasonings, he fails to comprehend it. For knowledge of this kind belongs to spirits and demons. But if any one, under the guidance of faith, should consider the divine goodness and omnipotence and truth and wisdom and justice, he will find all things smooth and even, and the way straight. But without faith it is impossible to be saved. For it is by faith that all things, both human and spiritual, are sustained. For without faith neither does the farmer cut his furrow, nor does the merchant commit his life to the raging waves of the sea on a small piece of wood, nor are marriages contracted nor any other step in life taken. By faith we consider that all things were brought out of nothing into being by God's power. And we direct all things, both divine and human, by faith. Further, faith is assent free from all meddlesome inquisitiveness.

²⁷ Every action, therefore, and performance of miracles by Christ are most great and divine and marvellous: but the most marvellous of all is His precious Cross. For no other thing has subdued death, expiated the sin of the first parent despoiled Hades, bestowed the resurrection, granted the power to us of contemning the present and even death itself, prepared the return to our former blessedness, opened the gates of Paradise given our nature a seat at the right hand of God, and made us the children and heirs of God save the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. For by the Cross all things have been made right. So many of us, the apostle says, as were baptized into Christ, were baptized into His death and as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ. Further Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God. Lo! the death of Christ, that is, the Cross, clothed us with the enhypo-

static wisdom and power of God. And the power of God is the Word of the Cross, either because God's might, that is, the victory over death, has been revealed to us by it, or because, just as the four extremities of the Cross are held fast and bound together by the bolt in the middle, so also by God's power the height and the depth, the length and the breadth, that is, every creature visible and invisible, is maintained.

28 This was given to us as a sign on our forehead, just as the circumcision was given to Israel: for by it we believers are separated and distinguished from unbelievers. This is the shield and weapon against, and trophy over, the devil. This is the seal that the destroyer may not touch you as saith the Scripture. This is the resurrection of those lying in death, the support of the standing, the staff of the weak, the rod of the flock, the safe conduct of the earnest, the perfection of those that press forwards, the salvation of soul and body, the aversion of all things evil, the patron of all things good, the taking away of sin, the plant of resurrection, the tree of eternal life. So, then, this same truly precious and august tree on which Christ hath offered Himself as a sacrifice for our sakes, is to be worshipped as sanctified by contact with His holy body and blood; likewise the nails, the spear, the clothes, His sacred tabernacles which are the manger, the cave, Golgotha, which bringeth salvation the tomb which giveth life, Sion, the chief stronghold of the churches and the like, are to be worshipped. In the words of David, the father of God We shall go into His tabernacles, we shall worship at the place where His feet stood. And that it is the Cross that is meant is made clear by what follows, Arise, O Lord, into Thy Rest. For the resurrection comes after the Cross. For if of those things which we love, house and couch and garment, are to be longed after, how much the rather should we long after that which belonged to God, our Saviour by means of which we are in truth saved.

29 Moreover we worship even the image of the precious and life-giving Cross, although made of another tree, not honouring the tree (God forbid) but the image as a symbol of Christ. For He said to His disciples, admonishing them, Then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in Heaven meaning the Cross. And so also the angel of the resurrection said to the woman, Ye seek Jesus of Nazareth which was crucified. And the Apostle said, We preach Christ crucified. For there are many Christs and many Jesuses, but one crucified. He does not say speared but crucified. It behoves us, then, to worship the

sign of Christ. For wherever the sign may be, there also will He be. But it does not behove us to worship the material of which the image of the Cross is composed, even though it be gold or precious stones, after it is destroyed, if that should happen. Everything, therefore, that is dedicated to God we worship, conferring the adoration on Him.

³⁰ The tree of life which was planted by God in Paradise pre-figured this precious Cross.<mindy> For since death was by a tree, it was fitting that life and resurrection should be bestowed by a tree. Jacob, when He worshipped the top of Joseph's staff, was the first to image the Cross, and when he blessed his sons with crossed hands he made most clearly the sign of the cross. Likewise also did Moses' rod, when it smote the sea in the figure of the cross and saved Israel, while it overwhelmed Pharaoh in the depths; likewise also the hands stretched out crosswise and routing Amalek; and the bitter water made sweet by a tree, and the rock rent and pouring forth streams of water and the rod that meant for Aaron the dignity of the high priesthood: and the serpent lifted in triumph on a tree as though it were dead the tree bringing salvation to those who in faith saw their enemy dead, just as Christ was nailed to the tree in the flesh of sin which yet knew no sin. The mighty Moses cried You will see your life hanging on the tree before your eyes, and Isaiah likewise, I have spread out my hands all the day unto a faithless and rebellious people. But may we who worship this obtain a part in Christ the crucified. Amen.

³¹ Chapter XII. Concerning Worship towards the East. It is not without reason or by chance that we worship towards the East. But seeing that we are composed of a visible and an invisible nature, that is to say, of a nature partly of spirit and partly of sense, we render also a twofold worship to the Creator; just as we sing both with our spirit and our bodily lips, and are baptized with both water and Spirit, and are united with the Lord in a twofold manner, being sharers in the mysteries and in the grace of the Spirit. ³² Since, therefore, God is spiritual light and Christ is called in the Scriptures Sun of Righteousness and Dayspring the East is the direction that must be assigned to His worship. For everything good must be assigned to Him from Whom every good thing arises. Indeed the divine David also says, Sing unto God, ye kingdoms of the earth: O sing praises unto the Lord: to Him that rideth upon the Heavens of heavens towards the East. Moreover the Scripture also says, And God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there He put the man whom He

had formed: and when he had transgressed His command He expelled him and made him to dwell over against the delights of Paradises which clearly is the West. So, then, we worship God seeking and striving after our old fatherland. Moreover the tent of Moses had its veil and mercy seat towards the East. Also the tribe of Judah as the most precious pitched their camp on the East. Also in the celebrated temple of Solomon the Gate of the Lord was placed eastward. Moreover Christ, when He hung on the Cross, had His face turned towards the West, and so we worship, striving after Him. And when He was received again into Heaven He was borne towards the East, and thus His apostles worship Him, and thus He will come again in the way in which they beheld Him going towards Heaven; as the Lord Himself said, As the lightning cometh out of the East and shineth even unto the West, so also shall the coming of the Son of Man be.

³³ So, then, in expectation of His coming we worship towards the East. But this tradition of the apostles is unwritten. For much that has been handed down to us by tradition is unwritten. Chapter XIII. Concerning the holy and immaculate Mysteries of the Lord. God Who is good and altogether good and more than good, Who is goodness throughout, by reason of the exceeding riches of His goodness did not suffer Himself, that is His nature, only to be good, with no other to participate therein, but because of this He made first the spiritual and heavenly powers: next the visible and sensible universe: next man with his spiritual and sentient nature. All things, therefore, which he made, share in His goodness in respect of their existence. For He Himself is existence to all, since all things that are, are in Him not only because it was He that brought them out of nothing into being, but because His energy preserves and maintains all that He made: and in especial the living creatures. For both in that they exist and in that they enjoy life they share in His goodness. But in truth those of them that have reason have a still greater share in that, both because of what has been already said and also because of the very reason which they possess. For they are somehow more dearly akin to Him, even though He is incomparably higher than they.

³⁴ Man, however, being endowed with reason and free will, received the power of continuous union with God through his own choice, if indeed he should abide in goodness, that is in obedience to his Maker. Since, however, he transgressed the command of his Creator and became liable to death and corruption, the Creator and Maker of our race, because of His bowels of

compassion, took on our likeness, becoming man in all things but without sin, and was united to our nature. For since He bestowed on us His own image and His own spirit and we did not keep them safe, He took Himself a share in our poor and weak nature, in order that He might cleanse us and make us incorruptible, and establish us once more as partakers of His divinity. For it was fitting that not only the first-fruits of our nature should partake in the higher good but every man who wished it, and that a second birth should take place and that the nourishment should be new and suitable to the birth and thus the measure of perfection be attained. Through His birth, that is, His incarnation, and baptism and passion and resurrection, He delivered our nature from the sin of our first parent and death and corruption, and became the first-fruits of the resurrection, and made Himself the way and image and pattern, in order that we, too, following in His footsteps, may become by adoption what He is Himself by nature sons and heirs of God and joint heirs with Him. He gave us therefore, as I said, a second birth in order that, just as we who are born of Adam are in his image and are the heirs of the curse and corruption, so also being born of Him we may be in His likeness and heirs of His incorruption and blessing and glory.

³⁵ Now seeing that this Adam is spiritual, it was meet that both the birth and likewise the food should be spiritual too, but since we are of a double and compound nature, it is meet that both the birth should be double and likewise the food compound. We were therefore given a birth by water and Spirit: I mean, by the holy baptism: and the food is the very bread of life, our Lord Jesus Christ, Who came down from heaven. For when He was about to take on Himself a voluntary death for our sakes, on the night on which He gave Himself up, He laid a new covenant on His holy disciples and apostles, and through them on all who believe on Him. In the upper chamber, then, of holy and illustrious Sion, after He had eaten the ancient Passover with His disciples and had fulfilled the ancient covenant, He washed His disciples' feet in token of the holy baptism. Then having broken bread He gave it to them saying, Take, eat, this is My body broken for you for the remission of sins. Likewise also He took the cup of wine and water and gave it to them saying, Drink ye all of it: for this is My blood, the blood of the New Testament which is shed for you for the remission of sins. This do ye in remembrance of Me. For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do shew the death of the Son of man and confess His resurrection until He come.

36 If then the Word of God is quick and energising and the Lord did all that He willed; if He said, Let there be light and there was light, let there be a firmament and there was a firmament; if the heavens were established by the Word of the Lord and all the host of them by the breath of His mouth; if the heaven and the earth, water and fire and air and the whole glory of these, and, in sooth, this most noble creature, man, were perfected by the Word of the Lord; if God the Word of His own will became man and the pure and undefiled blood of the holy and ever-virginal One made His flesh without the aid of seed can He not then make the bread His body and the wine and water His blood? He said in the beginning, Let the earth bring forth grass and even until this present day, when the rain comes it brings forth its proper fruits, urged on and strengthened by the divine command. God said, This is My body, and This is My blood, and this do ye in remembrance of Me. And so it is at His omnipotent command until He come: for it was in this sense that He said until He come: and the overshadowing power of the Holy Spirit becomes through the invocation the rain to this new tillage.

37 For just as God made all that He made by the energy of the Holy Spirit, so also now the energy of the Spirit performs those things that are supernatural and which it is not possible to comprehend unless by faith alone. How shall this be, said the holy Virgin, seeing I know not a man? And the archangel Gabriel answered her: The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee. And now you ask, how the bread became Christ's body and the wine and water Christ's blood. And I say unto thee, "The Holy Spirit is present and does those things which surpass reason and thought." 38 Further, bread and wine are employed: for God knoweth man's infirmity: for in general man turns away discontentedly from what is not well-worn by custom: and so with His usual indulgence He performs His supernatural works through familiar objects: and just as, in the case of baptism, since it is man's custom to wash himself with water and anoint himself with oil, He connected the grace of the Spirit with the oil and the water and made it the water of regeneration, in like manner since it is man's custom to eat and to drink water and wine He connected His divinity with these and made them His body and blood in order that we may rise to what is supernatural through what is familiar and natural.

39 The body which is born of the holy Virgin is in truth body united with divinity, not that the body which was received up into the heavens descends,

but that the bread itself and the wine are changed into God's body and blood. But if you enquire how this happens, it is enough for you to learn that it was through the Holy Spirit, just as the Lord took on Himself flesh that subsisted in Him and was born of the holy Mother of God through the Spirit. And we know nothing further save that the Word of God is true and engenders and is omnipotent, but the manner of this cannot be searched out. But one can put it well thus, that just as in nature the bread by the eating and the wine and the water by the drinking are changed into the body and blood of the eater and drinker, and do not become a different body from the former one, so the bread of the table and the wine and water are supernaturally changed by the invocation and presence of the Holy Spirit into the body and blood of Christ, and are not two but one and the same.

⁴⁰ Wherefore to those who partake worthily with faith, it is for the remission of sins and for life everlasting and for the safeguarding of soul and body; but to those who partake unworthily without faith, it is for chastisement and punishment, just as also the death of the Lord became to those who believe life and incorruption for the enjoyment of eternal blessedness, while to those who do not believe and to the murderers of the Lord it is for everlasting chastisement and punishment. The bread and the wine are not merely figures of the body and blood of Christ (God forbid!) but the deified body of the Lord itself: for the Lord has said, "This is My body," not, this is a figure of My body: and "My blood," not, a figure of My blood. And on a previous occasion He had said to the Jews, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have no life in you. For My flesh is meat indeed and My blood is drink indeed. And again, He that eateth Me, shall live.

⁴¹ Wherefore with all fear and a pure conscience and certain faith let us draw near and it will assuredly be to us as we believe, doubting nothing. Let us pay homage to it in all purity both of soul and body: for it is twofold. Let us draw near to it with an ardent desire, and with our hands held in the form of the cross let us receive the body of the Crucified One: and let us apply our eyes and lips and brows and partake of the divine coal, in order that the fire of the longing, that is in us, with the additional heat derived from the coal may utterly consume our sins and illumine our hearts, and that we may be inflamed and deified by the participation in the divine fire. Isaiah saw the coal. But coal is not plain wood but wood united with fire: in like manner also the bread of the communion is not plain bread but bread united with

divinity. But a body which is united with divinity is not one nature, but has one nature belonging to the body and another belonging to the divinity that is united to it, so that the compound is not one nature but two.

⁴² With bread and wine Melchisedek, the priest of the most high God, received Abraham on his return from the slaughter of the Gentiles. That table pre-imaged this mystical table, just as that priest was a type and image of Christ, the true high-priest. For thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek. Of this bread the show-bread was an image. This surely is that pure and bloodless sacrifice which the Lord through the prophet said is offered to Him from the rising to the setting of the sun. The body and blood of Christ are making for the support of our soul and body, without being consumed or suffering corruption, not making for the draught (God forbid!) but for our being and preservation, a protection against all kinds of injury, a purging from all uncleanness: should one receive base gold, they purify it by the critical burning lest in the future we be condemned with this world. They purify from diseases and all kinds of calamities; according to the words of the divine Apostles For if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged. But when we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world. This too is what he says, So that he that partaketh of the body and blood of Christ unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself. Being purified by this, we are united to the body of Christ and to His Spirit and become the body of Christ.

⁴³ This bread is the first-fruits of the future bread which is *ejpiouvzio*", i.e. necessary for existence. For the word *ejpiouvzion* signifies either the future, that is Him Who is for a future age, or else Him of Whom we partake for the preservation of our essence. Whether then it is in this sense or that, it is fitting to speak so of the Lord's body. For the Lord's flesh is life-giving spirit because it was conceived of the life-giving Spirit. For what is born of the Spirit is spirit. But I do not say this to take away the nature of the body, but I wish to make clear its life-giving and divine power. But if some persons called the bread and the wine antitypes of the body and blood of the Lord, as did the divinely inspired Basil, they said so not after the consecration but before the consecration, so calling the offering itself.

⁴⁴ Participation is spoken of; for through it we partake of the divinity of Jesus. Communion, too, is spoken of, and it is an actual communion, because through it we have communion with Christ and share in His flesh and

His divinity: yea, we have communion and are united with one another through it. For since we partake of one bread, we all become one body of Christ and one blood, and members one of another, being of one body with Christ. With all our strength, therefore, let us beware lest we receive communion from or grant it to heretics; Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, saith the Lord, neither cast ye your pearls before swine lest we become partakers in their dishonour and condemnation. For if trojan is in truth with Christ and with one another, we are assuredly voluntarily united also with all those who partake with us. For this union is effected voluntarily and not against our inclination. For we are all one body because we partake of the one bread, as the divine Apostle says.

⁴⁵ Further, antitypes of future things are spoken of, not as though they were not in reality Christ's body and blood, but that now through them we partake of Christ's divinity, while then we shall partake mentally through the vision alone. Chapter XIV. Concerning our Lord's genealogy and concerning the holy Mother of God. Concerning the holy and much-lauded ever-virgin one, Mary, the Mother of God, we have said something in the preceding chapters, bringing forward what was most opportune, viz., that strictly and truly she is and is called the Mother of God. Now let us fill up the blanks. For she being pre-ordained by the eternal prescient counsel of God and imaged forth and proclaimed in diverse images and discourses of the prophets through the Holy Spirit, sprang at the pre-determined time from the root of David, according to the promises that were made to him. For the lord hath sworn, He saith in truth to David, He will not turn from it: of the fruit of Thy body will I set upon Thy throne. And again, Once have I sworn by My holiness, that I will not lie unto David. His seed shall endure for ever, and His throne as the sun before Me. It shall be established for ever as the moon, and as a faithful witness in heaven. And Isaiah says: And there shall come out a rod out of the stem of Jesse and a branch shall grow out of his roots.

⁴⁶ But that Joseph is descended from the tribe of David is expressly demonstrated by Matthew and Luke, the most holy evangelists. But Matthew derives Joseph from David through Solomon, while Luke does so through Nathan; while over the holy Virgin's origin both pass in silence. One ought to remember that it was not the custom of the Hebrews nor of the divine Scripture to give genealogies of women; and the law was to prevent one tribe

seeking wives from another. And so since Joseph was descended from the tribe of David and was a just man (for this the divine Gospel testifies), he would not have espoused the holy Virgin contrary to the law; he would not have taken her unless she had been of the same tribe. It was sufficient, therefore, to demonstrate the descent of Joseph. One ought also to observe this, that the law was that when a man died without seed, this man's brother should take to wife the wife of the dead man and raise up seed to his brother. The offspring, therefore, belonged by nature to the second, that is, to him that begat it, but by law to the dead.

⁴⁷ Born then of the line of Nathan, the son of David, Levi begat Melchi and Panther: Panther begat Barpanther, so called. This Barpanther begat Joachim: Joachim begat the holy Mother of God. And of the line of Solomon, the son of David, Mathan had a wife of whom he begat Jacob. Now on the death of Mathan, Melchi, of the tribe of Nathan, the son of Levi and brother of Panther, married the wife of Mathan, Jacob's mother, of whom he begat Heli. Therefore Jacob and Heli became brothers on the mother's side, Jacob being of the tribe of Solomon and Heli of the tribe of Nathan. Then Heli of the tribe of Nathan died childless, and Jacob his brother, of the tribe of Solomon, took his wife and raised up seed to his brother and begat Joseph. Joseph, therefore, is by nature the son of Jacob, of the line of Solomon, but by law he is the son of Heli of the line of Nathan.

⁴⁸ Joachim then took to wife that revered and praiseworthy woman, Anna. But just as the earlier Anna who was barren, bore Samuel by prayer and by promise, so also this Anna by supplication and promise from God bare the Mother of God in order that she might not even in this be behind the matrons of fame. Accordingly it was grace (for this is the interpretation of Anna) that bore the lady: (for she became truly the Lady of all created things in becoming the Mother of the Creator). Further, Joachim was born in the house of the Probatica and was brought up to the temple. Then planted in the House of God and increased by the Spirit, like a fruitful olive tree, she became the home of every virtue, turning her mind away from every secular and carnal desire, and thus keeping her soul as well as her body virginal, as was meet for her who was to receive God into her bosom: for as He is holy, He finds rest among the holy. Thus, therefore, she strove after holiness, and was declared a holy and wonderful temple fit for the most high God.

⁴⁹ Moreover, since the enemy of our salvation was keeping a watchful eye on virgins, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, who said, Behold a virgin shall conceive and bare a Son and shall call His name Emmanuel, which is, being interpreted, 'God with us,' in order that he who taketh the wise in their own craftiness may deceive him who always glorieth in his wisdom, the maiden is given in marriage to Joseph by the priests, a new book to him who is versed in letters: but the marriage was both the protection of the virgin and the delusion of him who was keeping a watchful eye on virgins. But when the fulness of time was come, the messenger of the Lord was sent to her, with the good news of our Lord's conception. And thus she conceived the Son of God, the hypostatic power of the Father, not of the will of the flesh nor of the will of man that is to say, by connection and seed, but by the good pleasure of the Father and co-operation of the Holy Spirit. She ministered to the Creator in that He was created, to the Fashioner in that He was fashioned, and to the Son of God and God in that He was made flesh and became man from her pure and immaculate flesh and blood, satisfying the debt of the first mother. For just as the latter was formed from Adam without connection, so also did the former bring forth the new Adam, who was brought forth in accordance with the laws of parturition and above the nature of generation.

⁵⁰ For He who was of the Father, yet without mother, was born of woman without a father's co-operation. And so far as He was born of woman, His birth was in accordance with the laws of parturition, while so far as He had no father, His birth was above the nature of generation: and in that it was at the usual time (for He was born on the completion of the ninth month when the tenth was just beginning), His birth was in accordance with the laws of parturition, while in that it was painless it was above the laws of generation. For, as pleasure did not precede it, pain did not follow it, according to the prophet who says, Before she travailed, she brought forth, and again, before her pain came she was delivered of a man-child. The Son of God incarnate, therefore, was born of her, not a divinely-inspired man but God incarnate not a prophet anointed with energy but by the presence of the anointing One in His completeness, so that the Anointer became man and the Anointed God, not by a change of nature but by union in subsistence. For the Anointer and the Anointed were one and the same, anointing in the capacity of God Himself as man. Must there not therefore be a Mother of

God who bore God incarnate? Assuredly she who played the part of the Creator's servant and mother is in all strictness and truth in reality God's Mother and Lady and Queen over all created things.

⁵¹ But just as He who was conceived kept her who conceived still virgin, in like manner also He who was born preserved her virginity intact, only passing through her and keeping her closed. The conception, indeed, was through the sense of hearing, but the birth through the usual path by which children come, although some tell tales of His birth through the side of the Mother of God. For it was not impossible for Him to have come by this gate, without injuring her seal in anyway. ⁵² The ever-virgin One thus remains even after the birth still virgin, having never at any time up till death consorted with a man. For although it is written, And knew her not till she had brought forth her first-born Son yet note that he who is first-begotten is first-born even if he is only-begotten. For the word "first-born" means that he was born first but does not at all suggest the birth of others. And the word "till" signifies the limit of the appointed time but does not exclude the time thereafter. For the Lord says, And lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world not meaning thereby that He will be separated from us after the completion of the age. The divine apostle, indeed, says, And so shall we ever be with the Lord meaning after the general resurrection. For could it be possible that she, who had borne God and from experience of the subsequent events had come to know the miracle, should receive the embrace of a man. God forbid! It is not the part of a chaste mind to think such thoughts, far less to commit such acts

⁵³ But this blessed woman, who was deemed worthy of gifts that are supernatural, suffered those pains, which she escaped at the birth, in the hour of the passion, enduring from motherly sympathy the rending of the bowels, and when she beheld Him, Whom she knew to be God by the manner of His generation, killed as a malefactor, her thoughts pierced her as a sword, and this is the meaning of this verse: Yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own saul also. But the joy of the resurrection transforms the pain, proclaiming Him, Who died in the flesh, to be God. Chapter XV. Concerning the honour due to the Saints and their remains. ⁵⁴ To the saints honour must be paid as friends of Christ, as sons and heirs of God: in the words of John the theologian and evangelist, As many as received Him, to them gave He power to become sons of God. So that they are no longer servants, but sons: and if sons,

also heirs, heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ: and the Lord in the holy Gospels says to His apostles, Ye are My friends. Henceforth I call you not servants, for the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth. And further, if the Creator and Lord of all things is called also King of Kings and Lord of Lords and God of Gods, surely also the saints are gods and lords and kings. For of these God is and is called God and Lord and King. For I am the God of Abraham, He said to Moses, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob. And God made Moses a god to Pharaoh. Now I mean gods and kings and lords not in nature, but as rulers and masters of their passions, and as preserving a truthful likeness to the divine image according to which they were made (for the image of a king is also called king), and as being united to God of their own free-will and receiving Him as an indweller and becoming by grace through participation with Him what He is Himself by nature. Surely, then, the worshippers and friends and sons of God are to be held in honour? For the honour shewn to the most thoughtful of fellow-servants is a proof of good feeling towards the common Master.

⁵⁵ These are made treasuries and pure habitations of God: For I will dwell in them, said God, and walk in them, and I will be their God. The divine Scripture likewise saith that the souls of the just are in God's hand and death cannot lay hold of them. For death is rather the sleep of the saints than their death. For they travailed in this life and shall to the end and Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints. What then, is more precious than to be in the hand of God? For God is Life and Light, and those who are in God's hand are in life and light. Further, that God dwelt even in their bodies in spiritual wise the Apostle tells us, saying, Know ye not that your bodies are the temples of the Holy Spirit dwelling in you? and The Lord is that Spirit and If any one destroy the temple of God, him will God destroy. Surely, then, we must ascribe honour to the living temples of God, the living tabernacles of God. These while they lived stood with confidence before God.

⁵⁶ The Master Christ made the remains of the saints to be fountains of salvation to us, pouring forth manifold blessings and abounding in oil of sweet fragrance: and let no one disbelieve this. For if water burst in the desert from the steep and solid rock at God's will and from the jaw-bone of an ass to quench Samson's thirst is it incredible that fragrant oil should burst forth from the martyrs' remains? By no means, at least to those who know the power of God and the honour which He accords His saints. ⁵⁷ In the law

every one who toucheth a dead body was considered impure but these are not dead. For from the time when He that is Himself life and the Author of life was reckoned among the dead, we do not call those dead who have fallen asleep in the hope of the resurrection and in faith on Him. For how could a dead body work miracles? How, therefore, are demons driven off by them, diseases dispelled, sick persons made well, the blind restored to sight, lepers purified, temptations and troubles overcome, and how does every good gift from the Father of lights come down through them to those who pray with sure faith? How much labour would you not undergo to find a patron to introduce you to a mortal king and speak to him on your behalf? Are not those, then, worthy of honour who are the patrons of the whole race, and make intercession to God for us? Yea, verily, we ought to give honour to them by raising temples to God in their name, bringing them fruit-offerings, honouring their memories and taking spiritual delight in them, in order that the joy of those who call on us may be ours, that in our attempts at worship we may not on the contrary cause them offence. For those who worship God will take pleasure in those things whereby God is worshipped, while His shield-bearers will be wrath at those things wherewith God is wroth.

⁵⁸ In psalms and hymns and spiritual songs in contrition and in pity for the needy, let us believers worship the saints, as God also is most worshipped in such wise. Let us raise monuments to them and visible images, and let us ourselves become, through imitation of their virtues, living monuments and images of them. Let us give honour to her who bore God as being strictly and truly the Mother of God. Let us honour also the prophet John as forerunner and baptist as apostle and martyr, For among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist as saith the Lord, and he became the first to proclaim the Kingdom. Let us honour the apostles as the Lord's brothers, who saw Him face to face and ministered to His passion, for whom God the Father did foreknow He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son first apostles, second prophets third pastors and teachers. Let us also honour the martyrs of the Lord chosen out of every class, as soldiers of Christ who have drunk His cup and were then baptized with the baptism of His life-bringing death, to be partakers of His passion and glory: of whom the leader is Stephen, the first deacon of Christ and apostle and first martyr. Also let us honour our holy fathers, the God-

possessed ascetics, whose struggle was the longer and more toilsome one of the conscience:

⁵⁹ who wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented; they wandered in deserts and in mountains and in dens and caves of the earth, of whom the world was not worthy. Let us honour those who were prophets before grace, the patriarchs and just men who foretold the Lord's coming. Let us carefully review the life of these men, and let us emulate their faith and love and hope and zeal and way of life, and endurance of sufferings and patience even to blood, in order that we may be sharers with them in their crowns of glory. ⁶⁰ Chapter XVI. Concerning Images. But since some find fault with us for worshipping and honouring the image of our Saviour and that of our Lady, and those, too, of the rest of the saints and servants of Christ, let them remember that in the beginning God created man after His own image. On what grounds, then, do we shew reverence to each other unless because we are made after God's image? For as Basil, that much-versed expounder of divine things, says, the honour given to the image passes over to the prototype. Now a prototype is that which is imaged, from which the derivative is obtained. Why was it that the Mosaic people honoured on all hands the tabernacle which bore an image and type of heavenly things, or rather of the whole creation? God indeed said to Moses, Look that thou make them after their pattern which was shewed thee in the mount. The Cherubim, too, which overshadow the mercy seat, are they not the work of men's hands? What, further, is the celebrated temple at Jerusalem? Is it not hand-made and fashioned by the skill of men?

⁶¹ Moreover the divine Scripture blames those who worship graven images, but also those who sacrifice to demons. The Greeks sacrificed and the Jews also sacrificed: but the Greeks to demons and the Jews to God. And the sacrifice of the Greeks was rejected and condemned, but the sacrifice of the just was very acceptable to God. For Noah sacrificed, and God smelled a sweet savour receiving the fragrance of the right choice and good-will towards Him. And so the graven images of the Greeks, since they were images of deities, were rejected and forbidden. ⁶² But besides this who can make an imitation of the invisible, incorporeal, uncircumscribed, formless God? Therefore to give form to the Deity is the height of folly and impiety. And hence it is that in the Old Testament the use of images was not common. But after God in His bowels of pity became in truth man for our salvation, not as He

was seen by Abraham in the semblance of a man, nor as He was seen by the prophets, but in being truly man, and after He lived upon the earth and dwelt among men worked miracles, suffered, was crucified, rose again and was taken back to Heaven, since all these things actually took place and were seen by men, they were written for the remembrance and instruction of us who were not alive at that time in order that though we saw not, we may still, hearing and believing, obtain the blessing of the Lord. But seeing that not every one has a knowledge of letters nor time for reading, the Fathers gave their sanction to depicting these events on images as being acts of great heroism, in order that they should form a concise memorial of them. Often, doubtless, when we have not the Lord's passion in mind and see the image of Christ's crucifixion, His saving passion is brought back to remembrance, and we fall down and worship not the material but that which is imaged:

⁶³ just as we do not worship the material of which the Gospels are made, nor the material of the Cross, but that which these typify. For wherein does the cross, that typifies the Lord, differ from a cross that does not do so? It is just the same also in the case of the Mother of the Lord. For the honour which we give to her is referred to Him Who was made of her incarnate. And similarly also the brave acts of holy men stir us up to be brave and to emulate and imitate their valour and to glorify God. For as we said, the honour that is given to the best of fellow-servants is a proof of good-will towards our common Lady, and the honour rendered to the image passes over to the prototype. But this is an unwritten tradition just as is also the worshipping towards the East and the worship of the Cross, and very many other similar things.

⁶⁴ A certain tale too, is told how that when Augarus was king over the city of the Edessenens, he sent a portrait painter to paint a likeness of the Lord, and when the painter could not paint because of the brightness that shone from His countenance, the Lord Himself put a garment over His own divine and life-giving face and impressed on it an image of Himself and sent this to Augarus, to satisfy thus his desire. Moreover that the Apostles handed down much that was unwritten, Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, tells us in these words: Therefore, brethren, stand fast and hold the traditions which ye have been taught of us, whether by word or by epistle. And to the Corinthians he writes, Now I praise you, brethren, that ye remember me in all things, and keep the traditions as I have delivered them to you.” ⁶⁵ Chapter XVII.

Concerning Scripture. It is one and the same God Whom both the Old and the New Testament proclaim, Who is praised and glorified in the Trinity: I am come, saith the Lord, not to destroy life law but to fulfil it. For He Himself worked out our salvation for which all Scripture and all mystery exists. And again, Search the Scriptures for they are they that testify of Me. And the Apostle says, God, Who at sundry times and in diverse manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son. Through the Holy Spirit, therefore, both the law and the prophets, the evangelists and apostles and pastors and teachers, spake.

⁶⁶ All Scripture, then, is given by inspiration of God and is also assuredly profitable. Wherefore to search the Scriptures is a work most fair and most profitable for souls. For just as the tree planted by the channels of waters, so also the soul watered by the divine Scripture is enriched and gives fruit in its season viz. orthodox belief, and is adorned with evergreen leafage, I mean, actions pleasing to God. For through the Holy Scriptures we are trained to action that is pleasing to God, and untroubled contemplation. For in these we find both exhortation to every virtue and dissuasion from every vice. If, therefore, we are lovers of learning, we shall also be learned in many things. For by care and toil and the grace of God the Giver, all things are accomplished. For every one that asketh receiveth, and he that seeketh findeth, and to him that knocketh it shall be opened. Wherefore let us knock at that very fair garden of the Scriptures, so fragrant and sweet and blooming, with its varied sounds of spiritual and divinely-inspired birds ringing all round our ears, laying hold of our hearts, comforting the mourner, pacifying the angry and filling him with joy everlasting: which sets our mind on the gold-gleaming, brilliant back of the divine dove whose bright pinions bear up to the only-begotten Son and Heir of the Husbandman of that spiritual Vineyard and bring us through Him to the Father of Lights.

⁶⁷ But let us not knock carelessly but rather zealously and constantly: lest knocking we grow weary. For thus it will be opened to us. If we read once or twice and do not understand what we read, let us not grow weary, but let us persist, let us talk much, let us enquire. For ask thy Father, he saith, and He will shew thee: thy elders and they will tell thee. For there is not in every man that knowledge. Let us draw of the fountain of the garden perennial and purest waters springing into life eternal. Here let us luxuriate, let us revel insatiate: for the Scriptures possess inexhaustible grace. But if we are able to

pluck anything profitable from outside sources, there is nothing to forbid that. Let us become tried money-dealers, heaping up the true and pure gold and discarding the spurious. Let us keep the fairest sayings but let us throw to the dogs absurd gods and strange myths: for we might prevail most mightily against them through themselves.

⁶⁸ Observe, further that there are two and twenty books of the Old Testament, one for each letter of the Hebrew tongue. For there are twenty-two letters of which five are double, and so they come to be twenty-seven. For the letters Caph, Mere, Nun, Pe Sade are double. And thus the number of the books in this way is twenty-two, but is found to be twenty-seven because of the double character of five. For Ruth is joined on to Judges, and the Hebrews count them one book: the first and second books of Kings are counted one: and so are the third and fourth books of Kings: and also the first and second of Paraleipomena: and the first and second of Esdra. In this way, then, the books are collected together in four Pentateuchs and two others remain over, to form thus the canonical books. Five of them are of the Law, viz. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. This which is the code of the Law, constitutes the first Pentateuch. Then comes another Pentateuch, the so-called Grapheia or as they are called by some, the Hagio-grapha, which are the following: Jesus the Son of Nave Judges along with Ruth, first and second Kings, which are one book, third and fourth Kings, which are one book, and the two books of the Paraleipomena which are one book. This is the second Pentateuch. The third Pentateuch is the books in verse, viz. Job, Psalms, Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes of Solomon and the Song of Songs of Solomon.

⁶⁹ The fourth Pentateuch is the Prophetical books, viz the twelve prophets constituting one book, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel. Then come the two books of Esdra made into one, and Esther. There are also the Panaretus, that is the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Jesus, which was published in Hebrew by the father of Sirach, and afterwards translated into Greek by his grandson, Jesus, the Son of Sirach. These are virtuous and noble, but are not counted nor were they placed in the ark. ⁷⁰ The New Testament contains four gospels, that according to Matthew, that according to Mark, that according to Luke, that according to John: the Acts of the Holy Apostles by Luke the Evangelist: seven catholic epistles, viz. one of James, two of Peter, three of John, one of Jude: fourteen letters of the Apostle Paul:

the Revelation of John the Evangelist: the Canons of the holy apostles by Clement. Chapter XVIII. Regarding the things said concerning Christ. The things said concerning Christ fall into four generic modes. For some fit Him even before the incarnation, others in the union, others after the union, and others after the resurrection. Also of those that refer to the period before the incarnation there are six modes: for some of them declare the union of nature and the identity in essence with the Father, as this, I and My Father are one: also this, He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father: and this, Who being in the form of God and so forth. Others declare the perfection of subsistence, as these, Son of God, and the Express Image of His person and Messenger of great counsel, Wonderful Counsellor and the like.

⁷¹ Again, others declare the indwelling of the subsistences in one another, as, I am in the Father and the Father in Me; and the inseparable foundation as, for instance, the Word, Wisdom, Power, Effulgence. For the word is inseparably established in the mind (and it is the essential mind that I mean), and so also is wisdom, and power in him that is powerful, and effulgence in the light, all springing forth from these. And others make known the fact of His origin from the Father as cause, for instance My Father is greater than I. For from Him He derives both His being and all that He has: His being was by generative and not by creative means, as, I came forth from the Father and am come and I live by the Father. But all that He hath is not His by free gift or by teaching, but in a causal sense, as, The Son can do nothing of Himself but what He seeth the Father do. For if the Father is not, neither is the Son. For the Son is of the Father and in the Father and with the Father, and not after the Father. In like manner also what He doeth is of Him and with Him. For there is one and the same, not similar but the same, will and energy and power in the Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

⁷² Moreover, other things are said as though the Father's good-will was fulfilled through His energy, and not as through an instrument or a servant, but as through His essential and hypostatic Word and Wisdom and Power, because but one action is observed in Father and Son, as for example, All things were made by Him and He sent His Word and healed them and That they may believe that Than hast sent Me. Some, again, have a prophetic sense, and of these some are in the future tense: for instance, He shall come openly and this from Zechariah, Behold, thy King cometh unto thee and this from Micah, Behold, the Lord cometh out of His place and will come

down and tread upon the high places of the earth. But others, though future, are put in the past tense, as, for instance, This is our God: Therefore He was seen upon the earth and dwell among men and The Lord created me in the beginning of His ways for His works and Wherefore God, thy God, anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows and such like.

⁷³ The things said, then, that refer to the period before the union will be applicable to Him even after the union: but those that refer to the period after the union will not be applicable at all before the union, unless indeed in a prophetic sense, as we said. Those that refer to the time of the union have three modes. For when our discourse deals with the higher aspect, we speak of the deification of the flesh, and His assumption of the Word and exceeding exaltation, and so forth, making manifest the riches that are added to the flesh from the union and natural conjunction with the most high God the Word. And when our discourse deals with the lower aspect, we speak of the incarnation of God the Word, His becoming man, His emptying of Himself, His poverty, His humility. For these and such like are imposed upon the Word and God through His admixture with humanity. When again we keep both sides in view at the same time, we speak of union, community, anointing, natural conjunction, conformation and the like. The former two modes, then, have their reason in this third mode. For through the union it is made clear what either has obtained from the intimate junction with and permeation through the other. For through the union in subsistence the flesh is said to be deified and to become God and to be equally God with the Word;

⁷⁴ and God the Word is said to be made flesh, and to become man, and is called creature and last: not in the sense that the two natures are converted into one compound nature (for it is not possible for the opposite natural qualities to exist at the same time in one nature) but in the sense that the two natures are united in subsistence and permeate one another without confusion or transmutation. The permeation moreover did not come of the flesh but of the divinity: for it is impossible that the flesh should permeate through the divinity: but the divine nature once permeating through the flesh gave also to the flesh the same ineffable power of permeation; and this indeed is what we call union. ⁷⁵ Note, too, that in the case of the first and second modes of those that belong to the period of the union, reciprocation is observed. For when we speak about the flesh, we use the terms deification

and assumption of the Word and exceeding exaltation and anointing. For these are derived from divinity, but are observed in connection with the flesh. And when we speak about the Word, we use the terms emptying, incarnation, becoming man, humility and the like: and these, as we said, are imposed on the Word and God through the flesh. For He endured these things in person of His own free-will. Of the things that refer to the period after the union there are three modes. The first declares His divine nature, as, I am in the Father and the Father in Me and I and the Father are one: and all those things which are affirmed of Him before His assumption of humanity, these will be affirmed of Him even after His assumption of humanity, with this exception, that He did not assume the flesh and its natural properties.

⁷⁶ The second declares His human nature, as, Now ye seek to kill Me, a man that hath told you the truth and Even so must the Son of Man be lifted up and the like. Further, of the statements made and written about Christ the Saviour after the manner of men, whether they deal with sayings or actions, there are six modes. For some of them were done or said naturally in accordance with the incarnation; for instance, His birth from a virgin, His growth and progress with age, His hunger, thirst, weariness, fear, sleep, piercing with nails, death and all such like natural and innocent passions. For in all these there is a mixture of the divine and human, although they are held to belong in reality to the body, the divine suffering none of these, but procuring through them our salvation. Others are of the nature of ascription as Christ's question, Where have ye laid Lazarus? His running to the fig-tree, His shrinking, that is, His drawing back, His praying, and His making as though He would have gone further. For neither as God nor as man was He in need of these or similar things, but only because His form was that of a man as necessity and expediency demanded. For example, the praying was to shew that He is not opposed to God, for He gives honour to the Father as the cause of Himself: and the question was not put in ignorance but to shew that He is in truth man as well as God; and the drawing back is to teach us not to be impetuous nor to give ourselves up.

⁷⁷ Others again are said in the manner of association and relation as, My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me? and He hath made Him to be sin for us, Who knew no sin and being made a curse for us; also, Then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him. For neither as God nor as man was He ever forsaken by the Father, nor did He

become sin or a curse, nor did He require to be made subject to the Father. For as God He is equal to the Father and not opposed to Him nor subjected to Him; and as God, He was never at any time disobedient to His Begetter to make it necessary for Him to make Him subject. Appropriating, then, our person and ranking Himself with us, He used these words. For we are bound in the fetters of sin and the curse as faithless and disobedient, and therefore forsaken.

78 Others are said by reason of distinction in thought. For if you divide in thought things that are inseparable in actual truth, to cut the flesh from the Word, the terms 'servant' and 'ignorant' are used of Him, for indeed He was of a subject and ignorant nature, and except that it was united with God the Word, His flesh was servile and ignorant. But because of the union in subsistence with God the Word it was neither servile nor ignorant. In this way, too, He called the Father His God. Others again are for the purpose of revealing Him to us and strengthening our faith, as, And now, O Father, glorify Thou Me with the glory which I had with Thee, before the world was. For He Himself was glorified and is glorified, but His glory was not manifested nor confirmed to us. Also that which the apostle said, Declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead. For by the miracles and the resurrection and the coming of the Holy Spirit it was manifested and confirmed to the world that He is the Son of God. And this too The Child grew in wisdom and grace.

79 Others again have reference to His appropriation of the personal life of the Jews, in numbering Himself among the Jews, as He saith to the Samaritan woman, Ye worship ye know not what: we know what we worship, for salvation is of the Jews. The third mode is one which declares the one subsistence and brings out the dual nature: for instance, And I live by the Father: so he that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me. And this: I go to My Father and ye see Me no more. And this: They would not have crucified the Lord of Glory. And this: And no man hath ascended up to heaven but He that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven and such like. Again of the affirmations that refer to the period after the resurrection some are suitable to God, as, Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost for here 'Son' is clearly used as God; also this, And lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world and other sim-

ilar ones. For He is with us as God. Others are suitable to man, as, They held Him by the feet and There they will see Me and so forth.

⁸⁰ Further, of those referring to the period after the Resurrection that are suitable to man there are different modes. For some did actually take place, yet not according to nature but according to dispensation, in order to confirm the fact that the very body, which suffered, rose again; such are the weals, the eating and the drinking after the resurrection. Others took place actually and naturally, as changing from place to place without trouble and passing in through closed gates. Others have the character of simulation as, He made as though He would have gone further. Others are appropriate to the double nature, as, I ascend unto My Father and your Father, and My God and our God and The King of Glory shall come in and He sat down on the right hand of the majesty on High. Finally others are to be understood as though He were ranking Himself with us, in the manner of separation in pure thought, as, My God and your God.

⁸¹ Those then that are sublime must be assigned to the divine nature, which is superior to passion and body: and those that are humble must be ascribed to the human nature; and those that are common must be attributed to the compound, that is, the one Christ, Who is God and man. And it should be understood that both belong to one and the same Jesus Christ, our Lord. For if we know what is proper to each, and perceive that both are performed by one and the same, we shall have the true faith and shall not go astray. And from all these the difference between the united natures is recognised, and the fact that, as the most godly Cyril says, they are not identical in the natural quality of their divinity and humanity. But yet there is but one Son and Christ and Lord: and as He is one, He has also but one person, the unity in subsistence being in nowise broken up into parts by the recognition of the difference of the natures.

⁸² Chapter XIX. That God is not the cause of evils. It is to be observed that it is the custom in the Holy Scripture to speak of God's permission as His energy, as when the apostle says in the Epistle to the Romans, Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour? And for this reason, that He Himself makes this or that. For He is Himself alone the Maker of all things; yet it is not He Himself that fashions noble or ignoble things, but the personal choice of each one. And this is manifest from what the same Apostle says in

the Second Epistle to Timothy, In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth: and some to honour and some to dishonour. If a man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour sanctified, and meet for the master's use, and prepared unto every good work. And it is evident that the purification must be voluntary: for if a man, he saith, purge himself. And the consequent antistrophe responds, "If a man purge not himself he will be a vessel to dishonour, unmeet for the master's use and fit only to be broken in pieces." Wherefore this passage that we have quoted and this, God hath concluded them all in unbelief and this, God hath given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear all these must be understood not as though God Himself were energising, but as though God were permitting, both because of free-will and because goodness knows no compulsion.

⁸³ His permission, therefore, is usually spoken of in the Holy Scripture as His energy and work. Nay, even when He says that God creates evil things, and that there is no evil in a city that the Lord hath not done, he does not mean by these words that the Lord is the cause of evil, but the word 'evil' is used in two ways, with two meanings. For sometimes it means what is evil by nature, and this is the opposite of virtue and the will of God: and sometimes it means that which is evil and oppressive to our sensation, that is to say, afflictions and calamities. Now these are seemingly evil because they are painful, but in reality are good. For to those who understand they became ambassadors of conversion and salvation. The Scripture says that of these God is the Author. It is, moreover, to be observed that of these, too, we are the cause: for involuntary evils are the offspring of voluntary ones.

⁸⁴ This also should be recognised, that it is usual in the Scriptures for some things that ought to be considered as effects to be stated in a causal sense as, Against Thee, Thee only, have I sinned and done this evil in Thy sight, that Than mightest be justified when Thou speakest, and prevail when Thou judgest. For the sinner did not sin in order that God might prevail, nor again did God require our sin in order that He might by it be revealed as victor. For above comparison He wins the victor's prize against all, even against those who are sinless, being Maker, incomprehensible, uncreated, and possessing natural and not adventitious glory. But it is because when we sin God is not unjust in His anger against us; and when He pardons the penitent He is

shewn victor over our wickedness. But it is not for this that we sin, but because the thing so turns out. It is just as if one were sitting at work and a friend stood near by, and one said, My friend came in order that I might do no work that day. The friend, however, was not present in order that the man should do no work, but such was the result. For being occupied with receiving his friend he did not work. These things, too, are spoken of as effects because affairs so turned out. Moreover, God does not wish that He alone should be just, but that all should, so far as possible, be made like unto Him.

⁸⁵ Chapter XX. That there are not two Kingdoms. That there are not two kingdoms one good and one bad, we shall see from this. For good and evil are opposed to one another and mutually destructive, and cannot exist in one another or with one another. Each of them, therefore, in its own division will belong to the whole, and first they will be circumscribed, not by the whole alone but also each of them by part of the whole. Next I ask who it is that assigns to each its place. For they will not affirm that they have come to a friendly agreement with, or been reconciled to, one another. For evil is not evil when it is at peace with, and reconciled to, goodness, nor is goodness good when it is on amicable terms with evil. But if He Who has marked off to each of these its own sphere of action is something different from them, He must the rather be God.

⁸⁶ One of two things indeed is necessary, either that they come in contact with and destroy one another, or that there exists some intermediate place where neither goodness nor evil exists, separating both from one another, like a partition. And so there will be no longer two but three kingdoms. Again, one of these alternatives is necessary, either that they are at peace, which is quite incompatible with evil (for that which is at peace is not evil), or they are at strife, which is incompatible with goodness (for that which is at strife is not perfectly good), or the evil is at strife and the good does not retaliate, but is destroyed by the evil, or they are ever in trouble and distress which is not a mark of goodness. There is, therefore, but one kingdom, delivered from all evil. But if this is so, they say, whence comes evil? For it is quite impossible that evil should originate from goodness. We answer then, that evil is nothing else than absence of goodness and a lapsing from what is natural into what is unnatural: for nothing evil is natural. For all things, whatsoever God made, are very good so far as they were made: if, therefore, they remain just as they were created, they are very good, but when they vol-

untarily depart from what is natural and turn to what is unnatural, they slip into evil.

⁸⁷ By nature, therefore, all things are servants of the Creator and obey Him. Whenever, then, any of His creatures voluntarily rebels and becomes disobedient to his Maker, he introduces evil into himself. For evil is not any essence nor a property of essence, but an accident, that is, a voluntary deviation from what is natural into what is unnatural, which is sin. Whence, then, comes sin? It is an invention of the free-will of the devil. Is the devil, then, evil? In so far as he was brought into existence he is not evil but good. For he was created by his Maker a bright and very brilliant angel, endowed with free-will as being rational. But he voluntarily departed from the virtue that is natural and came into the darkness of evil, being far removed from God, Who alone is good and can give life and light. For from Him every good thing derives its goodness, and so far as it is separated from Him in will (for it is not in place), it falls into evil.

⁸⁸ Chapter XXI. The purpose for which God in His foreknowledge created persons who would sin and not repent. God in His goodness brought what exists into being out of nothing, and has foreknowledge of what will exist in the future. If, therefore, they were not to exist in the future, they would neither be evil in the future nor would they be foreknown. For knowledge is of what exists and foreknowledge is of what will surely exist in the future. For simple being comes first and then good or evil being. But if the very existence of those, who through the goodness of God are in the future to exist, were to be prevented by the fact that they were to become evil of their own choice, evil would have prevailed over the goodness of God. Wherefore God makes all His works good, but each becomes of its own choice good or evil. Although, then, the Lord said, Good were it for that man that he had never been born He said it in condemnation not of His own creation but of the evil which His own creation had acquired by his own choice and through his own heedlessness. For the heedlessness that marks man's judgment made His Creator's beneficence of no profit to him. It is just as if any one, when he had obtained riches and dominion from a king, were to lord it over his benefactor, who, when he has worsted him, will punish him as he deserves, if he should see him keeping hold of the sovereignty to the end.

⁸⁹ Chapter XXII. Concerning the law of God and the law of sin. The Deity is good and more than good, and so is His will. For that which God

wishes is good. Moreover the precept, which teaches this, is law, that we, holding by it, may walk in light: and the transgression of this precept is sin, and this continues to exist on account of the assault of the devil and our unconstrained and voluntary reception of it. And this, too, is called law. And so the law of God, settling in our mind, draws it towards itself and pricks our conscience. And our conscience, too, is called a law of our mind. Further, the assault of the wicked one, that is the law of sin, settling in the members of our flesh, makes its assault upon us through it. For by once voluntarily transgressing the law of God and receiving the assault of the wicked one, we gave entrance to it, being sold by ourselves to sin. Wherefore our body is readily impelled to it. And so the savour and perception of sin that is stored up in our body, that is to say, lust and pleasure of the body, is law in the members of our flesh.

⁹⁰ Therefore the law of my mind, that is, the conscience, sympathises with the law of God, that is, the precept, and makes that its will. But the law of sin that is to say, the assault made through the law that is in our members, or through the lust and inclination and movement of the body and of the irrational part of the soul, is in opposition to the law of my mind, that is to conscience, and takes me captive (even though I make the law of God my will and set my love on it, and make not sin my will), by reason of commixture: and through the softness of pleasure and the lust of the body and of the irrational part of the soul, as I said, it leads me astray and induces me to become the servant of sin. But what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh (for He assumed flesh but not sin) condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us who walk not after the flesh but in the Spirit. For the Spirit helpeth our infirmities and affordeth power to the law of our mind, against the law that is in our members. For the verse, we know not what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit itself maketh intercession with groanings that cannot be uttered itself teacheth us what to pray for. Hence it is impossible to carry out the precepts of the Lord except by patience and prayer.

⁹¹ Chapter XXIII. Against the Jews on the question Sabbath. The seventh day is called the Sabbath and signifies rest. For in it God rested from all His works as the divine Scripture says: and so the number of the days goes up to seven and then circles back again and begins at the first. This is the precious

number with the Jews. God having ordained that it should be held in honour, and that in no chance fashion but with the imposition of most heavy penalties for the transgression. And it was not in a simple fashion that He ordained this, but for certain reasons understood mystically by the spiritual and clear-sighted. ⁹² So far, indeed, as I in my ignorance know, to begin with inferior and more dense things, God, knowing the denseness of the Israelites and their carnal love and propensity towards matter in everything, made this law: first, in order that the servant and the cattle should rest as it is written, for the righteous man regardeth the life of his beast: next, in order that when they take their ease from the distraction of material things, they may gather together unto God, spending the whole of the seventh day in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs and the study of the divine Scriptures and resting in God. For when the law did not exist and there was no divinely-inspired Scripture, the Sabbath was not consecrated to God. But when the divinely-inspired Scripture was given by Moses, the Sabbath was consecrated to God in order that on it they, who do not dedicate their whole life to God, and who do not make their desire subservient to the as though to a Father, but are like foolish servants, may on that day talk much concerning the exercise of it, and may abstract a small, truly a most insignificant, portion of their life for the service of God, and this from fear of the chastisements and punishments which threaten transgressors. For the law is not made for a righteous man but for the unrighteous.

⁹³ Moses, of a truth, was the first to abide fasting with God for forty days and again for another forty and thus doubtless to afflict himself with hunger on the Sabbaths although the law forbade self-affliction on the Sabbath. But if they should object that this took place before the law, what will they say about Elias the Thesbite who accomplished a journey of forty days on one meal? For he, by thus afflicting himself on the Sabbaths not only with hunger but with the forty days' journeying, broke the Sabbath: and yet God, Who gave the law, was not wroth with him but shewed Himself to him on Choreb as a reward for his virtue. And what will they say about Daniel? Did he not spend three weeks without food? And again, did not all Israel circumcise the child on the Sabbath, if it happened to be the eighth day after birth? And do they not hold the great fast which the law enjoins if it falls on the Sabbath? And further, do not the priests and the Levites profane the Sabbath in the works of the tabernacle and yet are held blameless? Yea, if an ox

should fall into a pit on the Sabbath, he who draws it forth is blameless, while he who neglects to do so is condemned. And did not all the Israelites compass the walls of Jericho bearing the Ark of God for seven days, in which assuredly the Sabbath was included.

⁹⁴ As I said therefore, for the purpose of securing leisure to worship God in order that they might, both servant and beast of burden, devote a very small share to Him and be at rest, the observance of the Sabbath was devised for the carnal that were still childish and in the bonds of the elements of the world and unable to conceive of anything beyond the body and the letter. But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth His Only-begotten Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law that we might receive the adoption of sons. For to as many of us as received Him, He gave power to become sons of God, even to them that believe on Him. So that we are no longer servants but sons: no longer under the law but under grace: no longer do we serve God in part from fear, but we are bound to dedicate to Him the whole span of our life, and cause that servant, I mean wrath and desire, to cease from sin and bid it devote itself to the service of God, always directing our whole desire towards God and arming our wrath against the enemies of God: and likewise we hinder that beast of burden, that is the body, from the servitude of sin, and urge it forwards to assist to the uttermost the divine precepts.

⁹⁵ These are the things which the spiritual law of Christ enjoins on us and those who observe that become superior to the law of Moses. For when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away: and when the covering of the law, that is, the veil, is rent asunder through the crucifixion of the Saviour, and the Spirit shines forth with tongues of fire, the letter shall be done away with, bodily things shall come to an end, the law of servitude shall be fulfilled, and the law of liberty be bestowed on us. Yea we shall celebrate the perfect rest of bureau nature, I mean the day after the resurrection, on which the Lord Jesus, the Author of Life and our Saviour, shall lead us into the heritage promised to those who serve God in the spirit, a heritage into which He entered Himself as our forerunner after He rose from the dead, and whereon, the gates of Heaven being opened to Him, He took His seat in bodily form at the right hand of the Father, where those who keep the spiritual law shall also come.

⁹⁶ What belongs to us therefore, who walk by the spirit and not by the letter, is the complete abandonment of carnal things, the spiritual service and communion with God. For circumcision is the abandonment of carnal pleasure and of whatever is superfluous and unnecessary. For the foreskin is nothing else than the skin which is superfluous to the organ of lust. And, indeed, every pleasure which does not arise from God nor is in God is superfluous to pleasure: and of that the foreskin is the type. The Sabbath, moreover, is the cessation from sin; so that both things happen to be one, and so both together, when observed by those who are spiritual, do not bring about any breach of the law at all. Further, observe that the number seven denotes all the present time, as the most wise Solomon says, to give a portion to seven and also to eight. And David the divine singer when he composed the eighth psalm, sang of the future restoration after the resurrection from the dead. Since the Law, therefore, enjoined that the seventh day should be spent in rest from carnal things and devoted to spiritual things, it was a mystic indication to the true Israelite who had a mind to see God, that he should through all time offer himself to God and rise higher than carnal things.

⁹⁷ Chapter XXIV. Concerning Virginité. Carnal men abuse virginity and the pleasure-loving bring forward the following verse in proof, Cursed be every one that raiseth not up seed in Israel. But we, made confident by God the Word that was made flesh of the Virgin, answer that virginity was implanted in man's nature from above and in the beginning. For man was formed of virgin soil. From Adam alone was Eve created. In Paradise virginity held sway. Indeed, Divine Scripture tells that both Adam and Eve were naked and were not ashamed. But after their transgression they knew that they were naked, and in their shame they sewed aprons for themselves. And when, after the transgression, Adam heard, dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return when death entered into the world by reason of the transgression, then Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare seed. So that to prevent the wearing out and destruction of the race by death, marriage was devised that the race of men may be preserved through the procreation of children.

⁹⁸ But they will perhaps ask, what then is the meaning of "male and female," and "Be fruitful and multiply?" In answer we shall say that "Be fruitful and multiply" does not altogether refer to the multiplying by the marriage connection. For God had power to multiply the race also in different

ways, if they kept the precept unbroken to the end. But God, Who knoweth all things before they have existence, knowing in His foreknowledge that they would fall into transgression in the future and be condemned to death, anticipated this and made “male and female,” and bade them “be fruitful and multiply.” Let us, then, proceed on our way and see the glories of virginity: and this also includes chastity. ⁹⁹ Noah when he was commanded to enter the ark and was entrusted with the preservation of the seed of the world received this command, Go in, saith the Lord, thou and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons’ wives. He separated them from their wives in order that with purity they might escape the flood and that shipwreck of the whole world. After the cessation of the flood, however, He said, Go forth of the ark, thou and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons’ wives. Lo, again, marriage is granted for the sake of the multiplication of the race. Next, Elias, the fire-breathing charioteer and sojourner in heaven did not embrace celibacy, and yet was not his virtue attested by his super-human ascension? Who closed the heavens? Who raised the dead? Who divided Jordan? Was it not the virginal Elias? And did not Elisha, his disciple, after he had given proof of equal virtue, ask and obtain as an inheritance a double portion of the grace of the Spirit? What of the three youths? Did they not by practising virginity become mightier than fire, their bodies through virginity being made proof against the fire? And was it not Daniel’s body that was so hardened by virginity that the wild beasts’ teeth could not fasten in it. Did not God, when He wished the Israelites to see Him, bid them purify the body? Did not the priests purify themselves and so approach the temple’s shrine and offer victims? And did not the law call chastity the great vow?

¹⁰⁰ The precept of the law, therefore, is to be taken in a more spiritual sense. For there is spiritual seed which is conceived through the love and fear of God in the spiritual womb, travailing and bringing forth the spirit of salvation. And in this sense must be understood this verse: Blessed is he who hath seed in Zion and posterity in Jerusalem. For does it mean that, although he be a whoremonger and a drunkard and an idolater, he is still blessed if only he hath seed in Sion and posterity in Jerusalem? No one in his senses will say this. ¹⁰¹ Virginity is the rule of life among the angels, the property of all incorporeal nature. This we say without speaking ill of marriage: God forbid! (for we know that the Lord blessed marriage by His presence and we know him who said, Marriage is and the bed undefiled), but knowing that

virginity is better than marriage, however good. For among the virtues, equally as among the vices, there are higher and lower grades. We know that all mortals after the first parents of the race are the offspring of marriage. For the first parents were the work of virginity and not of marriage. But celibacy is, as we said, an imitation of the angels. Wherefore virginity is as much more honourable than marriage, as the angel is higher than man. But why do I say angel? Christ Himself is the glory of virginity, who was not only-begotten of the Father without beginning or emission or connection, but also became man in our image, being made flesh for our sakes of the Virgin without connection, and manifesting in Himself the true and perfect virginity. Wherefore, although He did not enjoin that on us by law (for as He said, all men cannot receive this saying), yet in actual fact He taught us that and gave us strength for it. For it is surely clear to every one that virginity now is flourishing among men.

¹⁰² Good indeed is the procreation of children enjoined by the law, and good is marriage on account of fornications, for it does away with these and by lawful intercourse does not permit the madness of desire to be caromed into unlawful acts. Good is marriage for those who have no continence: but that virginity is better which increases the fruitfulness of the soul and offers to God the seasonable fruit of prayer. Marriage is honourable and the bed undefiled, but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge. Chapter XXV. Concerning the Circumcision. ¹⁰³ The Circumcision was given to Abraham before the law, after the blessings, after the promise, as a sign separating him and his offspring and his household from the Gentiles with whom he lived. And this is evident for when the Israelites passed forty years alone by themselves in the desert, having no intercourse with any other race, all that were horn in the desert were uncircumcised: but when Joshua led them across Jordan, they were circumcised, and a second law of circumcision was instituted. For in Abraham's time the law of circumcision was given, and for the forty years in the desert it fell into abeyance. And again for the second time God gave the law of Circumcision to Joshua, after the crossing of Jordan, according as it is written in the book of Joshua, the son of Nun: At that time the Lord said unto Joshua, Make thee knives of stone from the sharp rock, and assemble and circumcise the sons of Israel a second time; and a little later: For the children of Israel walked forty and two years in the wilderness of Battaris till all the people that were men of war, which came out of Egypt,

were uncircumcised, because they obeyed not the voice of the Lord: unto whom the Lord sware that He would not shew them the good land, which the Lord swore unto their fathers that He would give them, a land that floweth with milk and honey. And their children, whom He raised up in their stead, them Joshua circumcised: for they were uncircumcised, because they had not circumcised them by the way. So that the circumcision was a sign, dividing Israel from the Gentiles with whom they dwelt.

¹⁰⁴ It was, moreover, a figure of baptism. For just as the circumcision does not cut off a useful member of the body but only a useless superfluity, so by the holy baptism we are circumcised from sin, and sin clearly is, so to speak, the superfluous part of desire and not useful desire. For it is quite impossible that any one should have no desire at all nor ever experience the taste of pleasure. But the useless part of pleasure, that is to say, useless desire and pleasure, it is this that is sin from which holy baptism circumcises us, giving us as a token the precious cross on the brow, not to divide us from the Gentiles (for all the nations received baptism and were sealed with the sign of the Cross), but to distinguish in each nation the faithful from the Faithless. Wherefore, when the truth is revealed, circumcision is a senseless figure and shade. So circumcision is now superfluous and contrary to holy baptism. For he who is circumcised is a debtor to do the whole law. Further, the Lord was circumcised that He might fulfil the law: and He fulfilled the whole law and observed the Sabbath that He might fulfil and establish the law. Moreover after He was baptized and the Holy Spirit had appeared to men, descending on Him in the form of a dove, from that time the spiritual service and conduct of life and the Kingdom of Heaven was preached.

¹⁰⁵ Chapter XXVI. Concerning the Antichrist. ¹⁰⁶ It should be known that the Antichrist is hound to come. Every one, therefore, who confesses not that the Son of God came in the flesh and is perfect God and became perfect man, after being God, is Antichrist. But in a peculiar and special sense he who comes at the consummation of the age is called Antichrist. First, then, it is requisite that the Gospel should be preached among all nations, as the Lord said and then he will come to refute the impious Jews. For the Lord said to them: I am come in My Father's name and ye receive Me not: if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive. And the apostle says, Because they received not the love of the truth that they might be saved, for this cause God shall send them a strong delusion that they should believe a

lie: that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness. The Jews accordingly did not receive the Lord Jesus Christ who was the Son of God and God, but receive the impostor who calls himself God. For that he will assume the name of God, the angel teaches Daniel, saying these words, Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers. And the apostle says: Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son, of perdition:

107 who opposeth and exalleth himself above all that is called Gad or that is worshipped, so that he sitteth in the temple of God shewing himself that he is God; in the temple of God he said; not our temple, but the old Jewish temple. For he will come not to us but to the Jews: not for Christ or the things of Christ: wherefore he is called Antichrist. 108 First, therefore, it is necessary that the Gospel should be preached among all nations: And then shall that wicked one be revealed, even him whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish, whom the Lord shall consume with the word of His mouth and shall destroy with the brightness of His coming. The devil himself therefore does not become man in the way that the Lord was made man. God forbid! but he becomes man as the offspring of fornication and receiveth all the energy of Satan. For God, foreknowing the strangeness of the choice that he would make, allows the devil to take up his abode in him. He is, therefore, as we said, the offspring of fornication and is nurtured in secret, and on a sudden he rises up and rebels and assumes rule. And in the beginning of his rule, or rather tyranny, he assumes the role of sanctity. But when he becomes master he persecutes the Church of God and displays all his wickedness. But he will come with signs and lying wonders fictitious and not real, and he will deceive and lead away from the living God those whose mind rests on an unsound and unstable foundation, so that even the elect shall, if it be possible, be made to stumble.

109 But Enoch and Elias the Thesbite shall be sent and shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the children that is, the synagogue to our Lord Jesus Christ and the preaching of the apostles: and they will be destroyed by him. And the Lord shall come out of heaven, just as the holy apostles beheld Him going into heaven perfect God and perfect man, with glory and power, and will destroy the man of lawlessness, the son of destruction, with the breath

of His mouth. Let no one, therefore, look for the Lord to come from earth, but out of Heaven, as He himself has made sure. Chapter XXVII. Concerning the Resurrection. We believe also in the resurrection of the dead. For there will be in truth, there will be, a resurrection of the dead, and by resurrection we mean resurrection of bodies. For resurrection is the second state of that which has fallen. For the souls are immortal, and hence how can they rise again? For if they define death as the separation of soul and body, resurrection surely is the re-union of soul and body, and the second state of the living creature that has suffered dissolution and downfall. It is, then, this very body, which is corruptible and liable to dissolution, that will rise again incorruptible. For He, who made it in the beginning of the sand of the earth, does not lack the power to raise it up again after it has been dissolved again and returned to the earth from which it was taken, in accordance with the reversal of the Creator's judgment.

¹¹⁰ For if there is no resurrection, let us eat and drink: let us pursue a life of pleasure and enjoyment. If there is no resurrection, wherein do we differ from the irrational brutes? If there is no resurrection, let us hold the wild beasts of the field happy who have a life free from sorrow. If there is no resurrection, neither is there any God nor Providence, but all things are driven and borne along of themselves. For observe how we see most righteous men suffering hunger and injustice and receiving no help in the present life, while sinners and unrighteous men abound in riches and every delight. And who in his senses would take this for the work of a righteous judgment or a wise providence? There must be, therefore, there must be, a resurrection. For God is just and is the rewarder of those who submit patiently to Him. Wherefore if it is the soul alone that engages in the contests of virtue, it is also the soul alone that will receive the crown. And if it were the soul alone that revels in pleasures, it would also be the soul alone that would be justly punished. But since the soul does not pursue either virtue or vice separate from the body, both together will obtain that which is their just due.

¹¹¹ Nay, the divine Scripture bears witness that there will be a resurrection of the body. God in truth says to Moses after the flood, Even as the green herb have I given you all things. But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat. And surely your blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man. Whoso sheddeth man's blood,

for his blood his own shall be shed, for in the image of God made I man. How will He require the blood of man at the hand of every beast, unless because the bodies of dead men will rise again? For not for man will the beasts die. And again to Moses, I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob: God is not the God of the dead (that is, those who are dead and will be no more), but of the living whose souls indeed live in His hand but whose bodies will again come to life through the resurrection. And David, sire of the Divine, says to God, Thou takest away their breath, they die and return to their dust. See how he speaks about bodies. Then he subjoins this, Thou sendest forth Thy Spirit, they are created: and Thou renewest the face of the earth.

¹¹² Further Isaiah says: The dead shall rise again, and they that are in the graves shall awake. And it is clear that the souls do not lie in the graves, but the bodies. And again, the blessed Ezekiel says: And it was as I prophesied, and behold a shaking and the bones came together, bone to his bone, each to its own joint: and when I beheld, lo, the sinews came up upon them and the flesh grew and rose up on them and the skin covered them above. And later he teaches how the spirits came back when they were bidden. And divine Daniel also says: And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble, such trouble as never was since there was a nation on the earth even to that same time. And at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake: some to everlasting life and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and out of the multitude of the just shall shine like stars into the ages and beyond. The words, many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, clearly shew that there will be a resurrection of bodies. For no one surely would say that the souls sleep in the dust of the earth.

¹¹³ Moreover, even the Lord in the holy Gospels clearly allows that there is a resurrection of the bodies. For they that are in the graves, He says, shall hear His voice and shall come forth: they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation. Now no one in his senses would ever say that the souls are in the graves. ¹¹⁴ But it was not only by word, but also by deed, that the Lord re-

vealed the resurrection of the bodies. First He raised up Lazarus, even after he had been dead four days, and was stinking. For He did not raise the soul without the body, but the body along with the soul: and not another body but the very one that was corrupt. For how could the resurrection of the dead man have been known or believed if it had not been established by his characteristic properties? But it was in fact to make the divinity of His own nature manifest and to confirm the belief in His own and our resurrection, that He raised up Lazarus who was destined once more to die. And the Lord became Himself the first-fruits of the perfect resurrection that is no longer subject to death Wherefore also the divine Apostle Paul said: If the dead rise not, then is not Christ raised. And if Christ be not raised, our faith is vain: we are yet in our sins. And, Now, is Christ risen from the dead and become the first-fruits of them that slept and the first-born from the dead; and again, For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him. Even so, he said, as Christ rose again.

¹¹⁵ Moreover, that the resurrection of the Lord was the union of uncorrupted body and soul (for it was these that had been divided) is manifest: for He said, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. And the holy Gospel is a trustworthy witness that He spoke of His own body. Handle Me and see, the Lord said to His own disciples when they were thinking that they saw a spirit, that it is I Myself, and that I am not changed: for a spirit hath not flesh or bones, as ye see Me have. And when He had said this He shewed them His hands and His side, and stretched them forward for Thomas to touch. Is not this sufficient to establish belief in the resurrection of bodies? ¹¹⁶ Again the divine apostle says, For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. And again: It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption: it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power: it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory: it is sown a natural body (that is to say, crass and mortal), it is raised a spiritual body such as was our Lord's body after the resurrection which passed through closed doors, was unwearying, had no need of food, or sleep, or drink. For they will be, saith the Lord, as the angels of God: there will no longer be marriage nor procreation of children. The divine apostle, in truth, says, For our conversation is in heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus, Who shall change our vile body that it may be fashioned like unto His glori-

ous body: not meaning change into another form (God forbid!), but rather the change from corruption into incorruption.

¹¹⁷ But some one will say, How are the dead raised up? Oh, what disbelief! Oh, what folly! Will He, Who at His solitary will changed earth into body, Who commanded the little drop of seed to grow in the mother's womb and become in the end this varied and manifold organ of the body, not the rather raise up again at His solitary will that which was and is dissolved? And with what body do they come? Thou fool, if thy hardness will not permit you to believe the words of God, at least believe His works. For that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die. And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat or of some other grain. But God giveth it a body as it hath pleased Him, and to every seed his own body. Behold, therefore, how the seed is buried in the furrows as in tombs. Who is it that giveth them roots and stalk and leaves and ears and the most delicate beards? Is it not the Maker of the universe? Is it not at the bidding of Him Who hath contrived all things? Believe, therefore, in this wise, even that the resurrection of the dead will come to pass at the divine will and sign. For He has power that is able to keep pace with His will.

¹¹⁸ We shall therefore rise again, our souls being once more united with our bodies, now made incorruptible and having put off corruption, and we shall stand beside the awful judgment-seat of Christ: and the devil and his demons and the man that is his, that is the Antichrist and the impious and the sinful, will be given over to everlasting fire: not material fire like our fire, but such fire as God would know. But those who have done good will shine forth as the sun with the angels into life eternal, with our Lord Jesus Christ, ever seeing Him and being in His sight and deriving unceasing joy from Him, praising Him with the Father and the Holy Spirit throughout the limitless ages of ages. Amen. ¹St. Luke xxiv. 43. ²Theodor., Dial. 2; Greg. Naz., Orat. 49, Ep. 1 ad Cled. ³Acts 1. 11. ⁴Athan. Jun., p. 45, ad Ant.; Basil, De Spiritu Sancto, ch. 6

¹¹⁹ ⁵Against the Apollinarians, &c. Cf. Greg. Naz., Ep. Ad Cled., 11. ⁶Athan., bk. I., cont. Apoll. Epist. Ad Adelp. Epiphan. Ancor.?, 51. ⁷A simile much used by the Fathers: cf. Supr., bk. iii., ch. 8. ⁸Greg. Naz., Orat. 37; Fulg., De fid. ad Petrum; Thomas Aquinas, III., quaest. 3, Art. 6. ⁹Greg. Naz., Orat. 39. ¹⁰J ijdioth", Latin, proprietas, the propriety, that which is distinctive of each. ¹¹Text, kai; ou;k eksta;" th"" uJi>kh"" ijdioVthto". R. I has,

kai; oujk ejxevsth" oijkeiva", and the old trans. is "et non secessit a propria proprietate." 1Wisdom. ii, 23 12 Cor. vi. 14. 1Athan., *De Incarn.*; Cyril, *In Joan.*, bk. i. 1Ex. xiv. 16. 1uJpovstasi", hypostasis. 1See Soophr., *Ep.ad Serg.*; Origen, *Ileri*; ajrcw`n, II. 6; Ruf., *Expos.Symb.*, &c. 1Origen, *Ilepi*; ajpcw`v, bk. ii., ch. 6. 1Orat. 36, near the end. 2Edit. Paris, p. 25. 2kaq&Aelig; {vEwsiv oijko-vomikhvn, in the union of the Incarnation. 2Edit. Paris, p. 54.

¹²⁰ 2Ps. xiv. 7. 2Ps. xiv. 7. 2Some copies omit the last five words. 2Bar. iii. 38. 2Ps. cxxxvii. I. 2Euthym., p. 2, tit. 8. 3See the Scholiast on Gregory Nyssen in *Cod. Reg.* 3451. 3Vid. *Apud Greg. Nyss.*, bk. iii., *contr. Eunom* 3Col 1 15. 3Athan., *Expos. Fidei*. 3Rom. viii. 29. 3St. John xx. 17. 3Ibid. 3Col. ii. 12. 3St. Matt. xxviii. 19. 3See Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, bk. i; Basil, *Ep. Ad Amphilocho*. 2; Irenaeus, i. 8; Theodor., *Haer. fab. C.* 12; Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, vii. 9; Trullan Canon 95; Tertull., *De Bapt.*, c 1, &c. 4Heb. vi. 4. 4Rom. vi. 3. 4See Basil, *De Spir. Sanct.*, c. 28, and *Ep. 39*; Jerome, *Contr. Lucif.*; Theodor., *Haer.* III. 4; Socrates, *Hist. C.* 23; Sozomen, *Hist. VI.* 26 4Auct., *Quaest. Ad Antioch.* 4Basil., *De Bapt.*, bk. I. Ch. 12. 4St. Matt. xvi. 16. 4Acts x. 38. 4Ps. xiv. 7. 4Is. lxi. I.

¹²¹ 4St. Matt. xxviii. 19. 5Text, ejp1 ajfqarsivan. Variant, ejp1 ajfqarsiva; old interpretation, 'in incorruption._0' 5Method., *De Resurr.* 5St. John xix. 34. 5Ibid. iii. 5. 5Greg., *Orat.* 48. 5Gen. i. 2. 5Lev. xv. 10. 5Gen. vi. 17. 5Text, kaqaivretai. Variant in many Codices is ejkavqaivreto. On one margin is, hj ejkekavqarto. 5III. *Reg.* xviii. 32. 6pivsti" ga;r uijoqerei`n oi`de. 6Text, fwtismov", illumination. In R. 2626 is added, kai; ajgiasmov", which Faber translates, "et illuminatio et sanctificatio." In R. 2924, ajgiasmov" is read instead of fwtismov". 62 Pet ii. 22. 6James ii. 26. 6Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 40; Athan. *ad Serap. De Spir. Sancto.* 6Greg. Theol., *Orat.* 39. 6Gen. vii. 17. 61 Cor. x. 1. 6Lev. xiv. 8. 6Greg., *Orat.* 40; Basil. *Hom. de Bapt.*; Chrys. *in Matt. Hom.* 10, and others. 7Cf. Basil, *De Bapt.*, I. 2. 7Gen. xviii. 10. 7Ib. 17. 7Ib. 20. 7Ib. 25, 26. 7Ib. xix. 24. 7Ib. xxi. 1, 2.

¹²² 7Ib. 17, 18. 7St. John viii. 56. 7Heb. xi. 6. 8Basil. *in Ps. cxv.* 8Basil, *cit. loc.* 8Text, propavtoro" ajmartiva. Variant, propar. m ajmart. 8Text, hjnoivc-qhsan. Variant, hjnoivghsan. 8Cyril, *Hier. catech.* i. 14. 8Text, dia; staurou`. Variant, div aujtu`. 8Rom. vi. 3. 8Gal. iii. 27. 82 Cor. i. 24. 8Basil. *in Is.* xi. 9Exod. xii. 23. 9Cf. Cyril, *Contr. Jul.*, bk. vi. 9Text, oJ Torgoqa", oJ swthvrio". Variant, oJ stauron". 9oJ qeopavtwr Dabivd. Cf. Dionysias, *Ep.* 8. 9Heb. xi. 6. 9Basil. *in Ps. cxv.* 9Basil, *cit. loc.* 9Text, propavtoro" ajmartiva.

Variant, *propar. m ajmart. 9Text, hjnoivcqhsan. Variant, hjnoivghsan. 9Cyril, Hier. catech. i. 14. 1Text, dia; staurou`. Variant, div aujtou`. 1Rom. vi. 3. 1Gal. iii. 27. 12 Cor. i. 24. 1Basil. in Is. xi. 1Exod. xii. 23. 1Cf. Cyril, Contr. Jul., bk. vi. 1Text, oJ Torgoqa", oJ swthvrio". Variant, oJ staurov". 1oJ qeo-pavtwr Dabivd. Cf. Dionysiasier, Ep. 8. 1Ps. cxxxii. 7.*

¹²³1Ibid. 8. 1Text, Swth`ro". Variant, staurov". 1St. Matt. xxiv. 30. 1St. Mark xvi. 6. 11 Cor. i. 23. 1Text, Cristou`. Variant, staurou`. 1Gen. ii. and iii. 1Heb. xi. 21. 1Auct., *Quaest. ad Antioch.*, 9, 63. 1Num. xx. 1Exod. iv. 1Ibid. 1Text, oujk ejduiva. Variant, ejdwv". 1Iren., bk. v., c. 18. 1Isai. lxxv. 2. 1Text, tou`to. Variants, tou`ton and touvtw. 1Basil, *De Spir. Sanct.*, c. 27; Alcuin, *De Trin.* ii. 5; Wal. Strabo. *De reb. eccles.*, c. 4; Hon. August., *Gemma Animae.* c. 950. 11 St. John i. 5. 1Mal. iv. 2. 1Zach. iii. 8, vi. 12; St. Luke i. 78. 1Ps. lxxviii. 32, 33. 1Gen. ii. 8. 1Text, oJn parabavnra ejxwvrisen, ajpevnantiv te tou` paradeivsou th"" trufh"" katwvkisen. Variants, oJn parabavnta, th"" trfh"" ejxwvrisen, and oJnn parabavnta, tou` paradeivsou th"" trufh"" ejxwvrisen, ajpevnantiv te tou` paradeivsou katwvkisen. 1Levit. xvi. 14. 1Ibid. 2. 1Num. ii. 3. 1Acts i. 11. 1Text, faivnetai. Variant, fqavnei. The old translation gives occupat.

¹²⁴1St. Matt. xxiv. 27. 1Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, ch. 27. 1Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 42: Dion. *De div. nom.*, ch. 3. 1Rom. xi. 36. 1Heb. ii. 17. 1Rom. vii. 17. 1Variant, fuvsei kai; klhronovmoi th"" aujtou` genwvmeqa cavrito", kai aujiou uioui, kai; sugklhronovmoi. 1Text, klhronomnvwmen. Variant, klhronomhvsante". 1Chrys. in Matt., Hom. 83; St. John iii. 3. 1St. John vi. 48. 1Ibid. xiii. 1St. Matt. xxvi. 26; Liturg. S. Jacobi. 1St. Matt. xxvi. 27, 28; St. Mark xiv. 22–24; St. Luke xxii. 19, 20; 1 Cor. xi. 24–26 1Heb. iv. 12. 1Ps. cxxxv. 6. 1Gen. i. 3 and 6. 1Ps. xxxiii. 6. 1Text, kai; ta; th""...kaqara; kai; ajmwvmhta ai{mata eJmata eJautw`. Variant, kai; ejk tw`n th""...kaqarw`n kaiv ajmwvmhvtwn aijmavtwn eJautw. 1Gen. i. 11. 1Iren., bk. iv., ch. 35; Gulg., *Ad Monim.*, bk. ii., ch. 6; Chrys., *De prod. Jedae*; Greg. Nyss., *Catech.*, &c. 1St. Luke i. 34, 35 1Nyss., *Orat.*, *Catech.*, ch. 37.

¹²⁵1Clem., *Constit.*, bk. viii.; Justin Martyr., *Apol. i.*; Iren., v.2. 1Greg. Nyss., *Orat. Catech.*, c. 37. 1Simile Nyss. loc. cit. 1ouj is absent in some mss. 1The Greek is oJ th"" proqevsew" oi`no", the bread of the prothesis. It is rendered panis propositionis in the old translations. These phrases designate the Shewbread in the LXX. and the Vulgate. The provqesi" is explained as a smaller table placed on the right side of the altar, on which the priests make

ready the bread and the cup for consecration. See the note in Migne. 1See Niceph., C.P., Aniirr. ii. 3. 1St. John vi. 51–55. 1zwh;n aijwvnion is added in many mss. 1Cyril Hierosol., Cat. Mystag. 5; Chrys. Hom. 3 in Epist. ad Ephes.; Trull. can. 101 1Is. vi. 6. 1See Cyril Alex. on Isiah vi. 1Vide Basil, ibid. 1Gen. xiv. 18. 1Lev. xiv. 1Ps. cx. 4. 1Text, eijkovnizon. Variant, eijkonivzousi. 1Mal. i. 11.

¹²⁶ 11 Cor. xi. 31, 32. 1Ibid. 29. 1Cyril, loc. cit. 1St. John vi. 63. 1Anastas., Hodegus, ch. 23. 1St. Matt. vii. 6. 11 Cor. x. 17. 1Text, nohtw` dia; movnh" th" Qeva"; nohtw" is wanting in some Reg. 2928 having dia; movnh" th" Qeiva" eJnwsew:. 1In Reg. 2428 is added kai; ĀIwsh;f tou` mnhvstoro". 1Ps. cxxxii. 11. 1Ibid. lxxxix. 35, 36, 37. 1Is. xi. 1. 1Num. xxxvi. 6 seqq. 1skhvprou. 1Cf. Julius Afric., Ep. ad Aristidem, cited in Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. i. 7. 1Deut. xxv. 5. 1See the note in Migne. 1Text, th;n a[gian Qeotovkon. Variant, th;n apgian [Annan. 1St. Luke iii. 24 seqq. 1R. 2926 adds "Ethan", the name being taken from Julius Africanus. 1Epiph., Haeres. 79. 11Sam. i. 2. 1Greg. Nyss., Orat. in nativ. Dom.: Eustath. in Hexaem. 2Epiph., Haeres. 79. 2thv" probatikh", the Sheep-gate. 2Ps. xviii. 25, 26. 2Is. vii. 14; St. Matt. i. 23. 21 Cor. iii. 19; Job v. 13.

¹²⁷ 2Is. xxix. 11. 2St. John i. 13. 2Is. lxvi. 7. 2qeofovro". 2Ezek. xlv. 2. 2St. Matt. i. 25. 2Ibid. xxviii. 20. 21 Thess. iv. 17. 2St. Luke ii. 35. 2In R. 2926 is added, o[per aujth` proeivrhken oJ Qeodovco" Sumew;n, to;n Kuvrion ejn-agkalisavmeno". 2St. John i. 12. 2Gal. iv. 7: Rom. viii. 17. 2St. John xv. 14. 2Ibid. 15. 2Apoc. xix. 16. 2Ex. ii. 6. 2Ibid. vii. 1. 2Basil, Orat. in 40 Martyr. 2Levit. xxvi. 12: 2 Cor. vi. 16 2Wisdom. iii. 1. 2Ps. xl. 9, 10. 2Ibid. cxvi. 15. 2dia; tou` nou` 21 Cor. ii. 16. 22 Cor. iii. 17. 22 Cor. iii. 17. 2Aster., Hom. in SS. Mart. 2Ex. xvii. 6. 2Judg. xv. 17. 2Num. xix. 11. 2Jas. i. 17. 2Ephes. v. 19. 2Text, prstoiv. Variant, pivstei in Reg. 1. 2Almost all read to;n provdromon ĀI-wavnnhn, wj" profhvthn, &c. 2St. Matt. xi. 11. 2Rom. viii. 29. 21 Cor. xii. 24.

¹²⁸ 2Ephes. iv. 11. 2Hebr. xi. 37, 38. 2Ibid. xiii. 7. 2Some Mss. have the title "Concerning the adoration of the august and holy images," or "Concerning the holy and sacred images," or "Concerning holy images." 2Cf. Petavius, Theol. Dogm. xv. ch. 12. 2Gen. i. 26. 2Basil, De Spir. Sancto, ch. 18. 2Ex. xxxiii. 10. 2Ibid. xxv. 40: Heb. viii. 5. 2Ex. xxv. 18. 21 Kings viii. 2Gen. viii. 21. 2St. John i. 14; Tit. iii. 4. 2Bar. iii. 38. 2Basil, in 40 Mart: also De Spir. Sancto, ch. 27. 2Cf. August., contr. Donatist., bk. iv. 2Evagr., Hist. iv., ch. 27. 2Pro-cop., De Bellis, ii. ch. 12. 2i.e. Abgarus. 22 Thess. ii. 15. 21 Cor. xi. 2. 2This

chapter is wanting in Cod. R. 3547. 2St. Matt. v. 17. 2St. John v. 39. 2Heb. i. 1, 2. 22 Tim. iii. 16. 2Ps. i. 3. 2Ps. lxviii. 13. 2St. Matt. xxi. 37.

¹²⁹ 2Jas. i. 17. 2Deut. xxxii. 7. 21 Cor. viii. 7. 2St. John iv. 14. 2Cyril Hieros., Cat. 4; Epiphan., De pond. et mens. 2Many copies read Phi. 2Writings. 2Joshua the Son of Nun. 2Chronicles. 2R. 2428 reads kai; hj ĀIoudi;q, kai; hj ĀEsqhv; so also in Cod. S. Hil., but Epiphanius does not mention the book of Judith, nor does the text require it. 2R. 2428 reads kai; ejpistolai; duvo duvo dia; Klhvmento", probably an interpolation. 2Trull., Can. 2; Euseb., hist. Eccles. vi., ch., ch. 23, &c. 2St. John x. 30. 2Ibid. xiv. 9. 2Phil. ii. 6. 2Heb. i. 3. 2Is. ix. 6. 2pericwvrhsi". 2St. John xiv. 10 2th;n ajnekfoivthton i[drusin. 2Cyril, Thes., bk. xxxiv., p. 341. 2St. John xiv. 28. 2Greg. Naz., Orat. 36, and other Greeks. 2St. John xvi. 28. 2Ibid. vi. 57 2Ibid. v. 19. 2Text, metav. Various reading, katav. 2Text, plhrou;mena. Variant, plhroumevnh". 2kivnhsin, motion. 3kivnhsin, motion.

¹³⁰ 3St. John xi. 42. 3Ps. cvii. 20. 3St. John xvii. 2. 3Ps. i. 3. 3Zech. ix. 9. 3Mic. i. 3. 3Bar. ii. 38. 3Prov. viii. 22. 3Ps. xlv. 7. 3Greg. Naz., Orat. 39. 3Is. xlvi. 12. 3Supr. Bk. Iii., ch. 2 3Or, inhabitation, mutual indwelling. 3pericwrousa 3St. John 14. 1. 3Ibid. x. 30. 3Ibid. vii. 19; viii. 40. 3Ibid. iii. 14. 3Vide supr., bk. iii., ch. 21, 22, 23. 3prospoivhsi", feigning. 3St. John. xi. 34. 3St. Luke xxiv. 28. 3Greg. Naz., Orat. 36. 3Supr. Bk. Iii. 24. 3Text, meta; ton ei\nai Qeov". Variant, mei'nai. 3oikeiws" kai anaqorav Variant, meivai 3St. Matt. xxvii. 46. 32 Cor. v. 21. 3Gal. iii. 13. 31 Cor. xv. 28. 3Greg. Naz., Orat. 36. 3Ibid. 3Supr., bk. Iii. Ch. 21. 3St. John. xvii. 5. 3Rom. i. 4. 3Chrysost., Hom. I in Epist., ad Rom., and others. 3St. Luke ii. 40. 3Text, xariti. Reg 1. ouneqel. 3St. John. iv. 22.

¹³¹ 3Ibid. xvi. 10. 3Ibid. 31 Cor ii. 8. 3St. John. iii. 13. 3St. Matt. xxviii. 19. 3Ibid. 20. 3Ibid. 9. 3Ibid. 10. 3kata; quvsin 3kata; prospoivhsin 3St. Luke. xxiv. 28. 3St. John xx. 17. 3Ps. xxiv. 7. 3Heb. 1. 3. 3St. John xx. 17. 3Epist, apologetica ad Acacium Melitar Episcopum 3Against Platonists, Gnostics, and Manicheans. 3Damasc. Dial. Cont. Manich. 3Rom. ix. 21. 3Basil, Homil. Quod Deus non sit auct. Malorum. 32 Tim. ii. 20, 21. 3Rom. xi. 32. 3Is. xxix. 10; Rom. xi. 8 3Amos iii. 6. 3Text, oisemqaton. Variant ousemqaton 3Text, twv yar ekousiwn kakwn ta; akouvsia, &c. R. 2930 has twv akousiwn ta ekousia 3Basil, loc. cit. 3Ps. li. 4. 3 nikhthv" is sometimes absent 3Athan., Cont. Gentes. 3Athan., Cont. omnes haeret 3Damasc., Dial. Cont. Manich. 3Text, apotemnomeno". Variants, apotemnomeno" and apotemnomeno". 3Text

kakonsqai. Variant, kakonxeisqai. 3Basil, Hom. Deum non esse cause. Mal. 3Text, parazromh. Variant, para. roph, cf. Infra.

¹³² 3Gen. i. 31. 3Basil Hom. Deum non csse cause. Mal. 3Jer., Contr. Pelag. Bk. Iii. 3Demasc., Dialog contra Manich 3St. Mark xiv. 21. 31 St. John i 7. 3Rom. vii. 23. 3Rom. vii. 27. 3Ibid. 23. 3Text, kata; anakrasin. The old translation is 'secundum anacrasin, _0'i.e. 'contractionem, refusionem per laevitatem voluptatis:_0' Faber has 'secundum contradictionem per suadelam voluptatis._0' The author's meaning is that owing to the conjunction of mind with body, the law of sin is mixed with all the members. 3Rom. viii. 3, 4. 3Ibid. 26. 3Ibid. 3Gen. ii. 2. 3Ex. xiii. 6; Num. xv. 35 3Greg., Naz., Orat. 44. 3Deut. v. 14. 3Prov. xii. 10. 3Epiph., Exp. Fid., n. 22. 31 Tim. i. 9. 3 Ex. xxiv. 18: Ex. xxxiv. 28. 31 Kings xix. 8. 3Dan. x. 2. 3Gen. xvii. 12. 4Lev. xvi. 31. 4St. Matt. xii. 5. 4Epiph, Hares. 30, n. 32, et Haer.; N. 82 seqq: Athan, Hom circum, et sabb

¹³³ 4Josh. iii. 4Ath iofe. 4Gal. iv. 3. 4Ibid. 4, 5. 4St. John. i. 12. 4Gal. iv. 7. 41 Cor. xiii. 10. 4Athan., loc. Cit. 4Ibid. 4Greg. Naz, Orat. 42 4Exxl. xi. 2. 4Ps. xvi. 4Vide bk. Ii. Ch. 30 4Deut. 4Gen. ii. 25 4Ibid. iv. 7. 4Ibid. 19. 4Gen. iv. I. 4Greg, Naz., De opif., hom. 16 4Gen i. 27. 4Ibid. i. 28. 4Text, aparaxapakton old. Trans. "in intrasmutationem." 4Vid supr., bk. Ii. Ch. 30. 4Text auquata == increases. We have read auxhmata. 4Gen. vi. 18 4Cf. Chrys., Hom. 28 on Genesis. 4Gen. viii. 16 42 Ki ii. 11. 4Ibid. iv. 34 4Ibid. ii. 14. 4Ibid. ii. 9. 4Dan. iii. 20. 4Ibid vi. 16. 4Ex. xix. 15: Num. vi. 2. 4St. John ii. I. 4Heb. xiii. 4. 4St. Matt. xix. 11. 4Simeou Thess., De initiat., ch. 33. 41 Cor. vii. 2. 4Heb. xiii. 4. 4Just. Martyr., Dial cum Tryph., p. 241.

¹³⁴ 4Gen. xvii.10. 4Chrys, Hom. 39 in Gen. 4Text, Ihsou". 4Josh. v. 2. 4Ibid. 6. 4Text Battaritiqi as in mss.; The desert in which the Israelites dwelt is called "per antonomasiam" Madbara, from the Hebrew 72712 4Josh. v. 6, 7. 4Greg., Naz., Orat. 40. Athan., De Sab. Et circ. 4Gal. v. 2. 4St. Matt. v. 17. 4See the note in Migne. 41 St. John ii. 22. 4Iren., bk. V. ch. 25; Greg. Naz., Orat. 47. 4St. Matt. xxiv. 14. 4St. John v. 43. 42 Thess. ii. 10, 11, 12. 4Chrys., Hom. 4 in Epist. 2 Thess. 4Dan. xi. 37. 42 Thess. ii. 3, 4. 4Cyril of Jerusalem, Cat. 15 4Iren., Cyril Hieros., Catech. 15: Greg. Naz loc.cit. 4St. Matt. xxv. 14. 4Text has perasi yeuqou", instead of the received text, terasi yeuqou", cf. Infr. 42 Thess. ii. 8,9,10. 4Jerome on Daniel, ch. vii. 4Chrys., Hom. 3 in 2 Thess. 4Text, ariosunhn Old trans. "justitiam," but Faber has "bonitatem."

¹³⁶ In R. 2924 is read: ejn tw`/ Kurivw hJmw`n, w^ prevpei pa`sa dovxa, timh; kai; proskuvnhsi", nu`n kai; ajei; kai; eij" touv" aijw`na" tw`n aijwvwnwn. jAmhvn., In 2928: o{ti aujtw^ prevpei dovxa, timh; kai; proskuvnhsi", nu`n kai; ajei; &c. [1]Roberts, Alexander and Donaldson, James, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series: Volume IX*, (Oak Harbor, WA: Logos Research Systems, Inc.) 1997.

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