The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 68

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Theodoret of Cyrus: History, Dialogues and Letters

c. AD 431 – 457

SERMONINDEX

The Early Church Fathers Writings
Volume 68: Theodoret of Cyrus: History, Dialogues and Letters

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Introduction to This Volume

How this book is arranged

This is the sixty-eighth volume of a series that gathers the writings of the early Church in order of date, from the generation after the apostles down to the eighth century. This volume holds Theodoret of Cyrus, History, Dialogues and Letters, from the period about AD 431 – 457.

Within each work the text is divided into chapters and numbered sections, so that any passage can be found again and cited. The small bold figures in the text are the section numbers.

The translations

The text is in English only. Wherever a modern English version has been prepared for SermonIndex it is used here; otherwise the book prints an older public-domain translation. In both cases the wording is the translator's own: older translations have not been altered beyond dividing them into sections. The sources for every work are listed at the back of the book, together with the licence under which each text is released. The modern English version prepared for SermonIndex is used for Religious History (Lives of the Syrian Monks) (Theodoret of Cyrus); the other works are printed in older public-domain translations.

In this volume

Theodoret was born at Antioch about AD 393 and became bishop of Cyrrhus in Syria about AD 423, a see he held until about AD 457. He was a great commentator on Scripture and a historian, and he argued against Cyril of Alexandria in the controversy with Nestorius. He was deposed at the council of Ephesus in AD 449 and restored at Chalcedon in AD 451.

Theodoret of Cyrus wrote much in the years of the controversy between Antioch and Alexandria. This volume holds his Religious History, which describes the monks he knew, and his Eranistes, in three dialogues between Orthodoxos and Eranistes on the unchangeable nature of God, the union of Christ's natures without confusion, and the impassible. It also holds his short

writings against Cyril, his letters, and his commentary on Romans. The numbers of the letters follow the ordering of the edition that was translated, so some numbers are not present.

Dates and authorship

Dates are approximate and are debated by scholars. Each work begins with a short introduction that states what is known about its author and its date, and what is uncertain.

PART ONE

The Religious History

Thirty lives of the monks and holy men of Syria whom Theodoret knew.

Religious History (Lives of the Syrian Monks)

Theodoret of Cyrus

c. AD 444

Thirty short lives of the monks and hermits of Syria whom Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus, knew or heard of, from Jacob of Nisibis to Symeon Stylites on his pillar, and ending with accounts of three women ascetics. Theodoret wrote it about AD 444. The digital Greek text here is rough in places (scanning errors), which the page flags where it shows. An English version exists in print; this is a fresh translation made for SermonIndex.

PREFACE

Pref..a PROLOGUE. It is a fine thing to watch the struggles of the best men, the athletes of virtue, and to draw benefit through one's own eyes. Things we praise seem worth owning when we see them. They become worth loving, and they urge the onlookers to take them for their own. Yet accounts of such achievements also bring no small benefit, when those who know the facts pass them on to the ears of those who do not. Some say that sight is more trustworthy than hearing. Even so, hearing also can be persuaded, and it judges what is said by the truthfulness of the speakers. The tongue and palate are trusted to judge sweetness, bitterness and other such qualities, and they deliver the same verdict together. In the same way, hearing has been entrusted with the discernment of words, and it knows how to separate what brings some benefit from what does harm. If the memory of helpful accounts stayed safe, and the damage of forgetfulness did not settle over it like a mist and make it fade, then writing such things down would be needless and superfluous, since the benefit would pass easily to later generations. But time damages the body by bringing old age and death, and it damages noble deeds by producing forgetfulness and dulling memory. So no one could reasonably take offense at us for undertaking to write down the way of life of men who love

God. Physicians prepare medicines to fight disease and help the sick. In the same way, the labor of this kind of writing becomes a kind of remedy against harm, working against forgetfulness and coming to the aid of memory. For would it not be absurd that poets and historians should write down brave deeds in war? Tragedians put on stage, for all to see, disasters that were rightly hidden, and leave a written memory of them. Others spend their words on comedy and laughter. And we would look on while men are handed over to oblivion, men who in a mortal body subject to passions showed freedom from passion, and who rivaled the bodiless nature!

Pref..b What penalty would we not justly deserve if we stood by while the memory of these admirable struggles grows dim? Consider that they themselves pursued the highest philosophy of the saints of old. They did not carve the memory of those saints in bronze and letters. They copied all their virtue and made themselves into living images and monuments of them. What forgiveness could we expect, then, if we do not honor this celebrated life even with writing? And this is done for those who compete at Olympia. Charioteers who show themselves victorious in the horse races receive this same honor. Not only these, but also [their own kind of men], and effeminate men, and people of whom it is doubtful whether they are men or women, are painted on panels by the lovers of such spectacles, who are eager that their memory should last as long as possible. Yet remembering them does the soul harm, not good. Even so, some people love these men and some love those, and they honor them with painting, though they corrupt those who watch them. Because death plunders mortal nature, people mix colors and set likenesses of these figures on panels, and so contrive to make the memory last far longer than the life. But we are writing the life of a teacher of philosophy, one who emulated the way of life in heaven. We do not paint the features of bodies, and we do not show copies of them to those who do not know them. We sketch the forms of invisible souls, and we reveal battles no one can see and struggles that are hidden. Such is the full armor that Paul, the general and champion of their battle line, has put on them. For he says: "Take up the full armor of God, so that you may be able to stand against the evil day, and having accomplished everything, to stand." And again: "Stand, therefore, having girded your loins with truth, and having put on the breastplate of righteousness, and having shod your feet with readiness for the Gospel of peace, and over all taking up the shield of faith, with which you will be able

to quench all the fiery darts of the evil one, and to receive the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God."

Pref..c He clothed them in this armor and led them into the contest. For their enemies are of such a kind: bodiless, unseen, advancing without being noticed, plotting in secret, lying in ambush and attacking suddenly. This same commander taught as much when he said: "Our wrestling is not against blood and flesh, but against the rulers, against the authorities, against the world-rulers of the darkness of this age, against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly places." Yet although this company of saints had such opponents (or rather, each one of them was surrounded by so many enemies of this kind, for the enemies did not attack all together, but now fell on one, now on another), they won so brilliant a victory that their adversaries ran away, and the saints pursued them with full force and set up a trophy with no one standing in the way. The victory was not given them by nature, for nature is mortal and full of countless passions, but by their purpose, which drew down divine grace. They became ardent lovers of divine beauty, and gladly chose to do and suffer everything for the sake of the one they loved. They bravely endured the uprising of the passions and firmly beat off the showers of the devil's arrows. In the apostle's words, they bruised the body and made it a slave. They calmed the inflammations of anger, and forced the frenzy of desires to keep quiet. By fasting and sleeping on the ground they put the passions to sleep and stopped their leaps and bounds, and so they forced the body to make a truce with the soul. Thus they ended this war that is born within us. When they had secured peace among these inner powers, they drove out the whole host of their opponents. For the enemy had no thoughts within that betrayed the city, and was robbed of the help of the human members, so he could not make war. The devil uses our own members as the missiles he throws against us.

Pref..d If the eyes are not lured, the ears not charmed, the touch not tickled, and the mind does not accept wicked plans, then the schemers' effort is wasted. Think of a city built on a height, encircled by strong walls, and surrounded on every side by deep ravines. No enemy could take it unless someone inside betrayed it and quietly opened some small gate. In the same way, it is impossible for demons attacking from outside to overcome a soul that is surrounded by divine grace, unless some careless thought opens one of the little gates of our senses and lets the enemy in through it. The men we

are praising had been taught this plainly by the divine Scripture. They had heard God say through the prophet that "death has come up through the windows." So they shut the senses with the divine laws, as with bars and bolts, and put the keys in the hands of the mind. Neither tongue nor lips opened unless the mind commanded it, and the pupil of the eye was not allowed to look out from the eyelids without permission. The ear could not wall off its entrance with eyelids or lips, so it pushed away foolish words and welcomed only those in which the mind delighted. In the same way they trained the sense of smell not to long for sweet scents, since these naturally make a person soft and slack. In the same way they drove out the fullness of the belly, and taught themselves to take only such food as met a need and not a pleasure, and only as much as could keep off death from hunger. In the same way they overthrew the sweet tyranny of sleep. They freed the eyelids from slavery to it and trained them to be masters instead of slaves, to take the help sleep gives not whenever it comes on them, but when they themselves call it in to give nature a brief relief. So they took care to guard the walls and the gates, and kept their inner thoughts in agreement. They laughed at the enemies attacking from outside. Those enemies could not break in by force, because divine grace made the saints secure, and they found no traitor willing to let them in. Though the enemies are invisible by nature, they could not prevail over a body that is visible and subject to the necessities of nature.

Pref..e The charioteer of this body, who is also its musician and its helmsman, holds the reins well and has persuaded the horses to run in order. By rhythm he has made the strings of the senses sound one harmony. By skill at the rudder he has broken the force of the waves and the rush of the winds. These are the men who walked through life by countless labors and tamed the body with sweat and hardship. They did not know the feeling of laughter, but spent their whole lives in weeping and tears. They counted fasting a Sybarite's luxury, and counted laborious wakefulness the sweetest sleep. The hard ground was their soft bed, and time spent in prayers and psalm-singing was a pleasure beyond measure and beyond satisfying. Who would not rightly admire men who have gathered every kind of virtue into themselves? Or rather, who could praise them as they deserve? I know well that no speech can reach their virtue. Still, I must try. It would not be right that, because these lovers of true philosophy became perfect men, they should receive

no praise at all, even a lesser one. I will not write one common praise for them all. Different gifts were given to them by God, and the blessed Paul teaches this when he says: to one is given through the Spirit a word of wisdom; to another a word of knowledge according to the same Spirit; to another gifts of healing in the same Spirit; to another workings of powers; to another prophecy; to another kinds of tongues; to another interpretation of tongues. Then, to show the source of all of these, he added: "All these things are worked by one and the same Spirit, who divides to each one individually as he wills." Since they received different gifts, it is right that I give an account of each one separately. I will not go through everything they did, for a whole lifetime would not be enough for such a work. I will tell a few of the things each one lived or did, show through those few the character of his whole life, and then move on to the next.

Pref..f I will not try to set down in history the lives of all the saints who have shone everywhere. I do not know all who have shone in every place, and it is not possible for one man to write about them all. I will record only the lives of those who appeared in the East like lights, whose rays have reached the ends of the world. The account will proceed as a narrative. It will not follow the rules of formal praise, but will simply tell the story of a few men. I ask those who read this God-loving history, or "ascetic way of life" (call the work what you like), not to disbelieve what is said, even if they hear things beyond their own power. Do not measure the virtue of these men by your own. Know clearly that God is accustomed to measure the gifts of the Holy Spirit by the minds of the godly, and gives the greater gifts to those who are more perfect. I say this to those who are not very thoroughly initiated into divine things. Those who are initiated into the inner sanctuary of the Spirit know the Spirit's generosity. They know what wonders he works through men among men, drawing unbelievers to the knowledge of God by the greatness of his marvels. Whoever will not believe what I am going to say plainly would not believe, as true, the things done through Moses, Joshua, Elijah and Elisha. He must also think the miracles done through the holy apostles a fable. But if he grants that those are true, let him believe that these are free of falsehood too. The grace that worked in those men has worked through these as well. Grace is ever-flowing. It chooses the worthy, and through them, as through springs, it pours out streams of benefit. Of the things I will tell, I was an eyewitness to some. What I have not seen, I have

heard from those who saw them: men who love virtue and were counted worthy to see those saints and to be taught by them. Trustworthy writers have also set down the teaching of the Gospel. Not only Matthew and John, the first and great evangelists, who saw the Lord's miracles with their own eyes, but also Luke and Mark, who had received the account from those who were eyewitnesses from the beginning and servants of the word. They taught accurately not only what the Lord suffered and did, but also what he went on teaching.

Pref..g Blessed Luke was not an eyewitness either. Yet when he begins his writing, he says he is giving an account of matters that have been fully established. We too hear that he was not an eyewitness of these very events but received the teaching from others. Even so, we pay as much attention to him and to Mark as to Matthew and John. Each of them is a trustworthy narrator, because each was taught by those who had seen. In the same way, I will report some things as an eyewitness, and other things on the word of eyewitnesses who told them to me, men who had imitated the lives of these saints. I have spent more words on this because I want to persuade you that what I will tell is true. I will now begin the narrative, starting from this point.

CHAPTER 1

1a 1. The divine Moses, the lawgiver, laid bare the bed of the sea, flooded the waterless desert with water, and worked all his other wonders. He also wrote the life and conduct of the saints of old. He did not use the wisdom he had learned from the Egyptians; he received the radiance of grace from above. Where else could he have learned the virtue of Abel, the love of God shown by Enoch, the righteousness of Noah, the devout priesthood of Melchizedek, and the calling of Abraham, with his faith, his endurance, his careful hospitality, and his much-celebrated offering of his son? Where else could he have learned the long list of their other achievements, and, to put it briefly, the struggles, victories and proclamations of those inspired men, unless he had received the rays of the intelligent and divine Spirit? I need that same help now, as I try to write the lives of the saints who shone a little before our time and in our own. I want to set before those who wish to imitate them something like a body of law. So I must call on their prayers, and then begin the account. Nisibis is a city on the border between the Roman and Persian kingdoms. In earlier times it paid tribute to the Romans and was under their rule. The great Jacob came from this city. He embraced the life of solitude

and quiet, and he went up to the summits of the highest mountains and lived there. In spring, summer and autumn he used the thickets, with the sky as his roof. In the winter season a cave received him and gave him a little shelter. His food was not what is sown and grown with labor, but what springs up of itself. He gathered the fruits of wild trees that grow on their own, and the edible, leafy plants. From these he gave his body what was enough to live on, and he did without the use of fire. He had no need of wool either, since the roughest hair of goats supplied his clothing. From this he made both a tunic and his single, simple cloak.

1b By afflicting his body in this way, he constantly fed his soul with spiritual food. He cleansed the eye of his mind and made it a clear mirror of the divine Spirit. As the divine Apostle says, with unveiled face he beheld the glory of the Lord as in a mirror, and was transformed into the same image from glory to glory, as from the Lord the Spirit. So his boldness toward God grew day by day, and whatever he asked of God, as he ought to ask, he received at once. So too he foresaw future events like a prophet, and he received power to work miracles from the grace of the Holy Spirit. I will tell a few of these things, and show the ray of his apostolic brightness to those who do not know it. At that time people's madness for idols was at its height. Lifeless wooden images took over the reverence due to God, and the worship of God was neglected by most. Those who refused to share in that drunkenness were easily despised, though they were the steady ones who discerned reality accurately, laughed at the weakness of the idols, and worshiped the Creator of the universe. At that time Jacob came to Persia to see the plants of godliness there and to give them the care they needed. As he was passing a certain spring, some girls were standing at the washing places, trampling the dirt out of clothes with their feet. They were not ashamed at the strangeness of his appearance. Casting off all modesty, with shameless faces and bold eyes they stared at the man of God. They did not cover their heads, nor let down the clothes they had hitched up. The man of God was disgusted at this. He wished to show God's power at the right moment, so that by a miracle he might free them from their godlessness. He laid a curse on the spring, and at once the stream vanished. He laid a curse on the girls, and punished their shameless youth with premature grey hair. The deed followed the word. The black of their hair changed, and they looked like young trees in spring wearing autumn leaves. So they felt the punishment. The waters of the spring had

fled, and as they looked at one another's heads they saw that sudden change. They ran to the city to report what had happened.

1c The people ran out, found the great Jacob, and begged him to relax his anger and lift the punishment. Without the least delay he made his petition to the Master and commanded the waters to well up again. At once they reappeared from their own storehouses, channeled again at the righteous man's bidding. Those who had gained this then begged that their daughters' locks be given back their former color. They say he yielded in this too, but asked for the girls who had received that lesson. Since they did not come, he let the punishment stand, as a lesson in modesty, a reason for good order, and a lasting, visible reminder of the divine power. Such was the miracle of this new Moses. It was not done by the stroke of a rod, but received its effect through the sign of the cross. Besides the miracle, I greatly admire his gentleness. He did not hand those shameless girls over to blood-drinking bears, as the great Elisha did. He used a harmless correction, with only a slight disorder in it, and taught godliness and good order together. I say this not to accuse the prophet of harshness. May I never be so mad! I say it to show that Jacob had that same power, but carried out what was fitting with the gentleness of Christ and in keeping with the New Covenant. At another time he saw a Persian judge give an unjust verdict. He laid a curse on a very large stone lying nearby, that it be shattered and scattered, and so he exposed the judge's unjust verdict. At once the stone broke into countless pieces, and those present were terrified. The judge, filled with shuddering, revoked his earlier verdict and gave another, a just one. Here too Jacob imitated his own Master. The Master wished to show that he endured the passion willingly. He could easily have punished the guilty if he had wished, but he did not bring punishment on them. He dried up a lifeless fig tree with a word and so showed his power. Imitating this same love for humanity, Jacob did not punish the unjust judge, but taught him justice by the blow to the stone. Distinguished in these things, loved by all, and spoken of on everyone's lips, he came to the service of the high priesthood and was given charge of his homeland.

1d When he exchanged that life on the mountain for life in the city, he did not do so by his own choice, and he changed neither his food nor his clothing. The places changed, but his manner of life did not. His labors actually increased and became many times greater than before. To fasting, sleep-

ing on the ground, and wearing sackcloth he now added a constant concern for all who were in need: care for widows, protection of orphans, rebuke of those who did wrong, and rightful help for those who were wronged. But why list for those who already know everything that surrounds men who have taken up this office of oversight? He embraced such labors above all because he both longed for and feared, above all, the Lord of the sheep. And the more he gathered the wealth of virtue, the more he enjoyed the grace of the all-holy Spirit. Once, as he was setting out for a village or city (I cannot say exactly which place), some poor men came to him. They had laid out one of their companions as though he were dead, and they begged him for something toward his burial. He yielded to their pleading. But he offered his prayer to God as though for a dead man, asking him to forgive the offenses of his life and to count him worthy of the company of the righteous. As these words were being said, the soul of the man who had been pretending to be dead flew away, and his body was provided with its coverings. When the holy man had gone on a little way, the men who had staged this play told the man lying there to get up. But when they saw that he did not respond, and that the pretense had become truth and the mask had turned into a real face, they ran to the great Jacob. They wailed and rolled at his feet, saying that poverty was the cause of the scheme they had dared, and they begged him to release them from their offense and give back to the man lying there the soul that had been taken away. So, imitating the Lord's kindness toward men, he accepted their plea and showed his wonder-working power: through prayer he gave back to the man who lay there the life that prayer had taken away. This seems to me to resemble the wonder worked by the great Peter, who sent Ananias and Sapphira to their death when they had stolen and lied.

1e In the same way Peter took away the life of a man who had stolen the truth and used a lie. But Peter knew of the theft, for the grace of the Spirit revealed it to him, and so he brought the penalty. Jacob did not know the purpose of the play. He offered his prayer, and so he stopped the course of a life that was only pretended. Again, the divine Apostle did not undo the calamity of the dead, for the opening of the saving proclamation needed fear. But Jacob, who was full of apostolic grace, punished for a season and quickly lifted the punishment, because he knew that in this way he would win those who had fallen. But we must move on to the other matters and set them out briefly. Arius was the father and maker of the blasphemy against

the Only-begotten and the all-holy Spirit. He set his tongue in motion against the One who made it, and filled Egypt with uproar and confusion. Constantine, the greatest of emperors, was the Zerubbabel of our flock. Like Zerubbabel, he brought the whole captivity of the pious back from exile, and raised up to a great height the divine temples that had been thrown down to the ground. At that time, then, he gathered all the presidents of the Churches to Nicaea. Among the others there came the great Jacob, to fight for the right doctrines, like a champion and front-line fighter for the whole army. For Nisibis then belonged to the Roman empire. Now in the great council many things were said well and rightly, and many otherwise. For there were a few who thought the opposite but did not dare to lay bare their own impiety. They covered it with certain baits. These were not clear to everyone, but were quite plain to those who were precisely initiated into the truth. The confession of faith that now prevails and is proclaimed throughout the whole world was dictated. All signed it, and with hand and pen declared that this is what they believed and thought. Most did so gladly. But seven men, advocates of the blasphemy of Arius, agreed with tongue and hand, though they held a mind that spoke against the tongue. This fits the prophecy that says, "This people honors me with their lips, but their heart is far from me." It also fits the voice of Jeremiah, which cries out plainly: "You are near to their mouth, and far from their reins."

1f David agrees with this when he says about such people: "With their mouths they blessed, and with their hearts they cursed." And again: "Their words were softer than oil, and yet they are darts." These men begged Alexander, the great bishop of the Alexandrians, to take pity on Arius, who had been condemned by that whole assembly. Alexander knew their hidden unsoundness and suspected the wickedness of Arius, and for that reason he refused the request. Others, who lived in simplicity, spoke many words of praise for mercy, saying that the God of all rejoiced in it too. But the great Alexander called this unjust "mercy" toward one man plain inhumanity. He said it would ruin many and become an occasion of infection for all the flocks. So the divine Jacob urged everyone to take up the hardship of fasting, and for seven days together to beg God to bring about what would benefit the Churches. All accepted the proposal of the godly man, for they knew he shone with apostolic gifts. Fasting was joined to prayer, and the helmsman of these Churches was voting, as it were, for their good. Then the Lord's Day

came, on which most expected the guilty man to be received back. The time of the divine liturgy arrived, and everyone waited to see the enemy of God shown mercy. At that moment a truly divine and astonishing wonder took place. That accursed man had gone into a foul and stinking place to relieve himself of his insatiable eating, and he passed out with it the very vessels that held it. His inner organs were loosened and went out with the filth, and the wretch collapsed on the spot and suffered that most shameful death. He paid the penalty for his foul blasphemy in a foul place, and received his death-blow through the tongue of the great Jacob. Now the divine Scripture admires Phinehas the priest, and rightly so, because he killed Zimri, who had become a cause of destruction for the people. So blessed David sang: "Phinehas stood and made atonement, and the plague was stopped; and it was counted to him as righteousness, from generation to generation, forever."

1g Yet Phinehas used a weapon of war to carry out that just and much-celebrated killing. For Jacob the tongue was enough, in place of spear and sword, and it destroyed the ungodly man so that he would not see the glory of the Lord. This alone is enough to expose the folly of the heirs of Arius's impiety. For this great man was a herald and defender of the doctrines we hold, and he so loathed their impiety that he struck down its very father, using his tongue as a weapon. When the holy council broke up and each man went back to his own home, Jacob also returned, rejoicing like a champion and victor in the trophies of true religion. Time passed. That great and admirable emperor departed this life with the crowns of piety, and his sons inherited rule over the world. Then the king of the Persians, whose name was Shapur, despised the sons, thinking they could not do what their father could, and marched against Nisibis. He brought a very large force of cavalry and a very large force of infantry, and he had a great many elephants as well. He divided his army as for a siege and encamped all around the city. He set up siege engines and built towers. He drove in stakes and fenced the spaces between them with woven branches. Then he ordered his soldiers to pile up earth and raise towers against the city's towers. He had archers climb up there and ordered them to shoot at those standing on the wall, while he ordered others to dig under the wall from below. But everything came to nothing, undone by the prayer of the holy man. At last, by the labor of many hands, he blocked the flow of the river that ran by the city. When he had collected as much water as possible behind the barrier, he released it all

at once against the wall, using it as a very powerful engine. The wall could not bear the blow of the water. It was shaken by the force, and the whole section on that side fell completely. The Persians shouted loudly, thinking the city was easy to take. They did not know about the great wall of the inhabitants [the people's defense]. Still, they put off the attack, because they saw the city made impassable by the waters.

1h So the Persians withdrew to a distance, supposing their labor was over, and they rested themselves and tended their horses. The people of the city turned to more earnest prayers, with the great Jacob as their envoy. All those of working age rebuilt the wall in haste, caring nothing for beauty or neatness. They put everything together as it came, stones, bricks, whatever anyone brought. In a single night the work advanced, and it rose high enough to stop the charge of horses and to stop men from climbing it without ladders. Then everyone begged the man of God to appear on the wall and to shoot down the enemy with curses. He agreed and went up. When he saw their many tens of thousands, he begged God to send a cloud of gnats and mosquitoes against them. He spoke and God sent them, much as God obeyed Moses. The men were wounded by these divine arrows. The horses and elephants broke their tethers and bolted, scattering this way and that, unable to bear those stings. Then the impious king saw that all his siege engines had done no good, and that the attack of the river had come to nothing, for the wall that had fallen had been rebuilt. He saw his whole army worn out with toil, suffering in the open, and driven off by a blow from God. He also saw the man of God walking on the wall. He guessed that this was the king overseeing the work, because Jacob was seen wearing a purple robe and a diadem. So he raged against those who had deceived him and persuaded him to march, and who had said the king was not in the city. He passed a death sentence on them, disbanded his army, and returned to his own palace as fast as he could. God worked such wonders in the case of this man, as he did for Hezekiah. They were no less than that earlier one, and in my judgment even greater. For that the city was not taken even when its wall had fallen, what greater marvel could there be? And besides this I marvel at something else: though Jacob used curses, he did not ask for thunderbolts and lightning to be sent down, as the great Elijah did when each captain of fifty came to him with his fifty men.

1i For Jacob had heard the Lord speak plainly to James and John, who had tried to do this very thing: "You do not know what spirit you are of." For that reason he did not ask that the earth open up for the Persians, nor did he beg that their host be handed over to fire. He asked instead that they be wounded by those tiny creatures, so that they might recognize the power of God and learn, even if late, true devotion to him. So great was this man of God's boldness before God, and so great the grace he enjoyed from above. He continued in these things, growing every day in divine things, and with the greatest renown he laid down this life and set out on his journey from here. Time passed, and this city was handed over to the Persian kingdom by the emperor of the time. All who lived in the city went out, carrying the body of their champion. They were grieving and lamenting their forced migration, and they sang of the power of their victorious hero. For had he been alive, they would never have come under barbarians. Having told this much about this man of God, I will move on to another account, praying that I may share in his blessing.

CHAPTER 2

2a Julian, whom the locals honored with the nickname Sabbas (in Greek the name means "old man"), set up his ascetic hut in the region once called Parthia and now called Osrhoene. To the west it stretches to the bank of the river itself, which is named Euphrates. To the east it reaches the edge of the Roman empire, for Assyria follows, which is the western limit of the Persian kingdom and which people later called Adiabene. In this land there are many large and populous cities, and a very great stretch of country, part of it inhabited and a great part of it uninhabited and desert. This godly man reached the far edge of that desert. He found a cave that was not made by hands and had not been dug out neatly or well, but could give a little shelter to those who wanted to take refuge in it. He gladly made it his home, judging it more precious than palaces glittering with gold and silver. There he passed his days, taking food only once a week. His food was millet bread, and that made of coarse bran. His relish was salt. His drink, and the sweetest of drinks, was the water that welled up naturally, and he measured it not by what would satisfy him but by what the food he had set out first required. His luxury, his delicacy, and his feast of every kind was the singing of David's psalms and his unbroken conversation with God. He enjoyed these without ever being sated, and he did not want to have enough of them. He was always

being filled, and always crying out, "How sweet are your words to my throat, sweeter than honey and the honeycomb to my mouth!" He heard blessed David say again, "The judgments of the Lord are true, righteous altogether, more to be desired than gold and much precious stone, and sweeter than honey and the honeycomb." He heard him say again, "Delight yourself in the Lord, and he will give you the requests of your heart." And again, "Let the heart of those who seek the Lord rejoice." And, "Make my heart glad to fear your name." And, "Taste and see that the Lord is good." And, "My soul has thirsted for God, the strong and living one."

2b And, "My soul has clung to you." And he took the love of the one who spoke these words and made it his own. This is the very reason the great David sang these words and taught them, so that he might make many into sharers and fellow lovers of God. He was not disappointed in his hope. He wounded this marvelous man, and countless others, with the love of God. This man received such a burning torch of love that he was drunk with longing. He saw nothing of earthly things. He dreamed of the Beloved alone by night and pictured him by day. Many learned of this highest philosophy of his. Some lived nearby and some far away, for rumor flew everywhere on wings. They ran to him, begging to share in the training-ground and to live from then on under him, as under a trainer and coach. For it is not only birds that hunt birds, singing and calling their own kind to themselves and entangling them in the snares set around. Human beings also catch those of their own nature, some to their ruin and some to their salvation. So they gathered, and quickly there were ten, then double and triple that, and then they filled up the number one hundred. And the cave took in all of these, for they had learned from the old man to condemn the care of the body. Like their coach, they too ate millet bread seasoned with salt. Later they also gathered wild vegetables, packed them into earthen jars, and mixed in as much brine as was needed. This was the relish for those who needed some care. But damp dwellings are the enemy of this vegetable, for it naturally breeds mold and rot. Since this trouble befell the relish, because the cave took in much moisture from every side, the members of the company begged the old man to let them build a small shed, large enough for the jars of this relish. At first he would not accept the request. But at last he was persuaded, for he had been taught by the great Paul not to seek his own things but to be led along with the lowly. He gave only small and modest measure-

ments for the shed, and went off far from the cave to offer his usual prayers to God.

2c He was in the habit of walking out into the desert, often fifty stades and sometimes twice that far. He cut himself off from all human company and turned inward, so that he could talk with God alone and see reflected, as in a mirror, that divine and unspeakable beauty. Those who had been given into his care took advantage of this leisure and built the little house. They made it a fitting size for its purpose, but larger than they had been told to build it. He came back after ten days, like a Moses coming down from the mountain and from a vision beyond words. When he saw that the building was bigger than he wanted, he said: "I am afraid, men, that by enlarging our lodgings on earth we may shrink our dwellings in heaven. These earthly ones are temporary, and useful to us only for a little while. Those are eternal and can never come to an end." He said this to train the company in the more perfect way. Yet he put up with it, having heard the apostle's voice: "I do not seek my own advantage, but that of the many, that they may be saved." He also trained them in this: inside the cave they offered their psalmody to God together. After dawn they went out into the desert two by two. One would bend his knees and give the Master the worship that is due him, while the other stood and sang fifteen psalms of David. Then they exchanged tasks. The one who had been singing would kneel and bow to the ground, and the other would rise and sing. They kept on doing this from early morning until late evening. Shortly before sunset they rested a little. Then they came back to the cave, some from one direction and some from another, and all together offered their worship to the Master. The old man himself used to take one of the more distinguished brothers as a partner in the service. A certain man followed him quite often, a Persian by birth, tall and admirable in appearance, and possessing a soul even more wonderful than his looks. His name was Jacob. After the old man's death he shone in every virtue, and was famous and admired not only among the people there but also in the monasteries of Syria. In one of those he died, having lived, it is said, a hundred and four years.

2d This man shared the great old man's journey into the desert, but followed from a distance. The teacher would not allow him to come near, so that it would not give them an excuse for conversation, and conversation steal the mind away from its vision of God. As he followed, Jacob saw an

enormous serpent lying on the road. When he saw it he did not dare go forward. Several times he wanted to turn aside out of fear, but his resolve grew strong again. Then he stooped, picked up a pebble and threw it. He saw the serpent stay just as it was, unable to move at all. Understanding that it was dead, he supposed that the old man had killed the beast. When he had finished the walk and completed the service of psalmody, the time for rest came. The old man sat down and told Jacob to rest his body for a little too. At first Jacob sat in silence. But when the old man began some conversation, Jacob smiled and begged him to make clear something he did not understand. The old man allowed him to ask. "I saw a huge serpent thrown down on the road," he said. "At first I was afraid, thinking it was alive. When I saw it was dead, I took courage and went on. So tell me, Father, who killed it? You were leading the way, and no one else has passed along that road." The old man said, "Stop prying into such things. They can bring no benefit to those who deal with them." But the admirable Jacob still pressed him, eager to learn the truth. The old man tried for a long time to hide it, but could not bear to distress the one who loved him any longer. "I will tell you, if you want to know," he said. "But I charge you not to make anyone else a sharer in what I say as long as I live. Such things ought to be hidden, because they often stir up boasting and conceit. If I depart from here and become free of such passions, I will not forbid you to speak and to tell of the power of divine grace. "Know then," said the great Julian, "that as I was walking along the road, that beast came at me and opened its mouth, wanting to swallow me."

2e "I used the name of God and pointed with my finger to the trophy of the cross. At once I shook off all fear, and I saw the beast fall to the ground. I sang praise to our common Savior and went on my way." When he had finished the story, he got up and continued on the road to the cave. At another time a young man came, born of a noble family and raised in luxury, but with more eagerness than strength. He begged the old man to let him share his journey into the desert. He did not mean the ordinary trip that everyone made every day, but the very long one, an absence that often lasted seven days and often ten. This was the famous Asterius. The holy old man tried to stop the young man and told him the desert had no water. But the young man kept pressing him and pleading to enjoy this gift. Overcome by his entreaties, the old man gave in. At first the young man followed eagerly. But when the first, second and third days had passed, the heat of the sun scorched

him (it was summer, and in the height of summer the heat is fiercer), and he was worn down with thirst. At first he was ashamed to report his suffering, remembering what the teacher had warned him. But he was beaten down and close to fainting, and he begged the old man to have pity on him. The old man reminded him of his warnings and told him to go back. The young man said he did not know the road back to the cave, and that even if he knew it, he could not walk it, since thirst had used up his strength. The holy man pitied the young man's suffering and forgave his bodily weakness. He bent his knees and begged the Master, wetting the ground with hot tears, and he sought a way of rescue for the young man. And the One who does the will of those who fear him, and hears their prayer, made the stream of tears that touched the dust into a spring of water. When the young man had drunk his fill, the old man told him to go back at once. The spring has remained to this day, bearing witness to the Moses-like prayer of the holy old man.

2f Long ago Moses struck that barren rock with his rod and flooded it with streams of river water, to satisfy those many thousands who were thirsty. In the same way this holy man watered that bone-dry sand with his tears and drew out flowing streams of spring water. He did it not for many tens of thousands, but to cure the thirst of one young man. His soul was lit by divine grace, and he saw very clearly the perfection that the young man would one day reach. For many years later Asterius was called by divine grace to train many others in the same virtue. In the district around Gindarus, a very large village under the jurisdiction of Antioch, he set up a school of ascetic training. He drew many other athletes of philosophy to himself. He also drew the great Acacius, the famous one, I mean. Acacius shone in the monastic way of life and sent out bright rays of virtue after he was thought worthy of the office of bishop and was appointed to shepherd Beroea. He was entrusted with leading the flock for fifty-eight years. He did not give up the form of the ascetic life, but blended ascetic virtue with the virtue of public life. From the one he took strictness and from the other management, and so brought together things that stand apart. The one who hunted out this virtue and trained Acacius in it was that same Asterius. He remained so warm a lover of the great old man that he often made the journey to him twice a year, and often three times. When he arrived he used to bring figs for the members of the company, loading them on three or four animals. He would

also collect two measures of grain, enough for the old man for a whole year, and put that load on his own shoulders, making himself the teacher's pack animal. He walked carrying this load, not ten or twenty stades, but on a journey of seven days. Once the old man saw him carrying the load of figs on his shoulders. He was displeased and said he would not make them his food. For it was not right, he said, that Asterius should endure so much labor while he himself took his pleasure in Asterius's sweat.

2g Asterius swore he would not take the load off his shoulders unless the old man agreed to share in the food he had brought. "I will do what you ask," said the old man, "only put the sack down as quickly as you can." In this he was imitating the first of the apostles. When the Lord wished to wash his feet, Peter at first refused and flatly insisted it would never happen. But when he heard that he would be cut off from fellowship with the Master unless he allowed it, he begged to have his hands and his head washed as well as his feet. John, too, great as he was, was commanded to baptize the Saviour. At first he confessed that he was only a servant and pointed to the Master. Later he did what he was told, not out of boldness but out of obedience to his Master. So too this holy man was troubled at the thought of eating food that another had labored to bring. But when he saw how warm the zeal of his attendant was, he chose to accept that service rather than his own preference. Perhaps some who love to find fault, and have learned only to mock what is good, will say this story is not worth remembering. But I have added it to the man's other wonders. I wanted to show not only the reverence the great men had for him, but also, because I think it is useful, the sweetness and modesty of his character. Great as he was, and so excellent in virtue, he did not think himself worthy of ordinary honor. He pushed it away as something that did not belong to him at all, yet he put up with it again, because it did good to those who gave it. Since he had become known to everyone, and his fame drew to him those who loved what is good, he wanted to escape such honor. In the end he set out for Mount Sinai with a few of his closest companions. He did not go through any city or village but made a path through the pathless desert. On their shoulders they carried the food they needed: bread, salt, a wooden cup, and a sponge tied to a cord. If they ever found water deep down, they could draw it up with the sponge, squeeze it into the cup, and drink.

2h So after a journey of many days they reached the mountain they longed for. They worshiped their Master and stayed there a long time, counting the solitude of the place and the stillness of the soul as the greatest luxury. On that rock, where Moses, the chief of the prophets, hid and was thought worthy to see God as far as it is possible to see him, Julian built a church and consecrated a holy altar, which has remained to this day. [Then he returned] to his own training-ground. Then he learned of the threats of the king who bore his own name but was impious. This king had threatened the godly with total destruction and had set out on his march against the Persians. Those who shared his views were eagerly awaiting his dreaded return. At that time Julian offered earnest prayer to God. He kept it up until the tenth day, and then he heard a voice saying that the foul, stinking pig had been destroyed. Yet he did not simply go on to the end of his prayer. He brought it to a close at once and turned his request into a hymn, sending up a song of thanks to the Saviour of his own people, who is patient and also a powerful enemy to those who are strangers to him. For God had been long-suffering toward the impious man for a long time. But when that long-suffering only trained the accursed wretch to greater rage, God brought punishment on him at the right time. When Julian had finished his prayer and turned to his companions, it was plain that his mind was cheerful, for his face showed a radiant joy. His companions marveled at the strange sight: he always looked grave, yet now he was seen smiling. They asked him the reason. "Gentlemen," he said, "this is a time for gladness and joy. The impious man has come to an end, as Isaiah's word says. He has paid a penalty worthy of his daring deeds. He played the tyrant against God who made him and saved him, and he has received a just death by the right hand of one of his own subjects. That is why I rejoice. I see the churches he warred against now exulting, and I see that the wretch got no help from the demons he honored." So concerning the death of this impious emperor, Julian enjoyed such foreknowledge. But Valens, who took up the reins of Roman rule after him, gave up the truth of the gospel teachings and accepted the deceit of Arius's error. Then a greater storm arose against the Church. Her helmsmen were driven out from every side, and in their place some pirates and enemies were brought in.

2i So that I do not have to tell that whole tragedy at this point, I will leave the rest aside for now and recall only one thing, which showed plainly the

grace of the divine Spirit that flowered in this old man. The great Meletius, whom the God of all had entrusted with shepherding the church of Antioch, had been driven out. All the clergy had been driven out of the holy churches too, together with the people who shared their mind and confessed the one divine essence of the Trinity. Sometimes they occupied the foot of the mountain and held their sacred assemblies there. Sometimes they made the river bank their place of prayer. At other times they used the military exercise ground that lies before the north gate. For their persecutors would not allow the godly to settle in a single place. The nurslings of falsehood also spread a rumor in that city, and sowed it widely: that the great Julian, this very old man, I mean, had embraced fellowship with the doctrines they professed. This troubled the godly most of all, for fear that the rumor might deceive the simpler and more naive and wrap them in the nets of the heretics. But the blessed and godly men Flavian and Diodore, who had been counted worthy of priestly service and were leading the holy people, together with Aphraates, whose life I shall, God willing, add and tell by itself, persuaded the great Acacius, whom I have already mentioned. They urged him to take as his companion on the road his own teacher, who was also a disciple of this holy old man, the famous Asterius. They asked him to run to the common glory of the Church, the support of the gospel's teaching, and persuade him to leave his dwelling in the desert and come to the help of so many thousands perishing through deceit, and to put out the flame of Arius with the dew of his coming. The divine Acacius ran. He took the great Asterius as he had been told, and came to the greatest light of the Church. He greeted him and said, "Tell me, Father, why do you endure all this toil with joy?" The old man answered, "Serving God is more precious to me than body, soul, life, and my whole existence. I try, as far as I am able, to offer him a service clean of filth, and to please him in everything."

2j Acacius said, "I will show you a way by which you can serve him even more than you do now. And I say this not from reasoning alone, but because I have learned it from his own teaching. Once he asked Peter whether he loved him more than the others. He learned what he already knew before Peter spoke: 'You know, Lord, that I love you.' Then he showed him what he could do to serve him more: 'If you love me,' he said, 'shepherd my sheep, and feed my lambs.' This is what you too must do, Father. The flocks are in danger of being destroyed by wolves, and the one you love so much loves

them very much. It is the mark of lovers to do the things that please the ones they love. Besides, it is no small danger, and a loss of all those many great labors, if you can bear to give up the truth in silence while it is fiercely attacked, and let those who hold to it be hunted down, with your name becoming bait for those being caught. For the champions of the foulness of Arius boast that they have you as a partner in their impiety." As soon as the old man heard this, he said farewell to his quiet at the right moment. He was not afraid of the unfamiliar tumult of city affairs, and he set out running for Antioch. He completed two or three stages through the desert and reached a village as evening fell. A well-off woman heard that this holy company had come. She ran to gather in their blessing, and throwing herself down before their feet she begged them to make her house their lodging. The old man yielded, though he had been separated from such a sight, that is, from lodging in a house, for more than forty years. While this admirable woman was busy serving those holy men, her seven-year-old child, her only one, fell into the well in the evening darkness. She had imitated Sarah's hospitality. A commotion arose over this, as you would expect. When the mother learned of it, she told everyone to keep quiet. She put a cover over the well and carried on with her service. When the table had been set before the holy men, the divine old man ordered that the woman's child be called in to share in the blessing.

2k The woman said she was ill and could not bring the child, but the old man kept insisting that he be brought. When the mother finally revealed what had happened, the old man left the table and ran to the well. He ordered the cover taken off and lights brought, and he saw the child sitting on the surface of the water, striking it with his hand as children do. He took what had seemed to be death as a game and a toy. They tied some ropes together, let them down, and pulled the child up. At once he ran to the old man's feet and said that he had seen him carrying him on the water and keeping him from sinking. This was the reward the admirable woman received from the blessed old man for her hospitality. I will pass over the other things that happened on the way. They came to Antioch, and people hurried together from every side. They longed to see the man of God, and each one hoped to receive some healing for his own affliction. He was lodged in the caves at the foot of the mountain, where they say the divine apostle, blessed Paul, was brought and hidden. But right away, so that everyone would learn

that he was a man, a violent attack of fever came upon him. The great Acacius saw the crowd that had gathered and was troubled by the illness that had struck. He thought the people who had come would be shaken if they learned of the sickness, since they expected to find healing through that man's hand. "Do not lose heart," said the old man. "If health is needed, God will give that too, and at once." Immediately after these words he turned to prayer. As his custom was, he put his knees and forehead to the ground and begged to receive health, if any benefit would come from it to those who had gathered. He had not yet finished the prayer when a heavy sweat suddenly broke out and put out the flame of the fever. From there he freed many from all kinds of diseases and went to the assembly of the faithful. As he was passing the doors of the palace, a beggar who used his buttocks in place of feet, dragging himself along the ground, stretched out his hand and touched the old man's cloak. By his faith he drove out the affliction. He leapt up and ran as he had before his illness, doing the same as the lame man whom Peter and John raised up.

21 When this happened, the whole population of the city streamed together, and the military exercise ground was full of people running to it. The slanderers and craftsmen of falsehood were put to shame, while those raised in godliness were filled with cheerfulness and joy. From there those who needed healing dragged the lamp of godliness off to their houses. A man who held a very high office and was entrusted with the helm of the East sent and begged him to come and free him from the illness that lay on him. Without delay he came, entreated the common Master, and loosed the sickness with a word. He urged the man to confess his thanks to God. After doing these and similar things, he decided at last to return to his ascetic hut. On his way he passed through Cyrrhus, a city two days' journey from Antioch, and was lodged in the shrine of the victorious martyr Dionysius. The leaders of the orthodox community there gathered and begged him to help them, since they expected sudden ruin. They said that Asterius, who had been raised on sophistic falsehood, had slipped into the church of the heretics and been given the office of bishop. He was a terrible advocate for falsehood and used evil craft against the truth. "We fear," they said, "that he will cover falsehood with eloquence like a bait, spread out the tangled webs of his arguments like nets, and catch many of those who live in simplicity. That is why he has been summoned by our opponents." The old man said,

"Take courage, and beg God together with us, adding fasting and hardship to your prayer." While they were pleading with God in this way, on the day before the festival at which the advocate of falsehood and enemy of the truth was to give his speeches, he received a blow sent by God. He was sick for just one day and then was gone from the list of the living. He probably heard that voice: "Fool, this night they demand your soul from you. The evils you prepared, the nets and traps, will be for you and for no one else." The same thing happened to Balaam, who was also sent for against the holy people. He gave Balak unholy advice against them and paid the penalty for it, receiving his death at an Israelite's right hand.

2m So this man too had schemed against the people of God, and by the people of God he was robbed of his life. Cyrrhus enjoyed this deliverance through the old man's prayer. The story was handed down to me by that godly head, the great Acacius, who knew everything about him exactly. Leaving that place, he returned to his fellow ascetics and spent no little time with them. Then he moved very readily to the life that does not age and knows no grief. He had practiced freedom from passion while still in a mortal nature, and he now awaits the immortality of the body. Here I end my account of this story and will go on to another. I beg the saints who figure in this story to win for me, by their intercession, favor from above.

CHAPTER 3

3a How could we worthily admire Marcianus, that truly remarkable man? Plainly we must rank him with Elijah and John and those like them, who went about in sheepskins and goatskins, destitute, afflicted, ill-treated, men of whom this world was not worthy, wandering in deserts and mountains and caves and the holes of the earth. His homeland was once Cyrrhus, which I mentioned earlier. After that it was the desert. Now he has left both of these and has heaven. The first gave him birth, the second nourished him and made him a victor, and the third has received him as one crowned. He despised the splendor of his family, for he came from noble stock. He despised the brilliance of the royal court, for he had flourished there. The Creator had given him a tall body and natural beauty, and he had a soul adorned with sharp intelligence. But he transferred his love to God and the things of God. He bade everyone farewell and went to the very center of the desert. There he built a tiny hut, not even fitted to the size of his body, and surrounded it with another small enclosure. He shut himself in continually, cut off

from all human company. He conversed with the Master of all and listened to that sweet voice. When he read the divine oracles, he believed he was enjoying the divine voice. When he prayed and offered his petitions, he was himself holding a conversation with the Master. And though he always enjoyed such delight, he never wished to have his fill of it. For he had heard the divine Spirit singing through the great David: the one who meditates on the law of the Lord day and night will be like a tree planted by the streams of water, which will give its fruit in its season, and its leaf will not fall off. Longing for these fruits, he embraced this sweetest labor. Psalm-singing followed prayer, prayer followed psalm-singing, and the reading of the divine oracles followed both again. His only food was bread, and that was brought to him by weight. The weight was so small that it would not have met the need of a child just weaned. They say that the pound of bread was divided into four parts and shared out over four days, one portion given each day.

3b He had decided to eat once a day, in the evening, and never to be filled. He meant always to be hungry and always to be thirsty, and to give the body only what was enough to keep it alive. For he used to say that a man who takes food only after several days does his service to the Master more weakly on the days of fasting. Then on the day he does eat, he will naturally take more, and so he loads his stomach. Once weighed down, it makes the soul sluggish for keeping watch. So he said it was better to take food every day, and never to put up with being full. "For true fasting is constant want." This divine man kept laying down these rules. Yet his body was very large, and he was the tallest and most handsome man of his time, and he kept it alive on a little food. After some time he took in two companions. One was Eusebius, who became heir of that holy hut. The other was Agapetus, who transplanted this angelic way of life to the territory of Apamea. There is a very large and populous village there called Nicerte. In it he built two very large schools of philosophy. One was named after himself. The other was named after the admirable Symeon, who shone in this philosophy for fifty years. In these communities to this day more than four hundred men live, athletes of virtue and lovers of godliness, buying heaven with their labors. The lawgivers of this way of life were Agapetus and Symeon, who had received the laws from the great Marcianus. From these houses countless other dwellings for ascetics have been planted, adorned with the same rules; they are not easy to count. But the planter of all of them was that inspired man. For the one who sup-

plied the best seed may rightly be called the cause of the good things that grew from it. At first, then, as I said, he had that voluntary prison to himself alone. Afterward he took in these two, but did not keep them as housemates. For the little cell was not enough even for him alone. It was extremely small, and gave him much trouble whether he stood or lay down.

3c He could not stand upright, because the roof bent his head and neck. And when he lay down he could not stretch out his feet, because the length of the house did not match his body. So he allowed the two to build another cell, ordered them to live in that one, and told them to sing hymns, pray and read the divine Scriptures by themselves. Then, since more people needed to share in this benefit, he instructed that another dwelling be built at some distance, and told those who wished to live there to do so. Eusebius led them, passing on the teaching of the great Marcianus. That divine Agapetus, once he had been trained and exercised as he should be and had been taught this athletic discipline thoroughly, went back, as I said, and sowed the seeds he had received from that holy soul. He became so famous and so admired that he was thought worthy of the bishop's chair, was entrusted with the care of a shepherd, and was given charge of his own native city. The admirable Eusebius, who presided over the flock gathered there, also took on the teacher's care. He alone was allowed to visit Marcianus at the proper time and ask whether he wanted anything. Once he wished to see by night what Marcianus was doing, and dared to come near the little window through which the light came, which was small. He looked in and saw a light that was not from a lamp and not made by hands, but given by God. It was a light of grace from above, flashing from the teacher's head, and it showed him the lettering of the divine Scriptures. For Marcianus happened to be holding a book, and was searching out the inviolable treasure of the divine will. When the admirable Eusebius saw this, he was filled with fear and trembling. He learned how much grace had been poured out on the divine servant, and he learned God's good will toward his servants. At another time, while the great Marcianus was praying in the forecourt, a serpent crept up the wall that faced east. From the top of the wall it peered over, mouth open and glaring fiercely, showing its intention to attack. Eusebius, standing far off, was terrified at that dreadful sight. Supposing that his teacher did not know, he pointed it out with a shout and begged him to flee.

3d Marcian rebuked him and told him to throw off his fear, for fear too, he said, is a deadly passion. With his finger he traced the sign of the cross in front of the creature, and then he breathed on it with his mouth, and so showed the old enmity. The serpent, as if set alight by the breath of his mouth like a fire, was burned up like straw and fell apart in many pieces. Notice, then, how he imitated the Master like a loyal servant. For when the sea once raged against the disciples' boat and the Master saw them in anguish, he did not calm the storm of the sea until he had first ended the disciples' unbelief by rebuking it. The wonderful man had learned this lesson from that example: he first took away his disciple's fear, and only then handed the beast over to punishment. Such was the wisdom of the great Marcian, such his working of wonders, and such his boldness toward God. Yet although he had been counted worthy of such grace and could work great wonders, he was eager to hide his power, because he was wary of the schemes of that thief of virtue. For the one who sows the passion of vainglory tries to rob us of the fruits we have gathered by toil. But though he was determined to hide the grace given to him, he worked wonders against his will, since the brilliance of his achievements flashed out and exposed the power he kept hidden. This is how it once happened. A man of noble family, who had often been entrusted with military commands, came from Beroea in Syria. His daughter had for a long time been raving, tormented by an evil demon and in a frenzy. He reached the desert. He was a friend of the great Marcian and, because of their earlier friendship, expected to meet him and plead with him. But his hope was disappointed, and he was denied the sight of the servant of God. So he begged an old man, who at that time had been given charge of attending the holy man, to take a small flask full of oil and place it beside the door of the little hut. The old man refused to take the task on, many times, but when he was urged many times again, he gave way to the entreaty. The great Marcian heard the noise and asked who it was and what he needed in coming.

3e The old man hid the true reason and pretended that he had come to learn whether Marcian had any command for him; with this answer he was sent away. Toward dawn the girl's father begged again that the flask be given back to him. The old man, though afraid, went quietly as best he could, stretched out his hand, took the flask, and tried to escape notice. But Marcian again asked what he wanted. When the old man gave the same excuse he had given in the evening, the holy man was displeased, since the old

man's coming was contrary to custom, and he ordered him to tell the truth. Trembling and afraid, and unable to hide anything from a man so full of divine grace, he said who had come, told the whole tragic story of the girl's suffering, and showed the flask. Marcian was angry, as one would expect, since he did not want his virtue to be displayed. But he threatened that if the old man ever dared such a thing again, he would be deprived of living with him and have his service taken away. To those who know what is gained by it, that was the greatest loss. Then he sent him off with orders to give the flask back to the one who had given it. So Marcian gave that order. Meanwhile the demon, who was four stages away from the one driving it out, was crying out about his power. In Beroea Marcian was doing the work of judges, using the demon's own cries as though they were executioners against it, driving out that wretch and showing the girl cleansed of its working. The girl's father learned this exactly. As he was returning and was only a few stades from the city, a servant met him, sent to the countryside by his mistress. When this man saw his master, he brought him the good news of the miracle that had taken place, saying that the wonder had happened four days earlier. The father counted the days and checked the time carefully, and learned that it was the very time when the old man had carried out the flask. As for me, I think of what this great man would not have done if he had wished to work wonders. For if, though he was eager to hide the grace he had received, he gave off so much brightness, what marvels would he not have worked had he wanted to?

3f In the same way he did not show his spiritual wisdom to everyone. Even at the end of his life he allowed those who wished to come in to him only after the feast of the Savior's passion and the Lord's resurrection. At that season, of course, everyone was eager to see him. Once the leading bishops gathered and came to him: the great Flavian, who had been entrusted with shepherding the Antiochenes; the holy Acacius, whom I mentioned earlier; Eusebius of Chalcis; and Isidore, who was then entrusted with the governing of Cyrrhus, all of them distinguished for virtue. With them was Theodotus, who held the reins of the church of Hierapolis, a man who shone in discipline and gentleness. Some men of rank and office were present too, who kept the spark of faith alive. Everyone sat in silence, waiting for his sacred voice. He too sat silent for a long time, with his tongue idle but his hearing active. Then one of those seated, who was familiar with him through his care for

his soul and was also a man of distinction, said: "Father, all of us here, and the holy fathers too, are thirsty for your teaching and are waiting for your sweet streams. Share the benefit with everyone present, and do not hold back the springs of kindness." He groaned deeply and said: "The God of all speaks every day through creation. He speaks through the divine Scriptures, advises what is needed, sets out what is profitable, frightens us with threats, and urges us on with promises, and we gain no benefit from it. So how could Marcianus profit you by speaking? You are sent away with so much benefit along with the others, and you do not want to find help from there." This prompted many speeches from the fathers, which I thought it unnecessary to put into the narrative. They rose and prayed, and wanted to lay hands on him to ordain him to the priesthood, but they were afraid to try it again. One urged the other on, and the other urged the first, and in the end all alike gave up the attempt and made their way home. But I want to add another story to these, which is a mark of his divine understanding.

3g A certain Abitus was the first to set up an ascetic hut in the other desert. It lies farther north than Marcianus's, and a little to the east, toward the north wind that approaches the east wind. This man was older than the great Marcianus both in years and in labor, a true philosopher, brought up in a hard way of life. He learned that the man's virtue was being talked about everywhere. He judged that seeing such a man was worth more than his small quiet, and he ran in haste to see the one he longed for. When the great Marcianus learned of his arrival, he opened the door and welcomed him. He told the admirable Eusebius to boil some pulse, and some vegetables if he had any. When they had had their fill of talking with each other and had come to know each other's virtue, they performed the service of the ninth hour together. Then Eusebius came in carrying a table and bringing bread. The great Marcianus said to the godlike Abitus, "Come, dearest of all to me, and let us share this table." He answered, "I have never known myself to take food before evening. Often I even go two or three days without eating." The great Marcianus said, "For my sake, then, let the custom be changed today. My body is weak, and I cannot wait for evening." When even this did not persuade the admirable Abitus, Marcianus is said to have sighed and said, "I am very discouraged, and my heart is stung, that you endured so great a labor to see someone who loves toil and loves wisdom, and that, cheated of your hope, you have seen a huckster and a profligate instead of a philosopher."

The most godly Abitus was distressed at this and said he would rather eat meat than hear such words. The great Marcianus said, "We too, my friend, follow the same life as you and embrace the same way of living. We prefer toil to rest and choose fasting over food, and when night comes, only then do we take a share of it. But we know that love is worth more than fasting. The one is the work of divine law, the other is a matter of our own power. And it is right to count the divine laws far more precious than our own labors."

3h After talking together like this, they shared a little food, sang hymns to God, and spent three days with each other. Then they parted, still seeing one another in the Spirit. Who would not admire this man's wisdom? Guided by it, he knew the proper time for fasting, and the proper time for philosophy and for love of the brethren. He also knew the difference between the parts of virtue, which should give way to which, and to which one should award the prize at the right moment. I have another story as well, a proof of his perfection in divine things. His sister came to him from his homeland with her son, who was a grown man and one of the leading citizens of Cyrrhus. She brought him a generous supply of what he needed. He would not bear to see his sister, but he received his nephew, for it was the time appointed for visitors. They begged him to accept what they had brought. He said, "How many monasteries did you pass on the way? Which of them did you give any of this to?" The nephew said they had given to none. "Then go away with what you brought," he said. "We need none of it, and if we did need it, we would not accept it. You were thinking of natural kinship, not of service to God, when you chose to show us this kindness. If you honored only the closeness of family, you would not have shared what you brought with us alone." With these words he sent his nephew away along with his sister, and he would not allow even the smallest part of their gifts to be accepted. So far was he outside nature, and so completely had he moved over to the citizenship of heaven. What clearer example could anyone give that he was worthy of God, according to God's own word? For he says, "Whoever does not leave father and mother and brothers and sisters and wife and children is not worthy of me." And if the one who does not leave them is unworthy, then the one who does leave them, and shows such exact perfection, was clearly most worthy. Besides these things, I also admire the precision of his doctrine.

He loathed the madness of Arius, which was then being fanned by imperial power. He also detested the mental disorder of Apollinarius.

3i He also fought bravely against those who hold the views of Sabellius and gather the three hypostases into one. He turned completely away from the so-called Euchites, who suffered from the Manichaean sickness under a monastic disguise. His zeal for the teachings of the Church was so hot that he even entered into a just quarrel with a man who was admirable and godly. There was in that desert a man named Abraames, an old man with grey hair and a still greyer mind, shining with every virtue, and always welling up the tears of compunction. At the beginning, led by a kind of simplicity, he accepted celebrating the Pascha at the earlier date. He was ignorant, as one would expect, of what the Fathers had laid down about this at Nicaea, and he chose to keep to an ancient custom. Many others at that time suffered from the same ignorance. The great Marcian, after many conversations, tried to bring the old man Abraames (for that is what the locals called him) into agreement with the Church. When he saw that Abraames would not be persuaded, he openly withdrew from communion with him. But after some time that godly man threw off his fault and came to love agreement in the holy feast, and he sang truthfully, "Blessed are the blameless in the way, who walk in the law of the Lord." This too was an achievement of the great Marcian's teaching. Many people in many places built shrines for prayer to honor him. In Cyrrhus his nephew Alypius did so. In Chalcis a woman named Zenobiane did so, distinguished in birth and outstanding in virtue, and abounding in wealth. Quite a few others did the same, each competing to seize that victorious athlete for herself. When the man of God learned of this, he urged the admirable Eusebius, binding him with oaths full of every dread, to lay his body in that place, and to let no one know the tomb except two of the closest members of the household, until a great number of years had passed. That admirable man fulfilled the oath. When the end of the victor came, and a choir of angels carried that holy and godly soul to the dwellings in heaven, Eusebius did not announce his death until he had dug the grave with the two who knew him best, laid the body in it, and leveled the surface of the ground.

3j Fifty years or more went by. Countless people ran together and searched for his body, yet the tomb stayed hidden. But each of the shrines I mentioned had received relics, some of apostles and some of martyrs. So the heirs

of his dwelling and his teaching took courage. Two years ago they made a stone coffin and moved the relics of the honored body into it. One man pointed out the tomb, for he alone of the three was still alive. The admirable Eusebius became a zealous imitator of Marcian's virtue, and he wore down his body with ever more labors. He put on himself one hundred and twenty pounds of iron. To these he added the other fifty pounds that the most godly Agapetus had worn, and then the eighty pounds of the great Marcian. For his dwelling he had a pit with no water in it, and he lived in it like this for three years. I have gone into these matters because I want to show how many other great achievements the great Marcian was responsible for. The admirable Basil also benefited from his way of life. Many years later Basil built a monastic lodging near Seleucobelus, a city of Syria. He shone in many kinds of virtue, and shone especially in the God-loved possession of love and in the divine work of hospitality. Who could easily count how many workers he presented to God, to speak as the apostle did, who had no need to be ashamed and who rightly handled the word of truth? To pass over the others for now, though they deserve praise and would make my account too long, I will mention only one of them. There was a pupil of his whom they called Sabinus, who wore out his body with countless labors. He ate no bread and no relish of any kind. His food was flour moistened with water. He used to mix a whole month's food at once, so that it went moldy and gave off a heavy stench. By this kind of food he wanted to dull the appetites of the body, and by the stench of his food to wither pleasure. Living by himself in this way, whenever one of his acquaintances came, he would eat simply of everything that was set before them.

3k Such grace did he receive from God that a woman of distinction, proud of her family and her wealth, came running to him from Antioch. She begged him to help her daughter, who was being attacked by a demon. "In a dream," she said, "I saw someone run here, urging me and promising that through the prayers of the head of the monastery my daughter would be saved." The man who answered the door told her that it was not the custom for the head of the house to speak with women. But the woman kept pressing him, weeping, wailing, and pleading bitterly, and the head of the monastery came out. The woman said that it was not he, and that the man shown to her was a ruddy one, with some blotches on his cheeks. When they realized who it was she was looking for, who was third in rank in the monastery and not

first, they persuaded him to come to the woman. At once she recognized the face, and the wicked demon cried out and left the girl. Such were the achievements of the pupils of the great Marcian. Such were the plants that this excellent planter set everywhere. And I, having brought this account to its end, beg and pray that through the intercession of all these men I may obtain help from God.

CHAPTER 4

4a I have already shown, in the accounts written so far, what kind of fruit the unfruitful desert has offered to God. It was ripe and mature, dear to the One who planted it, and lovely and greatly longed for by sensible people. But no one should suppose that virtue is confined to a place, or that only the desert is fit to bear such a harvest. So let us now move in our account to the inhabited world, and show that it is no hindrance at all to gaining the philosophic life. There is a high mountain east of Antioch and west of Beroea. It stands above the mountains around it, and its highest summit has the shape of a cone. It takes its name from its height, for the people who live around it call it "the Peak." Long ago, right at its summit, there was a precinct of demons that the neighbors honored greatly. To the south a plain lies spread out like a bay, enclosed on both sides by ridges that are not very high. These ridges reach as far as the road used by horsemen, and they take in the paths that run down on either side from south to north. In this plain there are settlements, small and large, joined to the mountains on both sides. Right at the foot of the high mountain there is a very large and populous village, which they call Teledan in the local language. Above the foothills there is a glen. It is not very steep, but slopes moderately toward that plain and faces the south wind. In this glen a man named Ammian built a school of philosophy. He shone in many kinds of virtue, but above all he surpassed others in his modest way of thinking. The proof is this. He was well able to teach not only his own company but twice as many, and yet he often ran to the great [Eusebius], begging him to take a part with him, as a trainer and teacher in the wrestling-school Ammian had set up. [Eusebius] lived twenty-five stades away, shut up in a very small dwelling that did not even have windows. Marianos had led him to this way of virtue. Marianos was his uncle and a faithful servant of God.

4b It is enough to say that much, since the Master honored the great Moses with this same title. This Marianos had tasted divine love, and he did not want to enjoy the good things alone. He made many others fellow-lov-

ers, and he also hunted down the great Eusebius and Eusebius's brother, who was a brother in manner of life as well. For he thought it unreasonable to catch for virtue people who were nothing to him, and to leave his own nephews uncaught. He shut both of them in a small cell and trained them in the angelic way of life. But illness struck the brother and cut short his race, and death followed the illness. He lived only a few days after leaving that place, and then he reached the end of his life. The great Eusebius, however, stayed there for the whole life of his uncle. He spoke with no one and did not see the light, but remained shut in continually. After his uncle's death he still held to this way of life, until the marvelous Ammian won him over with many entreaties and persuaded him. "Tell me, excellent man," Ammian said to him, "whom do you think you please, that you have taken up this toilsome and squalid life?" Eusebius answered, as was natural, that it was God, the lawgiver and teacher of virtue. "Then since you love him," said Ammian, "I will show you a way by which you will kindle your love further and also serve the One you love. To spend all one's care on oneself would not, I think, escape the charge of self-love. For the divine law commands us to love our neighbor as ourselves. But to take many into a share of one's wealth is the mark of success in love. The inspired Paul called this love the fulfillment of the law. And the word cries out again: 'The law and the prophets are summed up in this saying, in "You shall love your neighbor as yourself."' And in the holy Gospels the Lord told Peter, who had confessed that he loved him more than the others did, to shepherd his sheep. To those who have not done this he cries out in complaint through the prophet: 'O shepherds! Surely shepherds do not feed themselves, do they? Do they not tend the sheep?'"

4c It was for this reason that he commanded the great Elijah, when he pursued this way of life, to live among the godless. And the second Elijah, John, that great man, who loved the desert, he sent to the banks of the Jordan, and there ordered him to baptize and to preach. So since you too are a warm lover of the God who made and saved you, make many others lovers along with you. For this is very dear to our common Master. That is why he named Ezekiel a watchman and ordered him to bear witness against sinners. And he commanded Jonah to run to Nineveh, and when Jonah was unwilling, he sent him off as a prisoner." With these and similar words Ammianos charmed the divine man. He broke through that self-chosen prison, led Eusebios out and took him away, and handed over to him the care of the

brothers. I do not know which I should admire more: the humility of the one, or the readiness to obey of the other. For Ammianos kept running away from leadership. He preferred to be one of those under authority, since he was wary of the danger of presiding over others. And the great Eusebios shrank from living with a larger company. Yet he yielded, and caught in the nets of love he accepted the care of the flock and led the choir. He did not need many words to teach, for the sight of him was enough to make even the very slowest man quick to run the race of virtue. Those who saw him say that his face was always stern and put considerable fear into those who looked at him. He himself took food only every three or four days, but he ordered his companions to share a meal every other day. He urged them to converse with God continually and to let no time go without this work. They were to perform the appointed services together. But in the parts of the day between these, each one was to be by himself, either in the shade of a tree, or beside a rock, or wherever he could enjoy some quiet, and standing or lying on the ground, to plead with the Master and ask for salvation.

4d Eusebios so trained each part of his body in virtue that it did only what reason alone allowed. To make this clear to everyone, I will tell one story about him. He and the wonderful Ammianos were sitting on a certain rock. One was reading the account in the holy Gospels, and the other was explaining the meaning of the obscure parts. Some farm laborers in the plain below were breaking up new ground, and the great Eusebios was drawn to watch them. Ammianos, the divine man, had read a passage from the Gospel and was seeking its interpretation, and he told the great Eusebios to take up the reading. But Ammianos said, "You were enjoying the plowmen and, as it seems, did not listen." So Eusebios laid down a law for his eyes: never again to look at that plain, nor to feast on the beauty of heaven and the chorus of the stars. He used a very narrow path, said to be a span wide, leading to the house of prayer, and he would not bear to walk outside it. They say he lived by this law for more than forty years afterward. So that necessity as well as resolve would pull him to this, he bound his waist with an iron belt and put a very heavy iron collar on his neck. He fastened the belt to the collar with another piece of iron, so that, bent over in this way, he was forced to look down at the ground continually. Such was the penalty he exacted from himself for watching those farmers. Many others who have investigated his life and know his story accurately told me these things. But the great presbyter Aca-

cius, whom I mentioned earlier in other accounts, told me this very story. He said that once, seeing Eusebios bent over, he asked him what benefit he was gaining that he could not bear to look at heaven, or to see that plain below, or to walk outside the narrow path. Eusebios answered that he contrived these things against the schemes of the evil demon.

4e "So that he may not wage war over great matters," he said, "I try to move the fight to these small things. In great matters he tries to steal my self-control and my righteousness, to arm my temper, to inflame my desire, to make me swell and burn with pride, and whatever else he plots against my soul. In small matters, if he wins, he does no great harm, and if he is beaten, he becomes more of a laughingstock, since he could not prevail even in little things. I know this kind of war is the safer one, because the man who is struck in these matters suffers no great loss. What harm is there in looking at a field, or in lifting the eyes to heaven? So I shift the battle to this ground, for here he can neither kill nor wound. These are not deadly arrows, since they have none of those iron points." The great Acacius said he heard this, admired the wisdom, and marvelled at the man's courage and skill in fighting. For this reason I have also set down this story, as worthy of admiration and of remembrance for those who wish to learn such things. His fame ran in every direction and drew to him all who loved virtue. Among them came the sheep of the excellent flock of the most godly Julian the elder, whose story I told earlier. When that inspired man reached the end of his life and passed to the life above, James the Persian and Agrippa, who were the leaders of that flock, ran to the great Eusebius, judging it better to be well led than to lead. Of James I made mention earlier, in summary, showing his virtue; now too I will give a clear proof of his supreme philosophy. When the godly Eusebius was departing this life, he charged James to preside over the flock. James begged to be excused from the care, and though he could not persuade those who wanted to put him in charge, he went off to another flock, choosing to be shepherded rather than to shepherd. He lived a very long time and so ended his life.

4f Agrippa, then, succeeded to the leadership. He was a man adorned with many other good qualities, and above all with purity of soul. Because of this he received a vision of the divine beauty, and, set ablaze by the torch of that love, he kept his cheeks wet with unceasing tears. After he had shepherded that choice and godly flock lawfully for a long time, he departed this life,

and the godly David, whom I also had the joy of seeing, took over the leadership. He was a man who had truly put to death, as the divine Apostle says, the members that are upon the earth. He so benefited from the teaching of the great Eusebius that he spent forty-five years in that monastery, and lived that whole time without temper or anger. Even after he became leader, no one ever saw him overcome by this passion, though, as one would expect, countless things pressed him to it. For a hundred and fifty men were shepherded by his hand. Some were at the summit of virtue and imitated the life of heaven. Others had only just grown their wings and were being taught to rise above the earth and fly over it. Yet among so many being trained in divine things, some of them, as one would expect, were also doing wrong, since it is not easy to get everything right with a newcomer [the Greek here is corrupt]. Still that godly man stayed unmoved, like a bodiless being, and no pretext roused him to anger. I learned this not by hearsay only but by experience. I once desired to see that flock, and I went, with others who shared my way of life as companions on the journey. We spent the whole circuit of a week with this godly man, and we saw a face that underwent no change. It was not relaxed at one moment and drawn into a frown at another. His gaze was likewise never fierce at one time and cheerful at another, but his eyes stayed always in the same composure. These things too are enough to prove the calm of his soul. But some may suppose that he was seen like this only because nothing happened to provoke him.

4g That is why I am forced to tell of something that happened in our own presence. That godly man was sitting beside us, stirring up talk about the philosophic life and seeking the highest point of the life of the Gospel. While we were speaking of such things, a man named Olympius came to us. He was a Roman by birth and himself admirable in character, honored with the priesthood, and holding the second place in that community's leadership. He came shouting against the godly David. He called that gentleness of his a public plague, said that his mildness was ruining everyone, and named that highest philosophy folly, not gentleness. David, as if he had a soul of adamant, took in the words but was not stung by what is made to sting. His face did not change, and he did not drop the discussion he had begun. In a mild voice, and with words that showed the calm weather of his soul, he sent the old man away, asking him to attend to whatever he wished. "But I," he said, "am talking, as you see, with those who have come to us, since I think

this service is necessary." How could anyone better show the gentleness of the soul? The man entrusted with that leadership received such drunken abuse from the one who held the second place, and especially with strangers present listening to the insult, and yet he endured no storm or turmoil of anger. What excess of courage and endurance does that leave out? The divine Apostle, who had considered the weakness of human nature, measures his legislation by that nature. "Be angry," he says, "and do not sin; do not let the sun go down on your wrath." He knew that the stirrings of anger belong to nature, not to the will. So he would not lay down a law that was very burdensome, and perhaps impossible. But for the movement of nature and the storm of anger he sets the day as the measure. He commands us to choke it with reason, to press it with the bridle, and not to let it go beyond its limits. This godly man, however, contended beyond the laws laid down, and leapt beyond the jumping pit. He did not allow anger to stir him until evening. He did not allow it to stir him at all.

4h Such were the benefits this man too drew from the company of the great Eusebius. I have also seen many other lovers and zealots of this philosophy at that hut, some in the prime of their bodies and some in deep old age. There were men who had lived more than ninety years and still would not leave the laborious life. They were distinguished by the sweat of youth. They besought God all night and all day and performed those holy services. Every second day they shared those poor meals. I will pass over the others, who deserve not silence but praise and every kind of commendation, so that I do not make the account longer than it should be. There was in that divine place a man they call Abba. He sprang from the stock of Ishmael, yet he was not cut off from the house of Abraham, his forefather. He shared with Isaac the inheritance of the fathers, or rather he seized the very kingdom of heaven. He took up this ascetic life at once, under a man who then lived in the desert and was an excellent trainer in such things. His name was Marosas. Later Marosas also gave up leading others and came with Abba to this flock. He lived no short time, and after contending brilliantly and becoming famous in song, he departed this life. Abba has already spent thirty-eight years there, yet he desires toil as if he had only just begun it. To this day he has never covered his feet with shoes. In the cold he sits in the shade, and in the burning heat he takes the sun, and he receives its flame as if it were a breeze from the west. In all this time he has not allowed himself to take any water.

Nor does he eat what is usual for those who practice not drinking, who customarily have moister foods. He eats the same food as the others, but only a little, and such things as give little strength, and he considers the use of water unnecessary.

4i He wears a heavy iron belt around his waist. He seldom sits. For most of the night and day he stands, or kneels, and offers the service of prayer to the Master. He has refused altogether the need to lie down. To this day no one has ever seen him lying down. He has been appointed head of the choir and given charge of the others, and he bears all this labor eagerly, setting himself before all who are under him as the pattern of the philosophic life. Such were the victorious contenders whom the divine Eusebius, trainer and coach in these contests, presented to God. He made many others like them and sent them out as teachers to other training grounds. They filled that whole holy mountain with divine meadows and sweet-smelling flowers. To the east of the ascetic hut first built there, and to the west and south, you can see the offspring of this philosophy, like stars dancing around the moon. Some sing the praises of the Maker in Greek, others in the language of the country. But I am attempting the impossible when I try to go through everything that soul accomplished. So I must put an end to this account and turn to another, and from there gain fresh benefit, begging to share in the blessing of these great men.

CHAPTER 5

5a At the same time there lived a man named Publius. He was striking to look at, and his soul matched his appearance; or rather he showed a soul far more admirable than his body. He came from the class of town councillors, and his city was the one where the famous Xerxes, marching against Greece and eager to take his army across the river Euphrates, gathered a multitude of ships, joined them to one another, and so bridged the river. He named the place Zeugma, "the joining," and gave the city its name from the deed. Starting out from there, and sprung from such a family, Publius took possession of a high place not more than thirty stades from the town. There he built a small cottage and sold everything he had received from his father: house, lands, livestock, clothing, vessels of silver and bronze, and whatever else there was besides. He distributed the money, according to the divine law, to those who needed it. Having freed himself from every earthly care, he took up in place of them all one single care: the service of the One who had

called him. He turned it over in his soul and guarded it, planning night and day how to increase it. For this reason his labor kept growing continually and became more intense every day. Yet it was sweet and full of pleasure, and it drove weariness far away. No one ever saw him take even a small part of a day for rest. Prayer followed psalmody, and psalmody followed prayer, and the reading of the divine words followed both. Then came the care of strangers who arrived, and after that some other necessary work. Walking his life in this way, and set before those who wished to imitate him as a pattern of virtue, like a sweet-voiced bird he roused many of his countrymen to these nets that bring salvation.

5b At first Publius would not allow anyone to live with him. He built small huts close to one another and told each man who came to live by himself. He visited them often and searched the huts, in case anyone was keeping anything beyond what he needed. They say he even carried a pair of scales with him and checked the weight of the loaves exactly. If he ever found more than the set amount, he was displeased, and he called those who did it gluttons. For he commanded that, whether eating or drinking, they should not wait until they were stuffed, but should take only as much as was enough to keep the body alive. And if he ever saw flour sifted free of its bran, he rebuked the men who had done it, as though they were enjoying Sybarite luxury. He would also come suddenly at night to each man's door. If he found someone awake and singing hymns to God, he went away again in silence. But if he saw that someone was held fast by sleep, he beat on the door with his hand and struck the man lying inside with his tongue, for giving the body more care than it should have. Some of his like-minded companions saw this labor of his and suggested building one dwelling for them all. They said that those now scattered would live more strictly, and that he himself would be freed from much of his anxiety. The wise man accepted the advice. He gathered everyone together, pulled down those small huts, and built one house for those who had assembled. He begged them to live as a community and to sharpen one another. One should imitate another's gentleness, and that other should mix his gentleness with the first man's zeal. Another, who shared his wakefulness, should learn from someone else the lesson of fasting. "For in this way," he said, "by taking from one another what each lacks, we will reach the most perfect virtue. In the public markets of a city, one man sells bread, another vegetables, another is a dealer in clothing, another a

maker of shoes. By drawing on one another for what they need, they live more happily. The man who gives a coat gets a shoe in return, and the man who buys vegetables pays in bread. In the same way it is right for us to give one another in exchange the precious parts of virtue."

5c So the Greek speakers trained and struggled in this way, singing hymns to God in the Greek language. Then a love for this way of life seized those who used the native language as well. Some of them ran together and begged to become part of the flock and to share in his holy teaching. He accepted their request. He remembered the Lord's commandment, which he gave to the holy apostles when he said, "Go and make disciples of all nations." Next to that house he built another and told these men to live there. He also built a sacred church and ordered both groups to gather in it at the beginning and the end of the day. In this way they would offer the evening and morning hymns to God together. They were divided into two groups, each using its own language, and they sent up the song in turn. This form of life has lasted to this very day. Time, which loves to change such things, has not altered it, and those who took over his care were not persuaded to overturn any of the rules he laid down. And this is true though not two or three, but more men have succeeded to this leadership. As soon as he had finished his contest and left this life, passing over to that life without grief, Theoteknos took over the leadership of the Greek speakers and Aphthonios that of the Syrian speakers. Both became living pillars and images of his virtue. They allowed neither those who lived there nor those who came from outside to feel any sense of his death, showing themselves to be exact copies of his way of life. The divine Theoteknos did not live long afterward and handed the leadership to Theodotos. Aphthonios remained for a very long time, caring for the flock and guiding it according to the established rules. This Theodotos came from Armenia.

5d When Theodotus came from Armenia and saw that company of ascetics, he first took his place among the subjects, obeying the great Theoteknos as their governor. But as I said, Theoteknos departed this life and Theodotus took over the leadership. He then flourished in so many good qualities that he almost eclipsed his predecessors in reputation. For divine longing so shaped him, and wounded him with so many arrows of such a kind, that night and day he poured out tears of compunction. He was so full of spiritual grace that when he prayed, everyone present fell silent and listened only to

those holy words, counting the hearing of them as earnest prayer in itself. For who was so hard as adamant that, when those words were offered, his soul would not be charmed, its hardness and stubbornness softened, and itself turned toward the service of God? So he increased his wealth every day and filled his treasures, which no one could plunder, with such goods. After he had shepherded the flock for twenty-five years, he was gathered to his fathers, as the divine Scripture puts it, nourished in a good old age. He handed the reins to Theoteknos, who was his nephew by birth and his brother in character. The divine Aphthonius, for his part, led the company for more than forty years and then received the presidency of the high priesthood. He did not change his ascetic goatskin cloak or the tunic made of goats' hair, and he ate the same food he had eaten before he held the office. Even after taking on this charge, he cared for that flock no less than before. He spent most of his days there. Sometimes he settled the quarrels of those who were fighting. Sometimes he took care of those who were suffering from any cause. At other times he gave the brothers divine exhortation. And he did all this sitting among them, mending the rags of his fellow monks, or cleaning lentils, or washing wheat, or handling some other such task.

5e So he adorned the presidency, increased his virtue, and reached the divine harbor with its cargo. And why need I speak of Theoteknos and of Gregory, who came after him? Theoteknos in his youth embraced every form of philosophy, and went abroad with the fame of his ancestors. Gregory is still alive today, and in deep old age labors with his body as if he were in his prime. For he has continued to refuse entirely the fruit of the vine. He takes not even vinegar or raisins, nor milk, whether freshly drawn or curdled. For the great Publius laid down this way of life by law. They allow oil only around the season of Pentecost, as they learn the need for it, and then they renounce it again. This is what I have learned about the great Publius. Some I received by hearsay. Some I learned from seeing his pupils and their teacher, and from the athletes I came to know the trainer. I judged it unjust and grudging to betray so great a benefit by silence, so I have added this account for those who do not know it. I do this to secure the benefit for them from it, and to gain for myself the profit of remembering. For I have heard the Master say: "Everyone who confesses me before men, I too will confess him before my Father who is in the heavens." And I know clearly

that by bringing the memory of these men to other people, I shall enjoy their memory of me before the God of all.

CHAPTER 6

6a If anyone deliberately passed over Symeon the Elder and consigned the memory of his philosophy to oblivion, he could not rightly escape a charge of injustice and ill will. He would be unwilling to praise what deserves praise, and he would hold up nothing lovely for imitation to those who wish to be helped. I will not tell the story out of fear of such an accusation, but out of love for speaking well of him. I will give the account of his way of life. For a very long time this man embraced the life of the desert. He lived in a small cave and enjoyed no human comfort at all. He had chosen to live alone, and he spoke continually with the God of all. He made the edible plants of the field his food. This labor won him a rich grace from above, so that he could give orders even to the strongest and boldest wild beasts. This became plain not only to the godly but even to unbelieving Jews. For some of them were traveling on business to one of the forts lying outside our inhabited world. A violent downpour came, and a squall struck them. They lost the road, since they could not see ahead, and wandered through the desert. They found no village, no cave, no traveler. Tossed about in the middle of the mainland like sailors at sea, they came upon the cave of the divine Symeon as though it were a harbor. There they saw a man dry and unwashed, with a scrap of a goatskin cloak on his shoulders. As soon as he saw them he greeted them, for he was a friendly man, and he asked why they had come. They told him what had happened and begged to learn the road that led to the fort. "Stay," he said, "and I will at once give you guides to show you the road you want." They obeyed and rested. While they sat there, two lions arrived. They did not look fierce, but fawned like servants before a master, showing their submission. With a nod he told them to guide the men, and to lead them back to the road they had left and lost when they went astray. But let no one think the story a fable, since I have as witnesses the common enemies of the truth, who testify for the truth.

6b For the very men who received the kindness never stopped singing of it. The great Jacob also told me this, saying that he was present when they described the miracle to the holy Aaron. So whoever disbelieves Jews who bear witness to the miracle-working of Christians, how could he not rightly be called more unbelieving than the Jews? For they, though hostile, are still

overcome and yield to the rays of the truth. But those who are thought to be friendly, and to share the faith, do not even believe their enemies when these testify to the power of grace. That holy man became famous through such miracles and drew many of the neighboring barbarians to himself. (The people who live in that desert are those who take pride in Ishmael as their ancestor.) But since he loved quiet, he was forced to leave the cave. After a long journey he came to the mountain called Amanus. It had long been full of the madness of many gods. By his many and varied wonders he cultivated it like a field, and he planted the reverence for God that now flourishes there. To tell all of it would be very laborious, and perhaps impossible for me. So I will mention one case and set it out as a sort of imprint of his apostolic and prophetic wonder-working, and I leave it to readers to infer from it the strength of the grace he received. It was summer, harvest time, and the sheaves were being carried to the threshing floors. A certain man, not content with honest labor but longing for what belonged to others, stole some of his neighbor's sheaves and tried to enlarge his own stack with them. At once the divine verdict against the theft was delivered. A fiery blast came, and the threshing floor was set on fire. The wretched man went to the man of God, who was staying not far from the village. He told of the disaster, but tried to hide the theft. When he was ordered to tell the truth, he confessed the theft, for his suffering forced him to accuse himself. The holy man ordered him to undo the punishment by undoing the wrong. "For when you restore those sheaves," he said, "that fire sent from God will be put out." So you could see the man running and bringing the stolen ears of grain to the one he had wronged, and the blaze going out without water, through the prayer and intercession of the holy elder.

6c This event filled the people living nearby with fear, and the whole city of Antioch too, since the village came under that city. It forced people to hurry there. One reported release from a demon's raving, another an end to fever, another a cure for some other trouble. And Symeon freely poured out the streams of the grace that lived in him. But he again longed for quiet, and wanted to make his way to Mount Sinai. Many of the best men heard of it, men who followed the same way of life, and they ran together, eager to share the journey with him. After a journey of many days they came to the desert of Sodom. From far off they saw a man's hands stretched up toward the sky out of a hollow. At first they thought it was a demon's deception. But they

prayed more earnestly and saw the same thing again, so they hurried to the place. They saw a small hole in the ground, like the burrows foxes make for themselves, but they saw no one appear there. For the man who had been holding out his hands heard the sound of their feet and hid himself inside the hole. The old man leaned in and begged him earnestly to show himself, if he was of human nature and not some deceiving demon putting on such appearances. "For we also," he said, "follow the ascetic life and love quiet, and we are wandering through this desert. We want to worship the God of all on Mount Sinai, where he made himself known to his servant Moses and gave him the tablets of the law. We do not suppose that the Divine is confined to a place. We hear him say, 'I fill heaven and earth, says the Lord,' and that he holds the circle of the earth, and that its inhabitants are like locusts. But for people who love ardently, it is not only the beloved who are longed for; the places that received their presence and their company are dear as well." While the old man was saying these things and others like them, the hidden man brought himself out of the hole. He was wild to look at. His hair was matted, his face wrinkled, and all the limbs of his body withered. He wore some wretched rags sewn together from palm shoots.

6d He greeted them and gave them the greeting of peace. Then he asked who they were, where they had come from, and where they were going. They answered his questions, and in turn asked where he had come from and why on earth he had chosen this life. He said, "I had the same eagerness you have as you travel. I had made a companion for this journey, a friend of like mind who held the same purpose as I did. We had bound each other by an oath that not even death would end our fellowship. So on the journey he happened to reach the end of his life here. Bound by the oath, I dug as well as I could and committed his body to burial. Beside that body I dug another grave for myself, and here I wait for the end of my life and offer the Master the service I am used to offering. My food is the dates which a brother, appointed by the one who looks after me, brings to me." While he was saying this, a lion appeared in the distance. The men with the old man were seized with terror. But the man sitting at the mouth of the hole noticed it, got up, and signaled to the lion to cross to the other side. The lion obeyed at once and came, carrying a cluster of dates. Then, having been told to, it went away again, lay down far from the men, and slept. So the hermit shared the dates among them all. He joined them in prayer and psalm-singing, and

when the service was over, at dawn, he embraced them and sent them off, amazed at the strange sight. If anyone does not believe what has been said, let him remember the way of life of the great Elijah and the service of the ravens, who brought him bread in the morning and meat in the evening. It is easy for the Maker of all things to find every kind of provision for the care of his own. So he kept Jonah safe in the belly of the whale for three days and nights. He made the lions stand astonished before Daniel in the pit. And he made lifeless fire act as if it had reason, lighting those inside and burning those outside. But I am doing something unnecessary by offering proofs of the divine power.

6e When the old man reached the mountain he longed for, they say that this marvelous elder knelt in the very place where Moses was counted worthy to see God, as far as a mortal nature can see him. He did not get up until he heard a divine voice declaring the Master's favor toward him. He stayed bent over like this for the whole circuit of a week, without tasting even a morsel of food. Then the voice that had spoken told him to take what had been set before him and to eat it eagerly. He stretched out his hand and found three apples. He ate his fill, as the giver had commanded, and became full of strength. Then he warmly greeted his companions, as was natural. He went back rejoicing and glad, having heard a divine voice and having enjoyed food given by God. After he returned, he built two monasteries of philosophy. One was on the ridge of the mountain I mentioned earlier, and the other was at the very edge of its foothills. In each he gathered athletes of virtue, and for both groups he was trainer and coach. He taught them the assaults of the adversary and enemy, promised them the goodwill of the one who presides over the contest, urged them to take courage, and filled them with high resolve. He told them to be modest toward their own kind, but to show great-souled boldness against the enemy. Teaching such things, living such a life, working such wonders, and sending out all kinds of shining signs, he came to the end of his laborious life. He departed to the life that does not age and knows no grief, leaving behind unquenchable fame and a memory that will last forever. My blessed and thrice-blessed mother enjoyed his blessing while he was alive, and she often told me many stories about him. As for me, I beg to enjoy his power and intercession now, and I know that I will obtain it. For he will surely grant the request, imitating the loving-kindness of the Master.

CHAPTER 7

7a Palladius, the much-talked-of, lived at the same time as this man, followed the same way of life, and was his friend and acquaintance. They used to visit one another, so they say, and each benefited from the other, sharpening one another and rousing each other to divine zeal. Palladius was shut up in a small [cell] near a very large and populous village, whose name is Imma. About the man's endurance, his fasting, his sleeplessness and his unceasing prayer, I think it needless to tell, for in these he pulled the same yoke as the divine Symeon. But I thought it right to tell the miracle that is still sung about to this day, which came about through his voice and his hand. A festival gathering was being held in the village I mentioned, drawing merchants from every side and a crowd too large to count. At this gathering a certain merchant sold what he had brought, collected his gold, and wanted to leave by night. A murderer saw the gold he had gathered. Filled with frenzy and madness, he drove sleep from his eyes and watched for the man's departure. After the crowing of the cocks, the merchant set out confidently. The murderer went ahead, took a place suited for an ambush, leapt out suddenly, struck the blow, and dared the bloody deed. To this crime he added another act of impiety. He took the gold and threw the dead body down at the door of the great Palladius. When day came, the rumor spread, and the whole festival crowd was talking about what had happened. Everyone ran together, broke down the door, and demanded satisfaction for the murder from the divine Palladius. One of those doing this was the very man who had committed the murder himself.

7b So the holy man stood hemmed in by that great crowd. He looked up to heaven, and in his mind went beyond heaven, and begged the Master to expose the lie of the false accusation and bring the hidden truth to light. When he had prayed in this way, he took the right hand of the dead man and said, "Tell me, young man, who struck you this blow? Point out the author of this crime, and show that an innocent man is free of this wicked slander." The word was followed by the deed. The dead man followed his hand, sat up, looked around at those present, and pointed with his finger at the murderer. A shout went up from everyone, astonished at the miracle and stunned at the slander that had been brought. They stripped that murderer and found the knife still stained with blood, and the gold that had caused the killing. Divine Palladius had long been worthy of admiration, and he

now naturally became more so. The miracle was enough to show the man's boldness of speech before God. The wonderful Abraames belonged to the same company. He lived in the place called Paratomos, and sent the radiance of his virtue out in every direction. The miracles worked after his death bear witness to the brightness of his life. To this day his tomb pours out cures of every kind, and those who draw them from it in abundance through faith are witnesses. May I too obtain the help of these men, since I have consecrated my tongue by remembering them.

CHAPTER 8

8a That human nature is one and the same in all people, and that philosophy is easy for those who want it, whether they are Greeks or barbarians, can be learned easily from many other examples. But Aphraates alone is enough to show it plainly. He was born and raised among the Persians, the most lawless of peoples, sprang from such parents, and was trained in their customs. Yet he reached such virtue that he put in the shade even those who were born of godly parents and received a godly upbringing from childhood. First he despised his noble birth, which was famous and splendid, and ran to the worship of the Master, imitating his ancestors the Magi. Then, loathing the impiety of his countrymen, he chose a foreign land over his own. He came to Edessa, a very large and populous city, outstanding for its godliness. Outside its walls he found a small house, shut himself in, and looked after his own soul. Like an excellent farmer, he cut out the thorns of the passions by the roots, cleared the divine field, and offered to the Master ripe fruit from the seeds of the Gospel. From there he came to Antioch, which was cruelly tossed about in the storm of heresy. He settled before the city in a monastery of philosophy. He learned a few little words of the Greek language, and drew as many as he could to hear the divine oracles. Using a half-barbarian tongue, he brought out the birth-pangs of his mind, receiving such streams from the grace of the divine Spirit. For which of those who swell with pride in their eloquence, who knit their brows, speak haughtily, and play the young champion among the traps of syllogisms, ever got the better of that uneducated, barbarian voice? He defeated the arguments of the philosophers, reasoning with reasoning and divine oracles with divine oracles, crying out with the great Paul, "Though I am unskilled in speech, I am not so in knowledge." And he kept on in this way throughout, according to the apostolic word: "casting down reasonings and every high thing that exalts itself against the

knowledge of God, and taking every thought captive to the obedience of Christ." And you could see people running together to him: those in office and high rank, those serving in the army, and those who lived by working with their hands.

8b He saw people of every kind running to him: ordinary men and soldiers, the educated and those with no schooling, men who lived in poverty and men who prided themselves on their wealth. Some received what was said to them in silence. Others asked questions and inquired, and so gave him openings for his teaching. Though he had taken on so great a labor, he never would put up with a housemate. He preferred to do things himself rather than be served by others. He held his meetings beside the outer door, and he himself opened it to those who came and saw them off when they left. He never accepted anything from anyone, not bread, not food to go with it, not a garment. Only one of his acquaintances supplied him with bread. When he reached deep old age, he also ate some vegetables after sunset. They say that Anthemius, who later became prefect and consul, was appointed an envoy and set out on a journey to Persia. He brought Aphraates a tunic woven among the Persians and said, "Father, I know that everyone finds his own homeland sweet, and the fruits that grow there most pleasant. So I have brought you this tunic from your homeland. I beg you to take it, and I ask in return to receive your blessing." Aphraates first ordered him to put it down on the stool. Then, after some other conversation, he said he was troubled, because his mind was divided in two. When Anthemius asked the reason, he said, "I chose always to have one housemate, and I made it a rule for myself absolutely to refuse the sharing of the house by two. Now someone has lived with me for sixteen years, and he has been agreeable to me. Recently a man of my own tribe has come, who wants to live with me and asks for this. That divides my mind. I will not bear to have two at the same time. I welcome the tribesman as a tribesman. But to throw out the first one, who has become dear to me, I think would be painful and unjust." Anthemius said, "That is reasonable, Father. It would not be right to send away, as unfit, the one who has served you for so long, and to take in another who has not yet given proof of his own character, simply because of his homeland." At this the divine Aphraates said, "Then, my good man, I will not take this tunic. I will not bear to have two. And by my judgment it is more pleasant, and by yours it is better, to keep the one who has served me for so long."

8c Having outwitted Anthemius in this way, and having given him cause to marvel at his sharpness, Aphraates persuaded him never to bring up that tunic again. I have told this story to show two things at once: that he accepted the care his body needed from only one person, and that he was so full of wisdom that he made the man who begged him to accept it vote not to accept it. But I will leave such things and tell of greater ones. When the God-hating Julian paid the penalty for his impiety in the barbarian land, those raised in the true faith enjoyed a short calm, as Jovian took the helm of the Roman empire. But he too reigned only a very short time and reached the end of his life, and Valens took the rule of the East. Storms and gales stirred up our sea again, a harsh swell rose, and waves from every side struck the ship. The lack of helmsmen made the storm still worse, for the emperor, bold against true religion alone, forced them to live abroad in exile. Even after such lawlessness, he was not satisfied with his impiety. He scattered the gatherings of all the godly, striving like a wild beast to tear the flock apart. For this reason he drove them out not only from every church, but also from the foot of the mountain, from the riverbank, and from the military exercise ground. They kept going from place to place through all these sites, treated as a side matter by the armed bands. Meanwhile the Scythians and the other barbarians were plundering all of Thrace without fear, from the Danube to the Propontis. Yet he could not, as the saying goes, bear even to hear of this with ears standing open. Against his own countrymen and subjects, who were distinguished for their piety, he used arms. The godly people, lamenting that untimely evil, sang that song of David: "By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down and wept, when we remembered Zion." But the rest of the song no longer suited them. For Aphraates, Flavian and Diodore did not let the instruments of teaching be hung on the willows, and the people could not bring themselves to say, "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a foreign land?"

8d No, they sang the Lord's song everywhere: on the mountains and in the plains, in the city and in the suburbs, in houses and in the marketplaces. For they had learned from David that "the earth is the Lord's, and its fullness, the world and all who live in it." They heard the same prophet say again, "Bless the Lord, all his works, in every place of his dominion." They heard the inspired Paul urge "that the men pray in every place, lifting up holy hands without anger or disputing." And the Master himself, speaking

with the Samaritan woman, said the same thing more plainly: "Truly I tell you, woman, an hour is coming, and is now here, when neither in this place nor in Jerusalem, but in every place, they will worship the Father." Taught by these words, they kept on testifying in house and marketplace, and, to speak as the apostle does, "publicly and from house to house." They were like excellent generals, arming their own men and striking down their opponents. Now Flavian the Great and the divine Diodorus were at that time shepherding under the chief shepherd and had been given the second seat. That they did the things I have described is wonderful and deserves praise. Yet they did these things as generals appointed to command, and subject to the laws of command. The most wise Aphraates, by contrast, leapt into this struggle of his own free will. He had been brought up in quiet and had chosen to live by himself, sitting, as the saying goes, out of range of the missiles. But when he saw how fierce the war was, he did not love his own safety. He bade the quiet a farewell for the time being and became a champion in the front rank of the devout. He struck the enemy by his way of life, by his words and by his miracles, and was never struck himself. On one occasion the thoroughly foolish emperor saw him going out to the military exercise ground. (For it happened that the worshipers of the Trinity were then gathering there. Someone pointed Aphraates out to the emperor, who was peering out from the palace, as he walked along the riverbank.) The emperor asked where he was hurrying. Aphraates said he was going to offer prayers for the world and for the empire.

8e The emperor answered again: "Then why, when you profess the solitary life, do you walk about the marketplace without fear and leave your quiet behind?" Aphraates, who was in the habit of reasoning in parables, imitating the Master, said: "Tell me, O emperor, if I were a maiden hidden away in some inner room, and I saw someone throwing fire onto my father's house, what would you advise me to do as I watched the flames catch hold and saw the house burning? To sit inside and ignore the house going up in fire? In that case I too would have been consumed by the blaze. But if you say that I ought to run, bring water, dash up and down and put out the flames, then do not blame me, O emperor, for doing exactly that. For what you would have advised the maiden in her chamber, I am compelled to do, though I have professed the solitary life. And if you blame me for leaving my quiet, blame yourself, who threw this fire into the house of God, and not me, who am

forced to put it out. You yourself have admitted that it is right to defend a father's house when it is on fire. And that God is a more true father than any fathers on earth is plain to everyone, even to one completely uninitiated in divine things. So we are doing nothing beside the point, nor anything contrary to our original purpose, O emperor, when we gather the nurslings of true religion, shepherd them, and set before them the divine pasture." When he had said this, the emperor reasoned it through and approved the justice of his defense. But one of those who are neither men nor women, who have been deprived of the ability ever to become fathers, and who for that reason are thought to be loyal to the emperor and take their title from it, spoke from above and abused the man of God, and even threatened him with death. He did not wait long to pay the penalty for his boldness. The emperor wanted to refresh his body in the bath. The wretched man went ahead to see whether the tub was properly mixed. But his wits were stricken, and he jumped into the basin that received the unmixed hot water. No one was inside with him (he had gone in alone to see whether all was ready), and he stayed there, boiled and dissolved.

8f Some time passed. Then the emperor sent in another man to call him, but this one found no one in any of the rooms and reported back to the emperor. After that, several men ran in and searched all the bathing tubs. At last they came to that one and saw him thrown down in it, robbed of his life. There was uproar, and everyone lamented. Some drained off the scalding water, and others carried out the thrice-wretched body. Fear then fell on the emperor and on all who were arming themselves against true religion. A report rang through the whole city: that wretched man had paid the penalty for his insolence against Aphraates, and everyone went on praising Aphraates' God. This prevented the man of God from being banished, though his enemies were pressing for it. For the emperor, thoroughly frightened, turned away from those who urged this and held the man in respect. He learned of the man's virtue from another source as well. A horse of fine breed, well trained to carry its rider, was very dear to the emperor. A sickness came upon it that distressed the emperor greatly: the horse could not pass its liquid waste. The men trained in this art were called in to treat it. When their treatment failed, the emperor was grieved, and the man entrusted with the care of the horses wept aloud. This man was devout and strong in faith. At midday he took the horse to the lodging of the great Aphraates,

told him of the illness, made known his faith, and begged him to pray and release the horse from the disease. Aphraates did not delay. He at once besought God, ordered water to be drawn from the well, set the sign of the saving cross on it, and told the man to give it to the horse. The horse drank it, which it had not been doing. Then Aphraates filled oil with the blessing of the divine invocation and rubbed it on the horse's belly. At the touch of his hand the sickness was at once loosed, and immediately the discharge became natural. The man, overjoyed, took the horse and ran to the stables. Late in the evening (for that was the time when the emperor was accustomed to visit the stables) the emperor came and asked how the horse was.

8g The man answered that it was well and led the horse out. The emperor saw it strong, spirited, whinnying, and holding its neck proudly high, and he asked the reason for its recovery. The man put off answering many times, for he was afraid to point out the healer, knowing that the one asking was hostile to him. In the end he was forced to tell the truth and explained how the cure had been done. The emperor was astonished and admitted that the man was worthy of admiration. Even so, he was not freed from his former madness. He kept raging against the Only-begotten until he became the prey of a barbarian fire, and was not even thought worthy of burial, as servants or beggars are. But the divine Aphraates showed his own virtue in that storm too, and when calm came he went on doing the same things. He worked countless other wonders, of which I will mention one or two. A woman of noble family, who was dragging the yoke of marriage with a licentious husband, came to that blessed man, wailing over her misfortune. She said that her husband was devoted to a concubine and had been bewitched by some sorcerer's spell, and that he hated her, though she was joined to him by the law of marriage. The woman said this standing in front of the outer door. For this was how he used to speak with women: he never admitted any woman inside the door. On that occasion he pitied the woman in her entreaty, and by prayer he dimmed the working of the sorcery. She had brought a small flask of oil, and he consecrated it with the divine invocation and told her to anoint herself with it. The woman carried out these instructions, and the love of her husband was turned toward herself. She persuaded him to choose his lawful bed over the unlawful one. They say also that once locusts suddenly descended on the land and, like fire, devoured everything: crops, plants, marshes, groves and meadows. A devout man came to him begging

for help. He had a single field, from which he fed himself, his wife, his children and his household, and from which he also had to pay the royal tax. Again, imitating the Master's kindness toward people, Aphraates ordered a measure of water to be brought to him. When the man who was asking for his prayer brought the measure, Aphraates laid his hand on it and begged God that the water be filled with divine power.

8h Then, when he had finished the prayer, he instructed the man to sprinkle the water around the boundaries of the field. The man who had carried it home did as he was told, and the water became an unbreakable, inviolable fence for those fields. Up to those boundaries the locusts crept and flew about like armies. Then they turned back again, afraid of the blessing laid upon the place, as if held in by a bridle and forbidden to go any further. Why should I tell everything that blessed soul accomplished? These examples are enough to show the radiance of the grace that lived in him. I myself was a witness of this, and I gathered the blessing of that holy right hand. I was still a boy, and I went with my mother on her journey to the man. As he usually did, he opened the door a little and gave her conversation and a blessing. But he took me inside and shared with me the riches of his prayer. May I enjoy that prayer even now. I believe he is alive, dancing with the angels, and speaking to God with greater boldness than before. For in those days that boldness was kept within the limits of his mortal body, so that greater boldness would not become an occasion for pride. But now he has laid down the burden of the passions, and like a victorious athlete he speaks freely to the one who presides over the contest. For this reason I beg to receive his intercession as well.

CHAPTER 9

9a We hear of Galatians in Europe, in the west. We also know of those in Asia, their descendants, who settled beside the Black Sea, the Pontus. From these the blessed Peter sprang, a man thrice blessed and many times over. They say that he was raised by his parents for seven years from his birth, and spent all the rest of his life in the contests of the philosophic life. He is said to have died after living ninety-nine years. Who could admire as he deserves a man who struggled for ninety-two years and traveled victoriously through every day and night? What tongue could be enough to tell the achievements he labored at as a youth and a child, as a mature man, as an elder and as an old man? Who could measure his sweat? Who could count the wrestling

matches that took place in so long a time? What account could do justice to the seeds he sowed, or the sheaves he gathered? Who is so lofty in mind as to see accurately the wealth amassed from that fine trade? I know the sea of his achievements, and so I am afraid to approach the telling of his story, in case my account goes under the waves. Therefore I will walk along the shore. I will admire and describe what lies along the coast of the sea, and I will leave the depths to the one who, as divine Scripture says, searches the depths and knows hidden things. This man, then, first struggled in Galatia. From there he came to Palestine to see the places, so that when he had seen the places that received the saving sufferings, he might worship in them the God who saved him. He did not suppose God was confined to a place, for he knew that God's nature cannot be circumscribed. He went so that he might feed his eyes on the sight of what he longed for, and so that the sight of his soul alone, without the sight of the eyes, would not be the only thing to enjoy the spiritual feast through faith. For people who are tenderly attached to someone are somehow made so that they take delight not only from seeing him, but also look with complete joy on his house, his clothes and his shoes.

9b With this same love for the Bridegroom, the bride in the Song of Songs cries out: "As an apple tree among the trees of the forest, so is my beloved among the sons. In his shadow I longed to sit, and I sat down, and his fruit was sweet in my throat." So it is not surprising that this divine man did the same. He had received the same love for the Bridegroom, and he used the bride's words: "I am wounded with love." He longed to see, as it were, some shadow of the Bridegroom, and so he sought out the places from which the springs of salvation had burst forth for all people. When he had enjoyed what he had longed for, he came down to Antioch. He saw how the city loved God, and he chose to be a stranger there rather than live in his homeland. He counted as his fellow citizens not those of his own race and family, but those of one mind with him, partners in the faith, who pulled the same yoke of godliness. He loved this way of life, but he did not pitch a tent, or build a hut, or put up a little house. He spent all his time in a tomb that belonged to someone else. He had an upper room there, with a kind of lattice screen set in front of it, and a ladder was fitted to it to receive those who wished to climb up. He stayed shut up in this place for a very long time. He drank cold water and ate only bread, and not even that every day: he would go one day without food and take these things on the next. Once a man came to him

who was raving and out of his mind, full of the working of the evil demon. Peter prayed and cleansed him, and set him free from that devilish frenzy. The man did not want to leave. He begged to give his service in return for that healing, and Peter made him a housemate. I knew this man too. I remember the miracle, I saw the reward of the healing, and I heard the conversation that took place about me between them. For Daniel (that was his name) said, "I will share in this good service myself." But that wonderful man would not agree that this should happen, since he took into account the affection of my parents for me.

9c Often he sat me on his knees and fed me grapes and bread. My mother had experienced his spiritual grace for herself, and so she told me to gather in that blessing once every week. She came to know him for this reason. A disease had struck one of her eyes, and it proved stronger than medical skill. There was nothing written down by the ancients, or discovered by later men, that was not tried on the sickness. When it had tested everything and shown that none of it did any good, one of her acquaintances came to tell her about the divine man and the miracle he had done. She said that the wife of the man who then held the helm of the East (he was from Pergamum) had fallen into this same affliction, and that he had healed her with prayer and the sign of the cross. My mother heard this and ran at once to the divine man. She was wearing jewels, necklaces and other gold ornaments, and a many-colored dress woven from silk threads. For she had not yet tasted the more perfect virtue; she was in the bloom of her years, and she put up with the adornment of youth. When that wonderful man saw such things, he first healed the sickness of her love of finery. He used words like these: "Tell me, child" (for I will use his own voice, and will not change the address of that holy tongue), "if a painter, well trained in his craft, painted a portrait as the rule of the art dictates, and set it out for those who wished to look at it; and then another man came who did not know that craft exactly, but improvised whatever he pleased; and then, finding fault with the skilled painting, he added longer lines to the eyebrows and eyelids, made the face whiter, and laid red color on the cheeks, would you not think the first painter justly angry, since his art had been insulted, and additions he did not need had been made by an ignorant hand?"

9d "Then," he said, "you must also believe that the Maker of all, who formed and painted our nature, is angry, because you accuse that unspeakable

wisdom of ignorance. You would not pour on red, white and black paint unless you thought you lacked these additions. By supposing that the body needs them, you pass a verdict of weakness on its Maker. You ought to know that his power matches his will. For, as David says, he did all that the Lord willed. He looks out for what is good for everyone, and he does not give what does harm. So do not spoil the image of God. Do not try to add what the wise Maker did not give. Do not invent this counterfeit beauty, which harms even modest women, because it lies in wait for those who look at it." That most excellent woman heard this, and at once she was inside Peter's net. Like his namesake, this man was a fisher too. She took hold of his feet, and with great earnestness begged that healing be given to her eye. He said that he was only a man and had the same nature as she did. He said he carried a great load of sins, and for that reason lacked boldness before God. But my mother wept and pleaded, and said she would not leave unless she got her cure. Then he said that God is the healer of such things, and always grants the requests of those who believe. "So he will give it now too," he said. "He will not be giving the favor to me, but looking at your faith. So if you have a faith that is pure and sincere and free from all doubt, then say goodbye to doctors and drugs, and receive this medicine given by God." When he had said this, he laid his hand on the eye and traced the sign of the saving cross, and he drove the disease away. She went back home and washed off the medicine. She threw away all her borrowed finery and lived by the rules laid down by her physician. She no longer wore embroidered clothing or decked herself with gold. And she did this though she was still quite young. She was in her twenty-third year and not yet a mother. She lived seven years more, and only then did she go through the pains of bearing me, which were her first and her only.

9e That is how much she gained from the teaching of the great Peter. She received a double cure. She came seeking healing for her body, and she gained health of soul besides. He was effective when he spoke such words, and powerful when he prayed. At another time she brought a household servant, a cook, who was troubled by an evil demon, and begged to get help from him. The man of God prayed, and then ordered the demon to tell by what right it held power over God's creature. The demon was like a murderer or burglar standing before a judge's bench and commanded to tell what he has done. Against its habit, fear forced it to tell the truth, and it told everything.

It said that in Heliopolis the servant's master had fallen ill, and the mistress was sitting beside her sick husband. The maidservants of the house, where it was staying, were telling of the life of the monks who practice philosophy in Antioch, and how much strength they have against demons. Then these girls, like young girls who love a game, were pretending to be possessed and mad. The servant himself put on a goatskin cloak and, in the manner of a monk, exorcised them. "While this was going on," the demon said, "I was standing by the door. I could not stand the boastful talk about the monks, and I wanted to learn by experience what power they boast of having. So I left the girls and slipped into this man, because I wanted to learn how I would be driven out by monks. And now I have learned, and I need no further test. At your command I will go out at once." As it said this, it fled, and the servant enjoyed his freedom. Another time there was a farm worker of my mother's who was possessed. He was brought by [the woman who was my mother's mother?], my nurse, and she begged the enemy of evil to help him. Again he asked the demon where it came from, and from whom it had received authority over God's creature. But it stood silent and gave no answer. So he knelt down and prayed, and begged God to show that wretch the power of his own servants.

9f Peter got up again, and again the demon resisted and kept silent. This went on until the ninth hour. Then Peter offered the Master a more fervent and earnest prayer, stood up, and said to the wicked spirit, "It is not Peter who commands you, but Peter's God. Answer, then, under the compulsion of his power." The avenging spirit, shameless as he was, was shamed by the holy man's gentleness. He cried out in a very loud voice that he had been living on Mount Amanus, "but when I saw this man on the road drawing water from a spring and drinking it, I wanted to make him my own dwelling." "Then come out," said the man of God, "for the One who was crucified for the whole world commands you this." The demon heard and fled, and the farmer was given back to my nurse, free of his madness. I have countless other stories like these about that blessed soul, but I will pass over most of them, because I fear the weakness of the many. They look only at themselves, and so they disbelieve the miracles of godly men. I will tell one or two more and then move on to another contender. There was a licentious man who had been a general in earlier times. A young girl of marriageable age, who was under his authority, left her mother and her family and fled to a women's

house, a company of athletes. For women also contend just as men do, and go down into the arena of virtue. When the general learned of her flight, he flogged her mother and hung her up, and he did not release her from her bonds until she pointed out the refuge of the devout women. Then, giving rein to his own rage, he snatched the girl from there and brought her back to his own house. The wretch hoped to satisfy his lust. But the God who struck Pharaoh with great and grievous plagues over Sarah, Abraham's wife, and kept that chaste woman untouched, and who struck the Sodomites with blindness when they tried to abuse the incorporeal beings as if they were strangers, struck this man's eyes with blindness too, and let the prey escape from the middle of the nets. He himself went into the bedchamber, but she, who was being kept inside, went out at once and vanished, and reached the refuge she so longed for.

9g So the fool learned that he could not overpower a girl who had chosen the divine Bridegroom. He was forced to keep quiet, and he no longer sought the one he had caught and who had escaped by divine power. After some time she fell into a grievous illness. It was a cancer, and as her breast swelled, the pain grew with it. But at the height of the pain she would call on the great Peter. She said that as soon as that holy voice reached her ears, all the pain was lulled to sleep, and she felt no distress from it at all. For this reason she sent for him quite often and found comfort. She said that the whole time he was present the pains kept away completely. In the end, having struggled like this, she was sent from this life by him with praises of victory. Again, when my mother, after my birth pangs, had come to the very gates of death, he was begged by my nurse and came, and snatched her from the hands of death. She lay there, so they say, with the doctors having given up and her household wailing and awaiting the end. Her eyes were shut, a raging fever held her, and she recognized none of her familiar friends. Then he came, who had been given the title and the grace of an apostle, and said, "Peace to you, little child" (this was his usual greeting). At once, it is said, she opened her eyelids, looked steadily at him, and promised that the blessing would bear fruit. The company of women cried out aloud, for sorrow and joy were mixed together, and they raised that great shout. The man of God urged all of them to join him in prayer. He said that Tabitha too had obtained her salvation this way: the widows mourned, and the great Peter brought their tears to God. They pleaded as he commanded, and they received as he had fore-

told. When the prayer reached its end, the illness also reached its end. Sweat suddenly poured from her whole body, that fire was put out, and the signs of health appeared.

9h In our own times the Master still works such wonders through his own servants. Peter's clothing, like that of the most divine Paul, was also effective. I do not say this by way of exaggeration; the truth itself agrees with me. He cut his own belt in two (it was broad and long, plaited from coarse linen). With one half he girded his own waist, and with the other half he girded mine. My mother often put this half on me when I was sick, and often on my father, and she drove the illness away. She herself also used this remedy to regain her health. Many of our acquaintances learned of this and constantly took the belt to help their sick, and everywhere it showed the working of his grace. In this way someone took it and deprived those who had given it, proving ungrateful to his benefactors. That is how we were stripped of that gift. So he shone, and lit up Antioch with his rays, and then passed beyond the contests, awaiting the crown laid up for the victors. As for me, I enjoyed his blessing while he lived, and I now beg to enjoy it still. With that prayer I will bring this account to its end.

CHAPTER 10

10a Rhosus is a city of Cilicia, on the right as you sail into the Cilician gulf. To the east and south of it there is a high mountain, spreading wide and shady, and it also feeds wild beasts in its thickets. In this mountain the great and much-celebrated Theodosius found a wooded glen sloping down toward the sea. He built a small hut there and, alone, embraced the way of life of the Gospel. He came from Antioch and was distinguished by the splendor of his family. Yet he left house, relatives and everything else, and bought, to speak in the language of the Gospel, the pearl of great price. There is no need to speak of his fasting, his sleeping on the ground, and his clothing of hair to those who see his followers and disciples and observe this way of life among them. Yet he practiced these things with exceptional zeal, since he set himself as an example to those who were being introduced to the life. He added to these an iron burden on his neck, his waist and both his hands. He wore his hair unkempt, reaching right down to his feet and even beyond, and for this reason he had it tied around his waist. He used prayer and hymn-singing continually, and so he lulled to sleep desire, anger, pride and the other wild beasts of the soul. Always adding labor to labor, he also did manual work. At

one time he wove what are called fans and baskets; at another he made small fields in the glen, sowed seed, and gathered from there enough food. As time went on his fame spread in every direction, and many people came running from many places, eager to share with him his dwelling, his labors and his way of life. He received them and led them on into this life. You could see some weaving sails, others weaving ropes of hair, others plaiting the fans or the baskets, and others taking up farming.

10b Because the place lay by the sea, he later built a ferryboat and used it to carry goods. It took out the work of the brothers who lived with him and brought back what they needed. He remembered the apostle's words: "working night and day so as not to burden any of you," and "these hands served my needs and those of the men with me." So he worked himself, and he urged his fellow monks to add the sweat of the body to the labors of the soul. For it would be wrong, he said, for people living in the world to toil and suffer to feed wives and children, and on top of that to pay taxes and tribute, to offer firstfruits to God, and to relieve the need of beggars as far as they can, while we do not earn what we need by our labor. And that, though our food is poor and scanty and our clothing is poor, too! It would be wrong for us to sit with our hands tucked away, living off other people's hands. With these and similar words he urged them to work. He performed the divine services, as they are customarily kept everywhere, at their proper times, and gave the time between to work. He took special care of the hospitality given to strangers. He entrusted this duty to men adorned with gentleness and humility of mind, who had love for their neighbor. He himself oversaw everything and checked whether each task was carried out according to the established rules. He became so famous that sailors, even those more than a thousand stades away, called on "the God of Theodosius" in times of danger, and by the name of Theodosius they calmed the storm at sea. Even bold and savage enemies respected him, men who had plundered and enslaved most of the East. For who among those living in our part of the world has not heard of the evils that happened in that time at the hands of the people once called Solymi and now called Isaurians?

10c Even so, those raiders spared neither city nor village. They plundered every place they were able to capture and set it on fire. Yet they respected that philosophy of his. They asked only for bread and promised prayers, and they left that ascetic dwelling unharmed. They did this not once but twice. Still,

the bishops of the churches feared that the devil might put a love of money into the barbarians and so cause that great light to be taken captive. It was likely that very large ransoms would be sent to them from everywhere by all who honor divine things. So they begged him and persuaded him to go to Antioch. They had already taken two bishops of the churches captive. They treated them with every kindness, but after receiving fourteen thousand gold pieces for the two, they allowed them to go back wherever they wished. When he came to Antioch, he settled in a dwelling beside the river. He drew to himself all who knew how to gather such fruit. I was carried along by the rush of my story and passed over a miracle that this holy man performed. To many it may seem unbelievable, yet it remains to this day as a witness to my account, and it shows what grace and boldness before God this marvelous man had received. A steep rock rises above the monastery that he himself had built, and it had previously been completely dry, without any moisture. In this rock he made a channel running from the summit down to the monastery, as though the flow of water were already in his hand. Full of confidence in God, and bold, as one might expect, because he had the Master favorable to him and an unwavering faith, he woke at night and went up to the top of the channel before his companions had risen for their usual prayers. He begged God in prayer, trusting in the one who does the will of those who fear him, and struck the rock with the staff on which he happened to be leaning. The rock split and water gushed out like a river. It flowed inside the monastery through the channel and supplied every need richly, and what was left over drained into the nearby sea.

10d To this day the grace of Moses at work in the great Theodosius can be seen. This one thing is enough to show the man's boldness before God. He lived only a short time longer in Antioch, and then passed over to the company of angels. His holy body was carried through the middle of the city. It was adorned, as with golden crowns, by that iron he had worn. All the leaders walked in front, including those entrusted with the great offices. There was a struggle and a quarrel over the bier, since everyone was eager to carry it and to gain a blessing from it. So he was carried, and laid in the shrine of the holy martyrs. He had shared tent and roof with Julian, that victorious champion of godliness. The tomb that received him is the same one that received the divine and blessed Aphraates. The leadership of the flock passed to the admirable Helladius. He spent sixty years in those labors, and then by God's

gift received the bishopric of the Cilicians. He did not give up his earlier philosophy. Day after day he added the toils of the high priesthood to those labors. The blessed Romulus became his hearer and was appointed leader of a very large flock. His company, too, has continued to this day in the same way of life. A village lies beside the monastery, called Marathon in Syriac. With this I bring the account to its end, and I ask [to share] in the blessing that comes from it.

CHAPTER 11

11a Now the great Theodosius came from Antioch and struggled in the Rhosian mountains. He returned to the city of Antioch and so received the end of his life. The godly Romanus, however, was born and first raised in Rhosus, but took up the contests of virtue in Antioch. He pitched his tent outside the city walls, at the foot of the mountain, and spent all his time in a small house that belonged to someone else. He lived to old age without ever using fire or receiving the light of a lamp. His food was bread and salt, and his drink was spring water. His hair was like that of the great Theodosius, and so were his clothing and his iron. He excelled in simplicity of character, gentleness of manner, and humility of mind. For this reason the radiance of divine grace shone from him. "On whom shall I look," it says, "but on the gentle, the quiet, the one who trembles at my words?" And the Lord said again to his own disciples: "Learn from me, for I am gentle and humble in heart, and you will find rest for your souls." And again: "Blessed are the gentle, for they will inherit the earth." For Moses the lawgiver, too, this was the mark of his achievements. "Moses," it says, "was the gentlest of all the people on the earth." The all-holy Spirit bore the same witness to the prophet David: "Remember David," it says, "and all his gentleness." And we have learned about the patriarch Jacob that he was a plain man, living in a house.

11b Romanus gathered these virtues like a bee from those divine meadows, and made from them the honey of truth. But he did not enjoy the fruit of his labors alone. The sweetest streams flowed out also to those outside. To those who came to him he spoke in a gentle, sweet voice. He gave many exhortations about brotherly love, and many about harmony and peace. Many he made lovers of divine things merely by being seen. For who would not have been amazed to see an old man with a body worn out, choosing to carry as much iron as possible, dressed in a garment of hair, and taking only as much food as would prevent death from hunger? Besides the greatness and number

of his labors, the grace that bloomed in him persuaded everyone to marvel at him and honor him. Often he drove away severe diseases from many people, and he gave children to many barren women. Though he had received so much power from the divine Spirit, he called himself a poor man and a beggar. So all who came to him he filled with benefit, by being seen and by speaking, through his whole life. When he left this world and was moved to the company of angels, he left a memory that was not buried with his body. It flourishes and is green, it never goes out, it remains forever, and it is enough to help any who wish. I too have gathered a blessing from it. Now I will tell, as well as I can, the stories of the other champions.

CHAPTER 12

12a Not many people know the wonderful Zeno, and those who do know him cannot admire him as he deserves. He left behind very great wealth in his homeland, which was Pontus. There, as he used to say, he had drunk from the streams of the great Basil, who lived nearby and watered Cappadocia, and he gave back fruits worthy of that watering. As soon as the emperor Valens was killed, he laid aside his soldier's belt. He had been enrolled among those who carry the emperor's dispatches at speed. Leaving the palace, he went off to a tomb (the mountain beside Antioch has many of them) and lived there alone. He was purifying his soul and washing the dirt from its power of sight. He pictured the divine vision to himself and set the ascents to God in his heart. He longed to take wings like a dove and desired to fly up to the divine rest. For this reason he had no bed, no lamp, no hearth, no cooking pot, no oil flask, no chest, no book, nothing else. He wore old rags, and his shoes were the same, in need of ties, since the leather had come apart from the stitching of the soles. He got the food he needed from one acquaintance only. It was a single loaf, supplied every two days. The water he drew from far off and carried himself. Once someone saw him struggling with the load and begged to lighten his labor. At first Zeno resisted, explaining that he could not bear to drink water that another had carried. When he could not persuade the man, he gave him the jars (he carried two, one in each hand). When the man got inside the door of the cell, Zeno poured out the water and sprinkled it about, then ran back to the spring, confirming his words by his deed.

12b When I first longed to see him and went up the mountain, I saw a man holding the jars in both hands. I asked where the dwelling of the won-

derful Zeno was. He said he knew of no monk called by that name. I guessed that it was he and followed him, taking his modest manner as proof of my guess. When I got inside the door, I saw a bed made of hay, and some other rubbish spread over the stones, so that those who sat on it would suffer no harm from them. We held many conversations about the philosophy of the ascetic life. I asked questions, and he unfolded for us the things we sought. Then it was time to go home, and I begged him to give us the provisions of his blessing. He resisted, saying that it was lawful for us to fulfil the prayer, and calling himself a layman and us soldiers. For at that time I happened to be reading the sacred books aloud to the people of God. We pleaded our youth and the unripeness of our age (for we had only just begun to show a slight down on the cheek), and swore that we would never come again if we were forced to do this now. At last, late in the day, he gave way to our entreaties and offered the prayer to God. Then he made a long defense of having done it, saying that he had done it out of love and obedience, for we had heard him praying as we drew near. For an old man, who had by then completed forty years in the ascetic life, to have such humility of mind at such a height of philosophy, who could admire it as it deserves? What praise could one offer that matches its greatness?

12c He possessed such wealth of virtue that, though he lived in the utmost poverty, he went to the holy church with the crowd every Sunday. He lent his ears to the divine words and to the teachers, and shared in the mystic table, and then returned to that strange dwelling of his. He had no little key and left no guard behind. The place was closed to evildoers and entirely safe, since he had nothing in it but that litter of rubbish. He would borrow a single book from his acquaintances and read it right through, and only when he had returned it would he take another. Yet he had no bolts and used no bars, and he was guarded by grace from above. We learned this plainly from experience. When a band of Isaurians seized the high citadel by night, and after dawn ran down as far as the foot of the mountain, they cruelly speared many men and many women who were living the ascetic life. At that time this godly man watched the slaughter of the others, and by prayer he darkened the eyes of the raiders. They went past his door and did not see the entrance. He said, calling the truth to witness, that he also clearly saw three young men driving all that company away, showing them the way out. So much, then, is enough to show what kind of life this godly man led and

what grace he enjoyed from God. But I must add one more thing. It grieved and stung him greatly that his property had remained, and had not been sold and distributed according to the law of the Gospel. The reason was the youth of his brothers. The lands and the money were held in common, and he did not want to go back to his homeland to divide them. Yet he was afraid to let another man sell his share of the estate, in case the buyers took advantage of his brothers in their greed and then heaped slanders on him.

12d He turned these thoughts over in his mind and put off the disposal for a long time. Later he sold everything to one of his acquaintances and gave away most of the money. Then an illness came on him and forced him to make a decision about what was left. So he sent for the bishop of the city. This was the great Alexander, the glory of godliness, the pattern of virtue, the exact image of true philosophy. Zeno said to him, "Come, my godly friend, and be the best steward of this money. Distribute it according to God's purpose, as one who will give an account to that Judge. I handled the rest myself and gave it away as I thought best, and I meant to manage what is left in the same way. But since I am ordered to depart from this life, I appoint you steward of it, for you are a high priest and live in a way worthy of your high priesthood." So he handed the money over to him as to a godly treasurer. He himself did not live much longer, but departed like an Olympic victor leaving the wrestling ground, having received praise not only from men but from angels. And I, begging him also to intercede with the Master on my behalf, will now turn to another account.

CHAPTER 13

13a Macedonius, nicknamed "the Barley-Eater" (the food he ate gave him that name), is known to everyone in Phoenicia, Syria and Cilicia, and also to their neighbors and the people living near them. Some saw the man's miracles with their own eyes. Others heard rumor singing them out and repeating them. Not everyone knows everything, however. One person has learned this, another that, and each naturally admires only what he knows. But I know the story of this godly man better than most. Many things drew me to go to him and to marvel, and I will tell each as well as I can. I have placed his story after many others, not because he was second to the rest in virtue (he was equal to the highest and the first), but because he lived a very long time and reached the end of his life after those I have already mentioned. This man made the mountain peaks his wrestling-ground and racecourse. He was

not settled in a single place, but lived now in one, now moved to another. He did this not because he found the places disagreeable, but to escape the crowds that gathered to him and came running from every side. For forty-five years he went on in this way. He used no tent and no hut, but made his stand in a deep pit dug in the ground. Because of this some called him Gouba. In the Syrian language, when turned into Greek, that name means "pit." After this time, when he had become an old man, he gave way to those who begged him and put up a hut. Later, at the urging of his acquaintances, he also made use of small houses, not his own but other people's. He lived twenty-five years in the hut and the small houses, so that the time of his struggles adds up to seventy years. His food was not bread or vegetables but hulled barley, soaked in water alone.

13b My mother, who had become a friend of his, supplied him with this food for a very long time. Once he came to her when she was ill. He learned that she would not take food suited to her sickness (she too had by then embraced the ascetic life). He urged her to yield to the doctors and to regard such food as medicine, for it is taken not for luxury but for need. "I too," he said, "as you know, have lived forty years on barley alone. When I fell ill the day before yesterday, I told my companion to ask for a little bread and bring it. A thought had come to me: if I should die, I would have to answer for my death before the just Judge, as one who had run away from the struggles and fled the labors of his service like a runaway slave. It was possible to hold off death with a little food, and to stay on in this life, toiling and suffering, and so gather up the wealth that comes from it. I judged that death by starvation was to be preferred over a life of philosophy. So I was filled with fear, and wanting to blunt the sharp points of that thought, I told him to ask for the bread, and when it was brought I ate it. So now I urge you to give me bread from now on, and no longer barley." So we heard from a lips that do not lie that for forty years he made barley his food. This is enough to prove the man's self-discipline and love of labor. We will show the simplicity of his old-fashioned character by other things. When the great Flavian was appointed to shepherd God's great flock, he learned of the man's virtue (he was famous and on everyone's lips). He brought him down from the mountaintop as though a written charge had been laid against him. When the mystical liturgy was set out, he led him to the altar and enrolled him among the priests. When the service was over and someone told him what had happened

(he had known nothing at all of it), at first he railed at everyone and pelted them with words. Then he took his staff (in his old age he was used to walking leaning on it) and chased after the bishop himself and everyone else who was there.

13c He thought that ordination would rob him of his mountaintop and the way of life he longed for. That time, some of his friends barely managed to calm him down in his anger. But when the cycle of the week was completed and the Lord's Day came again, the great Flavian sent for him once more, asking him to share in the festival with them. He said to those who came, "Is what has already been done not enough for you? Do you want to put me forward as a presbyter again?" They told him that the same ordination could not be laid on a man twice. He would not give way and did not go, until time and his friends taught him this by repeated explanation. I know that this story will not seem very admirable to many. But I have included it because I think it is worth remembering, as sufficient proof of his simplicity of mind and purity of soul. For to such people the Master promised the kingdom of heaven. "Truly I say to you," he said, "unless you turn and become like children, you will not enter the kingdom of heaven." Now that I have shown the character of his soul in summary, let me also show the boldness of speech that came from his virtue. A military commander who loved hunting went up the mountain to hunt. Dogs followed him, and soldiers, and everything needed for the chase. When he saw the man from a distance and learned from his companions who he was, he leapt at once from his horse, approached, greeted him, and asked what he was doing there. Macedonius asked him in return, "And what have you come up here to do?" The commander said, "To hunt." "I too," he said, "am hunting my God. I long to catch him and I yearn to behold him, and I will not give up this noble hunt." When the commander heard this, he was amazed, as one would expect, and went away. At another time the city was seized with frenzy by some evil demon, and in its madness it abused the imperial statues. The foremost of the generals came, bringing a sentence of total destruction against the city.

13d Macedonius came down from the mountain and stopped both generals as they were passing through the marketplace. When they learned who he was, they jumped down from their horses, clasped his hands and knees, and promised deliverance. He told them to say this to the emperor: "He is a man,

and he has the same nature as those who have insulted him. He ought to measure his anger by that nature, but he has used a measureless fury. For the sake of his own images he hands over the divine images to slaughter, and in place of bronze statues he sends bodies to death. For us," he said, "it is easy and simple to recast the bronze ones and give them shape again. But you, though you are emperor, cannot bring slaughtered bodies back to life. Why do I say bodies? You cannot even restore a single hair." He said this in the Syrian language. The generals heard it as the interpreter put it into Greek, and they shuddered, and they promised to carry the message to the emperor. I think everyone would agree that these words came from the grace of the divine Spirit. How else could he have said them, a man untouched by any education, raised in the countryside, living on mountaintops, carrying all simplicity in his soul, and who had not even spent time on the divine oracles? So now that I have shown his spiritual wisdom, and the boldness of speech that suits a righteous man ("for the righteous man is confident as a lion"), I will turn to his miracles. The wife of a wealthy man fell into a disease of ravenous appetite. Some called it the work of a demon, others thought it a sickness of the body. Whichever it was, it went like this: they said she ate thirty birds a day and did not quench her craving, but still longed for more. As the household's wealth was being used up on her, her relatives took pity and begged that divine man for help. He came and prayed. He laid his right hand on water, stamped on it the saving seal, and told her to drink. He cured the disease, and he blunted the excess of her appetite so greatly that from then on a small portion of a bird each day was enough to meet her need for food.

13e So that was the kind of cure this illness received. There was also a girl, still living in her bridal chamber, who was suddenly seized by the working of an evil demon. Her father ran to the holy man, pleading and begging that his little daughter might be healed. Macedonius prayed and ordered the demon to leave the girl at once. The demon said that he had not entered her willingly but had been forced by sorcery and magic spells. He even named the man who had forced him, and said that love was the reason for the sorcery. When the father heard this, he could not bear the surge of his anger, and he did not wait for his daughter's cure. He went to the governor who ruled over the higher officials and presided over many nations, lodged a charge against the man, and told him the whole affair. The accused was

brought in, denied it, and called the charge slander. The father called as his witness no one else but the very demon who had served the sorcery, and he begged the judge to run to that holy man and hear the demon's testimony. The judge said it was neither lawful nor holy for an examination to be held in a place of ascetics. So the girl's father promised to bring the holy Macedonius to the court, and he ran, persuaded him, and brought him. The judge sat outside the courthouse, and he became no judge but a spectator. For the great Macedonius took the judge's seat, using the power that lived in him, and commanded the demon to drop his usual lying and to tell the whole tragedy of the affair truthfully. Driven by the greatest necessity, the demon pointed out the man who had forced him with his magical incantations, and the maidservant through whom that potion had been given to the girl. Then he hurried on to tell of other things that he had done under compulsion from other people: burning down one man's house, destroying another man's cattle, harming someone else in some other way. At that the man of God ordered him to be silent and to go at once far away from the girl and from the town.

13f The demon, as if obeying a law from the Master, did what he was told and fled immediately. In this way the holy man freed the girl from her madness. He also snatched that wretched man out of the charge and prevented the judge from passing a sentence of death. He said it was not right that slaughter should be imposed on those who had been exposed through him, but rather that safety should be granted to the man through repentance. These things are enough to show the abundance of the divine power given to him. But I will still tell of others. A woman of noble family and great wealth (they called her Astrion) lost her wits. She recognized none of her household and would not take any food or drink. She remained out of her mind for a very long time. Others called this the working of a demon, but the doctors called it a disease of the brain. All their skill was spent and no help came from it. So her husband, Aūodianos (he was a man of rank and office), ran to that holy head, described his wife's affliction, and begged to obtain her cure. The wondrous man yielded. He went to the house and offered an earnest petition to God. When he had finished the prayer, he ordered water to be brought, traced on it the sign of salvation, and told her to drink. The doctors objected that cold drinking would make the disease worse, but the man pushed that whole company aside and gave the woman the drink. As soon as

she drank, she came back to herself and her mind was sound. Fully rid of the illness, she recognized the holy man. She begged to take his right hand, laid it on her eyes, and put it to her mouth. For the rest of her life she kept a healthy mind. At the time when he was embracing the life of the mountains, a shepherd looking for stray sheep came to the place where the man of God was.

13g It was deep night and a heavy snow was falling. The shepherd said he saw a fire burning around the man, and two figures in white clothing feeding it with fuel. For Macedonius brought his own eagerness, and so he enjoyed help from God. He had also received the gift of prophecy. Once a general came to him, a man distinguished for his piety (who does not know the virtue of Lupicinus?). He said he was anxious about some men who were bringing him supplies by sea from the imperial city. Fifty days, he said, had passed since they sailed from the harbor, and he had received no word of them. Macedonius did not hesitate. "My friend," he said, "one of the ships is lost. The other will reach the harbor of Seleucia tomorrow." The general heard this from that holy tongue as it spoke, and he learned by experience that the words were true. But to pass over the other cases, I will tell what concerns myself. My mother lived with my father for thirteen years and did not become a mother. She was barren, held back by nature from bearing fruit. This did not distress her much, since she had been taught the things of God and believed that it was for the best. But my father was greatly grieved by the lack of children. He went about everywhere, begging God's holy servants to ask God for children for him. The others promised to pray, and urged him to accept what God willed. But this holy man promised a direct petition, and he promised that my father would receive one son from the Creator of all. Three years went by and the promise had not been fulfilled, so my father ran to him again to demand what he had promised. Macedonius ordered that his wife be sent to him. When my mother came, the holy man told her that he would ask, and that she would receive the child, and that it was fitting to give back to the Giver. My mother begged only to receive the salvation of her soul and deliverance from Gehenna. "Besides this," he said, "the bountiful Giver will also give you the son."

13h "For to those who ask sincerely he grants their requests twice over." My mother went home carrying the blessing of the promise. In the fourth year after the promise she conceived and was heavy with child, and she went

to the holy man, showing him the sheaves from the seeds of his blessing. In the fifth month of the pregnancy a danger of miscarriage arose. She sent again to her new Elisha (for her illness kept her from going herself). She reminded him that she had not wanted to be a mother of children, and she brought his promises before him. When he saw the messenger coming from far off, he recognized him and knew the reason. For during the night the Master had shown him both the illness and its cure. So he took his staff and came leaning on it. He entered the house, gave the greeting of peace as he always did, and said, "Take courage and do not be afraid. The Giver will not take the gift away, unless you break the agreement that was made. You promised to give back what would be given, and to consecrate it to the service of God." "Yes," said my mother, "that is what I want and pray for as I bear it. I would rather have a child who never comes to birth than raise it for some other life." "Then drink this water," said the holy man, "and you will feel God's help." She drank as he commanded, and the danger of miscarriage fled. Such were the miracles of our Elisha. I often enjoyed his blessing and his teaching. He would often advise me, "My child, you were born with much labor. I spent many nights asking God only this, that your parents would become what they were called after your birth. So live in a way worthy of those labors. You were dedicated by promises before the birth pains. What is dedicated to God is holy to all and untouchable by the many. So it is fitting that you do not accept the base movements of the soul, but do, say and think only those things that please God, the lawgiver of virtue."

13i This is the kind of advice the man of God always gave me. I remember his words, and I have been taught about the divine gift. But I do not show my obedience to that advice by my deeds. So I beg that, through his prayer, I may obtain help from God's hand, and that I may live out the rest of my life according to his counsel. What sort of man he was, and by what labors he drew down the grace of God, these accounts are enough to show. Yet even in this life his death received a fitting honor for his labors. All of them, citizens and strangers alike, and those who had been entrusted with great offices, carried that holy bier on their shoulders. They took it to the shrine of the victorious martyrs, and beside those godly men, Aphraates and Theodosius, they laid his holy body, so dear to God. His fame remains unquenched, and no length of time will be able to blot it out. As for us, we bring this narrative to its end, and we have gathered the fragrance that comes from telling it.

CHAPTER 14

14a I know that many other lights of godliness shone around the city of Antioch: the great Severus, Peter the Egyptian, Eutychius, Cyrillus, Moses, Malchus, and very many others who walked the same road. But if we tried to write the life of all of them, all our time would not be enough. Besides, reading about too many wearies most people. So let everyone judge the lives of those I have left out from the ones I have written down. Let them praise those men, imitate them, and gather the benefit. As for me, I will cross over to the meadows of Cyrrhus, and of the sweet-smelling and beautiful flowers there I will point out the loveliness of a few, as far as I can. In the times before us there was a man named Maisymas. He was Syrian in speech, raised in the countryside, and he showed every kind of virtue. He shone in the life he lived, and the care of a certain village was entrusted to him. As he performed the sacred rites and shepherded God's flock, he said and did what the divine law prescribed. They say he hardly ever changed his tunic or his goatskin cloak. When tears appeared in them he sewed other rags onto them, and in this way he looked after his old age. He cared for strangers and the poor so eagerly that he threw open his doors to every passer-by. He is said to have had two jars, one of grain and one of oil. From these he always supplied everyone in need, and yet he always kept them full, because the blessing given to the widow of Zarephath was extended to these jars as well.

14b For the same Lord of all is rich toward all who call upon him. As he commanded that jar and that cruse to keep flowing, supplying the sheaves from the seeds of hospitality, so to this wonderful man he gave a supply equal to his eagerness. He also received from the God of all great grace for working miracles. I will mention one or two miracles and pass over the rest, since I am in a hurry to come to the others. A woman, distinguished by both birth and faith, had a son who fell ill. He was very young, hardly more than a boy. She set him before many physicians. But their skill was defeated, and the physicians gave up. They told her plainly that the child would die. The woman did not throw away her better hopes. She imitated that Shunammite woman and set the covered carriage on her mules. She put herself and the child in it and went to find that godly man. Weeping, and showing him how nature's weakness had struck her child, she begged him to help. He took the child in both hands, went up to the foot of the altar, and lay face down, pleading with the physician of souls and bodies. He received what he asked,

and gave the son back to his mother in good health. I heard this from the woman herself, who saw the miracle and whose child received his healing. They also say that the owner of that village once came there. This was Letoius. He held the first place in the council of Antioch, but he was held in the darkness of ungodliness, and he was exacting the crops from the farmers more harshly than he should. The godly man urged him toward kindness, advised him, and went through arguments about mercy and compassion. Letoius stayed unmoved, but he learned by experience the harm of disobedience.

14c For when Leto'ios was about to leave, the carriage was ready. He sat down and ordered the driver to urge on the mules. They pulled with all their strength, straining to drag the pole, but the wheels seemed fastened down with iron and lead. The crowd of villagers also tried to move the wheels with levers, but it did no good. Then one of the more friendly men in his company explained the cause to Leto'ios. He said that the aged priest had laid a curse on him, and that he ought to win the man's favor. So he leapt down from the carriage and begged the very man he had spat upon. He rolled at his feet and clung to his filthy rags, pleading with him to relax his anger. The old man accepted the plea and offered it to the Master. He loosed the invisible bonds on the wheels and made the carriage move again as usual. They tell many other such stories about that holy man. From these we can also learn that living in cities and villages does not at all harm those who choose the philosophic life. For he and those like him, who care for the service of God, showed that even people who live in the middle of a crowd can reach the very summit of the virtues. May I, helped by their prayers, climb a little way above the foot of that mountain.

CHAPTER 15

15a Akepsimas lived at the same time, and his fame spread widely through the whole East. He shut himself up in a small cell and spent sixty years there, neither seen nor speaking. He turned his attention inward and pictured God before him, and from this he received every comfort of the soul, according to the prophecy that says: "Delight yourself in the Lord, and he will grant you the requests of your heart." He would stretch out his hand through a small opening to take the food that was brought. The opening was not cut straight through, so that it would not lie open to those who wanted to look in, but was built slanting, with a winding turn. His food was brought to him:

lentils soaked in water. Once a week he went out at night and drew enough water from a nearby spring. Once a shepherd tending his flocks some distance away saw something moving in the darkness. He supposed it was a wolf, for the man walked bent over, weighed down by a great deal of iron. He swung his sling to hurl a stone. But his hand stayed fixed and unmoving for a very long time and could not let the stone go, until that holy man had drawn his water and gone back. Then the shepherd realized his mistake. After dawn he went to that school of virtue, told what had happened, asked pardon, and received forgiveness for his offense. He did not hear a voice speak, but learned the man's kindness from the movements of his hand. Another man, with malicious nosiness, wanted to find out what he was doing all that time, and dared to climb the plane tree planted beside the enclosure wall. But he immediately reaped the fruits of his boldness. Half of his body, from the top of his head to his feet, was ruined, and he became a suppliant, confessing his sin.

15b He announced beforehand that health would come through the cutting down of the plane tree. So that no one else would do the same and suffer the same, he ordered the tree cut down at once. When it was cut, the punishment was lifted. This was the endurance of this holy man, and this was the grace he received from the one who presides over the contest. When he was getting ready to depart this life, he declared in advance that he would reach the end of his life after fifty days. Meanwhile he received everyone who wished to see him. The head of the Church also came, and urged him to accept the yoke of the presbyterate. "Father," he said, "I know the height of your philosophy and the depth of my own poverty. But I have been entrusted with the stewardship of the high priesthood, and by this, not by that, I put forward men for ordination. So accept the gift of the priesthood. My right hand will serve, and the grace of the all-holy Spirit will supply it." To this he is said to have replied: "Since I shall depart from here in a few days, I will not quarrel about this. If I were going to live much longer, I would have run from this heavy and fearful burden of the priesthood, dreading the accounting required for such a trust. But since I shall soon leave everything here behind, I will obey what is commanded." At once, with no one leading him, he bent his knees and waited for the grace. The bishop laid his hand on him and served the Spirit. He lived only a few days after becoming a priest. Then he exchanged one life for another, and received a life that does not age and

has no grief in place of one full of cares. All the villages wanted to seize his body and carry it off to their own place. Then someone revealed the oaths the saint had made, and ended the quarrel.

15c For he said that the saint had made him swear to hand over his body for burial in that particular place. So the citizens of heaven cared about plainness even after death. While they lived they never allowed themselves to think highly of themselves, and when they died they did not draw to themselves any honor from men. They transferred all their love to the Bridegroom, like modest wives who want to be loved and praised only by their own husbands and despise the good reports of others. For this reason the Bridegroom made them famous even against their wishes, and gave them in abundance a good name among men as well. For whenever someone who pursues divine things asks for heavenly things, God adds many other things besides, giving many times over what was asked. This is exactly what he said when he gave his law: "Ask for the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all the rest will be added to you." And again: "The one who leaves father and mother and brothers and wife and children for my sake and the sake of my Gospel will receive a hundredfold in this age, and in the age to come will inherit eternal life." He said this, and he has done it. May we, taught by this account and leaning on the prayers of these saints, run straight toward the goal, to the prize of the upward calling in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory forever. Amen.

CHAPTER 16

16a After these I will mention Maron, for he too adorned the holy company. He embraced a life in the open air and took possession of a hilltop that had been honored by the ungodly of old. He consecrated to God the shrine of the demons on it and spent his time there. He pitched a small tent, but rarely used it. He practiced not only the usual labors but devised others as well, gathering up the riches of philosophy. The one who presides over the contest added grace to his labors. For the generous Giver bestowed on him the gift of healing so richly that his fame ran everywhere, and people from every direction were drawn to him and learned by experience that the report was true. One could see fevers put out by the dew of his blessing, shivering fits stopped, demons fleeing, and every kind of varied illness healed by a single remedy. Physicians' sons give each ailment its own fitting medicine, but the prayer of the saints is a common antidote for all afflictions. He healed not only bodily

sicknesses but also gave the fitting treatment to souls. He cured one man's greed and another's anger. To one he brought teaching about self-control, to another he added lessons in righteousness. He trained one man out of his licentiousness and roused another from his sluggishness.

16b By working this field, Maron produced many plants of philosophy, and he himself planted for God the garden that now flourishes in the territory of Cyrrhus. The great Jacob was a product of his planting. One could rightly apply to him that prophetic saying: "The righteous will flourish like a palm tree; he will be multiplied like the cedar in Lebanon." The same applies to all the others, each of whom I will mention separately, God willing. While he was tending this divine farm in this way, healing souls and bodies together, he endured a brief illness. This was so that we might learn both the weakness of our nature and the courage of his purpose. Then he departed this life. A fierce war broke out among his neighbors over his body. A populous village among the neighboring ones came out in a mass, scattered the others, and seized that thrice-longed-for treasure. They built a very large shrine and, to this day, enjoy the benefit that comes from it, honoring that victorious man with a public festival. We too, [by speaking of him], reap the blessing. For us the memory is enough in place of the tomb.

CHAPTER 17

17a It would not be right to pass over the memory of the admirable Abraham, on the pretext that after the solitary life he graced the episcopal chair. In fact he deserves to be remembered all the more for this reason: when he was forced to change his way of public life, he did not change his manner of living. He carried his ascetic hardship over into it, and ran the course of his life surrounded both by a monk's labors and by a bishop's cares. He too is a fruit of the territory of Cyrrhus. He was born and brought up there, and there he gathered the wealth of ascetic virtue. Those who lived with him say that he subdued his body with so much wakefulness, standing, and fasting that for a very long time he remained motionless, hardly able to walk. By divine providence he was freed from that weakness. He then wished to bring dangers upon himself for the sake of divine grace, and he went to Lebanon. He had learned that a certain very large village was held in the darkness of impiety. He hid the face of a monk behind the mask of a merchant. He took sacks along with his companions, as though he were going to buy nuts, for that was the fruit the village produced above all. He rented a house and paid

the owners a little money in advance. For three or four days he kept quiet. Then, little by little, he began the divine service, using a moderate voice. When the villagers noticed the psalm-singing, the town crier shouted and called everyone together. Men and women gathered. They walled up the doors, and from above, from the roof, they piled on a great deal of earth and dropped it down on them. But when they saw the men being choked and buried, unwilling to do or say anything, and offering only prayer to God, some of the villagers made a different suggestion, and the rest stopped their frenzy. Then they opened the doors, dug away the heap of earth, and ordered the men to leave at once. But at that very time tax collectors arrived, forcing people to pay their levies. Some they bound; others they abused.

17b But that holy man remembered nothing of what had been done to him. He imitated the Master, who while nailed to the cross cared for those who had done it, and he begged the tax collectors to carry out the collection gently. When they demanded guarantors too, he accepted the demand willingly and promised to pay a hundred gold pieces in a few days. The men who had done those terrible things were full of admiration for his kindness. They asked pardon for what they had dared to do, and begged him to become their patron. For the village had no landlord; the villagers were both the farmers and the owners. So he went to the city, which was Emesa, found some acquaintances there, and took out a loan of the hundred gold pieces. Then he returned to the village and fulfilled his promise to the collectors in full. When they saw his earnestness, they pressed him with a more urgent appeal. He said he would do what they asked if they promised to build a church. They begged him to begin at once, and they led the blessed man around, showing him the more suitable sites. One praised this place, another that. He chose the better one, laid the foundations, and in a short time put the roof on. When the building was finished, he told them to receive a priest. But they said they would choose no one else, and begged him to take them as their father and shepherd. So he accepted the grace of the priesthood. He stayed with them three years and guided them well in divine things. Then he arranged for one of his companions to be put forward in his place, and went back to his monastic dwelling. I do not want to make my account long by telling everything about him. After he had shone in these things, he received the bishop's chair of Carrhae. That city was wrapped in the drunkenness of impiety and had given itself over to the revelry of demons.

17c But the city was thought worthy of his farming and received the fire of his teaching. It stayed free of its former thorns, and now it flourishes with the crops of the Spirit and offers God sheaves of ripe ears of grain. The holy man did not do this divine farming without toil. He went through countless labors. He imitated the skill of those entrusted with healing bodies: some things he soothed with encouragement, others he treated with harsher astringent medicines, and in some cases he even cut and cauterized, and so he brought about health. His teaching and his other care were backed by the shining example of his life. Lit by that, people listened to what he said and gladly accepted what he did. For during all the time he was bishop, bread was superfluous to him, water was superfluous, a bed was useless, and the use of fire was superfluous. At night he completed forty sets of psalms sung in alternating choirs, and he doubled the measure of the prayers that came between them. For the rest of the night he sat on a chair, granting his eyelids only a brief rest. That man will not live on bread alone, Moses the lawgiver said, and the Master recalled this saying when he turned aside the devil's invitation. But that it is possible to live without water, we have not learned anywhere in the divine Scripture. Even the great Elijah first supplied his need from the brook. Then, when he came to the widow of Sarepta, he first commanded that water be brought to him, and only then asked for bread. But this remarkable man, during his time as bishop, ate no bread, no pulses, and no vegetables that had been near fire. He took no water either, which people clever in such matters have judged the first of the four elements because of how much it is needed. He ate only lettuce, chicory, and celery.

17d He made these things his food and drink: lettuce, wild chicory, celery, and the like. He showed that the arts of the baker and the cook are unnecessary. In the season of fruit he supplied his need from that, and he took even these only after the evening service. He wore his body down with such labors, yet he gave tireless care to others. For guests who came, a bed of rushes was made ready, and bright, choice loaves were set before them, along with fragrant wine, fish, vegetables, and all that goes with these. At midday he sat beside those at table. He handed each one a portion of what was set out, passed the cups to everyone, and urged them to drink. In this he imitated his namesake, the patriarch I mean, who served his guests but did not eat with them. He spent whole days over the lawsuits of people quarreling. Some he persuaded to be reconciled with one another. Those who would not be per-

suaded, he compelled with gentle teaching to do what was right. No wrongdoer ever went away having beaten justice by his boldness. He always gave the wronged man his share of justice and so showed him unbeatable, stronger than the man who wanted to do wrong. He was like an excellent physician who always checks whichever humor is in excess and works by his remedies to restore the balance. The emperor longed to see him. Rumor has wings, and it easily carries every report, good and bad. So the emperor summoned him, and when he arrived, greeted him, and counted that rough peasant's goatskin cloak of his more precious than the imperial purple. The company of the empresses too took hold of his hands and knees and begged him, a man who did not even understand the Greek language. So worthy of reverence is philosophy, to emperors and to all people. And when its lovers and devotees die, they win even greater glory. This can be learned from many things, and not least from the story of this wonderful man.

17e When he died and the emperor learned of it, the emperor wished to lay him in one of the holy shrines. But when he learned that it was right to give the shepherd's body back to his flock, he himself led the procession, and the company of the empresses followed, with all the officials and those under them, soldiers and private citizens alike. With this same zeal the city of Antioch received him, and the cities after it, until he came to the great river. Along the bank of the Euphrates citizens ran together, and foreigners too. All who could fit in, and people from the neighboring lands, hurried to share the blessing. Many staff-bearers walked beside the bier. They frightened off, by striking them, those who were trying to strip the body of its clothing and wanted to take rags from it as relics. You could hear some singing psalms and others singing laments. One woman, mourning, called him protector, another called him nourisher, another shepherd and teacher. One man, weeping, called him father, another helper and guardian. With such praises and laments they gave that holy and sacred body to the tomb. I marvel that when he changed his office he did not change his way of life. He did not settle into an easy routine in the bishop's seat, but increased his ascetic labors. For this reason I have counted him in my history of the monks, and I have not separated him from the company he loved, since I seek the blessing that comes from it.

CHAPTER 18

18a To the holy men already mentioned I will add the great Eusebius. He died not long ago. He lived a great many years, and he bore labor equal to his years, and gathered virtue equal to his labor. The profit he carried away from it was many times greater, for the Judge of the contest surpasses the struggles themselves in the generosity of his rewards. At the beginning he entrusted the care of himself to others and was led wherever they led. They too were godly men, athletes and trainers of virtue. He spent some time with them and took up the knowledge of the ascetic philosophy well and thoroughly. Then he embraced the solitary life. He took a ridge of a mountain, on which there lies a very large village (they call it Asichas). He made use only of a low wall, not even fitting its stones together with mortar. In the open air he spent the rest of his life in hardship. He was clothed in a garment of skins and fed on chickpeas and beans soaked in water. Sometimes he also ate dried figs, trying in this way to prop up the weakness of his body. He reached a deep old age, so that he lost most of his teeth. Yet he changed neither his food nor his dwelling. He was frozen in winter and scorched in summer, and he endured the opposite extremes of the weather with patience. His face was shriveled and wrinkled, and all the limbs of his body were dried up like salted meat. He wore his body down with so many labors that even his belt would not stay at his waist but slipped down. Nothing held it up, for his buttocks and hips had wasted away and gave the belt an easy way downward. So he sewed the belt to his tunic and in this way contrived to make it stay in place. Talking with the many wore him out completely. He was continually seeing the vision of God, and he did not want to draw his mind away from it.

18b Yet even though his love was so ardent, he allowed a few of his acquaintances to open the door and come inside. He would offer them teaching from the divine oracles, and as they left he told them to put clay against the door again. Later he judged it better to avoid even meetings with the few, and he walled up the entrance completely, fitting a very large stone to that door. Through a small opening he spoke with a few of his familiars without being seen, for he had arranged it so. Through it he also received his small portion of food. Then he forbade conversation with everyone, and he thought only me worthy of that sweet voice, dear to God. When I wished to leave, he kept me a very long time, talking about heavenly matters. Many

came to him and demanded the gift of his blessing. He was greatly annoyed by the commotion. Giving no thought to his old age and not reckoning with the weakness that weighed on him, he climbed over the wall, which was not easy to climb even for the very strong. He went to a nearby company of ascetics, and again using a small wall by the corner of a building, he carried on his usual labors among his companions. The man who presided over this flock, a man full of every virtue, said that Eusebius got through the seven weeks of the holy fast on fifteen figs. He fought this contest when he was past ninety years old and worn down by an illness hard to describe. But his eagerness was stronger than his illness, and his divine longing made everything seem easy and light. Streaming with these sweats, he too reached the goal of the race, looking on the Judge of the contest and longing for the crowns. As for me, I ask to obtain that intercession which I enjoyed while he was still living. For I believe that he lives, and that he has a purer boldness before God.

CHAPTER 19

19a I would be wronging virtue if I did not make the life of the admirable Salamanes known to those who want to hear of it, and let it lie buried in forgetfulness. So I will tell his story briefly. There is a village on the western side of the river Euphrates, right on its bank, called Capersana. Salamanes came from this village. He loved the life of quiet, and in the village on the far side of the river he found a small cottage and shut himself in, leaving neither door nor window. Once a year he dug through the ground beside the wall, and he received food for the whole year, never speaking to any human being. He lived this way not for a short time but for a very long time indeed. The bishop of the city to which the village belonged learned of the man's virtue and came, wanting to give him the gift of the priesthood. He broke through part of the cottage and went in, laid his hand on him, and offered the prayer. He said many things to him and told him of the grace that had come upon him. But he heard no word in reply, and he went away, ordering the opening to be built up again.

19b At another time the people of the village he had come from crossed the river by night, broke into the cottage, and seized him. He neither resisted nor gave any order. They carried him off to their own village, and at dawn they built the same kind of cottage and shut him in at once. He kept silence just as before, speaking to no one. A few days later the people of the

village across the river came by night, broke into the cottage, and carried him back to themselves. He did not object, nor did he force them to let him stay, nor again did he eagerly set off with them. So completely did he make himself dead to this life, and he spoke the apostle's saying truthfully: "I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live, but Christ lives in me. And the life I now live in the flesh, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me." Such a man was this one also. These things are enough to show the whole purpose of his life. I have gathered a blessing from this man too, and I will pass on to the account of the others.

CHAPTER 20

20a There is a village in our country called Homer's village. Beside it the inspired Maris built a small house, and he stayed shut up in it for thirty-seven years. It took in a great deal of damp from the neighboring mountain, and some streams of water welled up in it. How much harm this does to the body, both townspeople and country people know, for even to the peasants the illnesses that spring from it are plain. Yet not even this persuaded that holy man to change his cottage. He stayed on, enduring, until he had finished his course. His earlier life too he had passed amid the labors of virtue. So he kept both body and soul pure. He made this clear to me himself, telling me that his body had stayed uncorrupted, just as it came from his mother's womb. And this although in his youth he had taken part in many festivals of the martyrs, and had charmed the crowds with his fine voice. For he sang psalms for a very long time, and he was also a man of striking bodily beauty. Yet neither the beauty of his body, nor the brightness of his voice, nor mixing with the many harmed the beauty of his soul. He lived much like those who are shut in, took care of his own soul, and increased his virtue through the labors of his confinement.

20b I often enjoyed his company. He would order the door to be opened for me, and when I went in he embraced me and spoke at length about the philosophic life. He too shone with simplicity, and he utterly detested elaborate ways. He loved poverty more than the greatest wealth. At ninety years old he wore garments made of goat's hair. Bread and a little salt supplied all the food he needed. After a long time he longed to see the spiritual and mystical sacrifice offered, and he asked that the offering of the divine gift be made there. I gladly agreed. I had the sacred vessels brought, for the place was not far away, and using the hands of the deacons in place of an altar, I

offered the mystical, divine and saving sacrifice. He was filled with every spiritual pleasure. He thought he was looking at heaven itself, and he said he had never enjoyed such joy. I was warmly loved by him, and I thought I would be doing wrong if I did not speak well of him after his death. I thought I would wrong others too, if I did not urge them to seek this excellent help from him,

CHAPTER 21

21a Now that we have gone through the struggles of the athletes of virtue already named, telling in summary both their labors in training, their sweat in the contests, and their bright and glorious victories, let us write about the way of life of those who are still alive. They are contending nobly and are eager to outdo their predecessors in toil. Let us leave a profitable memory for those to come. Just as the lives of the saints who shone long ago brought very great benefit to those after them, so the stories of these men will be patterns for those who come after us. I will begin with the great Jacob. He is first among the others both in time and in labor, and those who imitate him do wonderful and astonishing things. Somehow it has happened that this name stands first both among those who have departed and among those who are still alive. For when I told the story of the earlier men, I began with that divine Jacob who scattered the Persian army by prayer. When the walls of the city had fallen, he did not allow the city to be taken, and he forced the enemy to flee, by sending gnats and mosquitoes against them as his soldiers. So let his equal in honor and in character lead the company of the athletes who are still living. I do not say this just because he shares the name, but because he imitated that man's virtue and has himself become an example of philosophy for others. He kept company with the great Maron and shared in his divine teaching, and then he put his teacher in the shade by his greater labors. For Maron had as his enclosure the precinct of the old error, and he set up a tent of goat-hair skins, and by using it he escaped the assaults of rain and snow. But this man has said goodbye to all of these things, tent, hut and enclosure. He has the sky for a roof and takes every hostile blow the air can deal. At one time he is flooded by a pouring rain, at another stiffened by frost and snow, and at another scorched and burned by the sun's rays. He endures it all, and contends as if in someone else's body, striving by sheer eagerness to overcome the nature of the body.

21b For though he wears this mortal body, subject to suffering, he lives as if he were beyond suffering. He practices the bodiless life while in the body, and with the divine Paul he cries out: "Though we walk in the flesh, we do not wage war according to the flesh. For the weapons of our warfare are not fleshly, but powerful through God for the tearing down of strongholds, tearing down reasonings and every high thing raised up against the knowledge of God, and taking captive every thought to the obedience of Christ." But he trained for these struggles above nature with smaller labors first. He shut himself up at first in a small cell, freed himself from outside disturbances, and fastened his mind to the remembrance of God. In this way he practiced perfect virtue. When he had trained himself very well and made his soul used to good labors, he dared the greater contests. He took possession of this mountain, which is thirty stades from this city, and made it famous and venerable, though long ago it was obscure and altogether barren. It is now believed to have received such a blessing that the soil on it is being used up, as people coming from all directions carry it away for their benefit. He lives on this mountain and is seen by all who come. He has no cave, as I said, no tent, no hut, no fence, no wall around him. He is seen praying, resting, standing, sitting, in health, and held by some sickness. So he is always contending before spectators and fighting off the necessities of nature. [The Greek of the next sentence is damaged; the sense is:] Even for other people, raised with a little privacy, it is not easy to bear such things when strangers are present, much less for one trained in the highest philosophy. [uncertain] I say this not because I learned it from someone else, but because I have seen it myself. Fourteen years ago a severe illness struck him and left him in the condition one would expect for someone with a mortal nature. It was the height of summer, and the heat of the sun's rays burned more fiercely, the winds were asleep and the air did not stir. The illness was a flood of bile moving downward, biting the bowel, pressing on it and forcing it to run outward.

21c Then I saw the great endurance of the man. Very many villages had gathered, meaning to seize his victorious body, and he sat there struck from two sides. Nature forced him to go and relieve himself, but shame before the crowd standing around forced him to stay in position. I knew this, so I gave the people who had come many exhortations and many threats, telling them to go away. Finally I even laid on them the bonds of the priesthood, and with great labor I sent them off late in the evening. Yet even when they had

gone, the holy man did not give way to nature. He stayed on, enduring, until deep night came on and forced everyone to go home. I came to him again the next day. I saw that the burning heat had grown fiercer, and that the fever lying on him was fed and increased by the fire from outside. So I pretended to have a headache and said I could not bear the sun's glare. I begged him to let me improvise a little shade beside him. When he gave the order, we set up three reeds, hung two goatskin rugs on them, and so contrived a shade. He told me to go inside, but I said: "Father, it would be shameful for me, young and strong as I am, to have this comfort, while you, held by a raging fever and in need of such relief, sit outside taking the sun's blows. If you want me to enjoy the shade, share this little tent with me. I want to stay with you, but the sun prevents me." When he heard these words he yielded, and chose to accept my care. Once we were enjoying the shade together, I began another argument. I said that I needed to lie down, since my hip could not bear sitting without pain. He urged me to lie down, but I answered that I could not bear to recline while I saw him sitting. "So if you want me to enjoy this rest too, father, let us lie down together. I will not blush if I am not lying down alone." By such arguments I outwitted his endurance and brought him the comfort of reclining. As he lay on the ground I spoke to him in gentle words, turning his soul toward a more cheerful frame of mind.

21d I put my hand inside his garment and tried to rub his back gently, and then I saw the great load of iron which bound his waist and his neck. There were other chains too, running from the ring around the neck, two in front and two behind, slanting down to the lower ring. They made the shape of the letter Chi, in front and behind, and joined the two rings to each other. His arms also had similar bonds inside, around the elbows. When I saw this load, worth many talents, I begged him to spare his suffering body. It could not bear both the burdens he had taken on willingly and an illness he had not chosen. "For now, father," I said, "the fever is doing the work of the iron. When it eases, we will put the iron load on the body again." He yielded in this too, charmed by many such coaxing words. He was ill for only a few days then and recovered easily. Some time later he fell into a more severe illness. Many people gathered from many places to seize his body. When the people of the city heard of it, they all ran together, soldiers and private citizens, some taking up the gear of war, others using whatever weapons they happened to find. Closing ranks, they fought, and they let fly missiles, not to

strike but only to frighten. In this way they drove off the neighbors. They laid the champion of the five contests on a bed. He was quite unaware of what was happening; he did not even feel his hair being pulled out by the country people. They rushed him to the city, and when they reached the shrine of the prophet, they put the bed down in the monastery near it. Someone came to Beroea, where I happened to be, to tell what had happened and to bring the news of his death. I ran at once and spent the whole night on the road. After dawn I found the holy man unable to speak or to recognize any of those present. But when I spoke to him and said that the great Acacius was addressing him, he opened his eyes at once, asked how I was, and inquired when I had come. When I answered these questions, he closed his eyes again.

21e Three days passed. Then he asked where he was. When he learned it, he was very upset and asked to be carried back to the mountain at once. I wanted to take care of him in every way, so I immediately ordered the litter to be lifted and carried him to the place he longed for. There I saw how little he cared for honor, though his head was worthy of reverence. The next day I brought him barley gruel, cooled first, because he would not take anything hot; he had completely refused the use of fire. When he would not take it, I said, "Father, spare us all. We count your health as the common salvation of us all. You are not only set before us as a pattern of benefit; you also help us by your prayer and win us the favor of God. And if the unfamiliar food wears you down, endure this too, Father, for this also is a form of philosophy. As you once overcame your appetite by endurance when you were healthy and hungry, so now, when you have no appetite at all, show the same endurance in taking food." While I was saying this, the man of God Polychronius was with me. He joined in my plea and offered to be the first to take some of the food himself, though it was early morning, and he often fed his body only once in seven days. Overcome by the argument, Acacius took one cup of the gruel, with his eyes shut tight, as we do when we drink something bitter. Since his feet had lost the power to walk through weakness, we persuaded him to have them bathed in water. I think it right to bring this part of his philosophy into the open too. The bowl was lying close by, and one of the attendants tried to cover it with a basket so that it would not be seen by those who came to him. But he said, "Why are you covering the bowl?" The man answered, "So that it won't be an offense to the visitors who come to see

you." "Away with you, child," he said. "Do not hide from men what has been made plain to the God of all. I want to live for him alone, and I take no thought for human opinion. What good would it do if these people credited me with more discipline, and God with less? They do not give the reward for my labors; God supplies it."

21f Who would not marvel at these words, and at the mind that produced them, so far above human glory? I have learned of another such incident. It was evening, late evening, and the time for his meal. He took the potsherd that lay near him and was eating soaked lentils, for that was his food. A man came from the city, entrusted with some military collection. Acacius saw him from far off, but he did not put down the lentils; he went on eating his food as usual. Supposing the man to be an apparition of a demon, he pelted him with words and drove him off as an enemy. To show that he was not afraid, he kept putting the lentils to his mouth in between. The man under this abuse begged him, saying that he was a human being, and that because of some oath he had to leave the city before evening, which was why he had come at this hour. Acacius said, "Take courage and do not be afraid, but pray and then go on your way. Be my table companion too, and share my food." As he said this, he filled his right hand and gave the man some of the lentils. In this way he drove the passion of empty glory out of his mind, along with the others. As for his endurance, it is unnecessary even to speak of it, since the sight of him bears witness. Often, when snow fell for three days and as many nights, he lay face down praying to God, and was buried so completely that not even a bit of the rags around him could be seen. Often the neighbors would take shovels and hoes, clear away the snow that covered him in this way, and pull him up and raise him as he lay there. From these labors he gathered the gifts of divine grace, and all who wish share in them. By his blessing many fevers have been put out and are still being put out. Many cases of malarial chills have eased and left entirely. Many demons have been forced to flee. The water blessed by his right hand becomes a remedy against harm. Who does not know of the dead child raised through his prayer? His parents live in the suburbs of the city. They had become fathers of many children, but had sent every one of them to the grave before their time.

21g When this last child was born, the father ran to the man of God. He begged that the child might have a long life, and he promised to dedicate it to God if it lived. The child lived four years and then reached the end of its

life. The father was away. He came back suddenly and saw the child being carried out. He snatched it from the bier and said, "I must keep my promise and give it to the man of God, even though it is dead." He carried it there, as he had said he would, and laid it before those holy feet. He spoke the same words he had spoken to his household. The godly man set the child before him, bent his knees, and lay face down, beseeching the Master of life and death. Late in the evening the child gave a cry and called for its father. Then that holy man knew that the Master had received his plea and granted life, and he stood up. He worshiped the One who does the will of those who fear him and hears their prayer, and he finished his supplication. Then he gave the child back to the one who had fathered it. I saw this myself, and I heard the father tell of the wonder. I have told the story to many people, because it is worthy of the apostles and I knew it would bring great benefit to its hearers. I too have often enjoyed this man's help. I will mention one or two instances, since I think it would be very ungrateful to pass over them in silence and not teach the kinds of kindness he showed me. The abominable Marcion had sown many thorns of impiety in the territory of the city of Cyrrhus. I tried to pull them up by the roots, and, as the saying goes, I moved every rope and used every device. But those who [received] my care did not love me. To put it in the prophet's words, they slandered me, and they "set evil against me in return for good, and hatred in return for my love." They used sorcerers' spells and wicked demons as their helpers, and they tried to wage war on me unseen. One night a vile demon came, shouting in the Syriac language: "Why are you fighting Marcion, so-and-so?

21h "Why have you taken up this battle against him? What grief has he ever caused you? Put an end to the war, and stop your hostility. Otherwise you will learn by experience how good quiet is. Know well that I would have speared you long ago, if I did not see the chorus of the martyrs, together with Jacob, guarding you." I heard this, and I said to one of my acquaintances who was sleeping nearby, "Do you hear what is being said, so-and-so?" He answered, "I heard it all. I wanted to get up, look out, and find out who was speaking, but I kept still for your sake, thinking you were asleep." So we both got up and looked out. We saw no one moving and heard no one speaking. But the others who lived with us also heard those words. Then I understood what he meant. By the "chorus of the martyrs" he meant the little flask of the martyrs' oil, which held a blessing gathered from many martyrs

and hung by my bed. Under my head lay the old cloak of the great Jacob, which had become a stronger defense for me than any wall of adamant. Another time I was about to attack the largest of their villages. Many things came up in between and kept me from setting out. So I sent word to my friend Isaiah, asking him to help me by securing divine support. He said, "Take courage. All those hindrances have been dissolved like spiders' webs. God taught me this in the night, not by sketching it in a dream but by showing it to me in a waking vision. For I saw this, he said, when I had begun the psalmody. In that direction, where those villages lie, I saw a fiery serpent crawling from west to east and carried through the middle of the air. When I had finished three prayers, I saw it bend again and form a circle, with its tail joined to its head. When I had finished eight more prayers, I saw it cut in two and dissolved into smoke." That is what he foresaw, and we saw the outcome agree with his prediction. At dawn, led by the arch-evil serpent, men who had once belonged to Marcion's band, and who had now become part of the apostolic ranks, rushed at us from the west and showed us their drawn swords.

21i Around the third hour of the day they coiled themselves together and looked to their own defense, just as the serpent covers its head with its tail. At the eighth hour they scattered and gave us room to enter the village. At once we found a serpent made of bronze, and they were worshiping it. They were eager to serve the accursed serpent, who had openly taken up war against the Creator and Maker of all, as though he were that Creator's enemy. Since my account has come to the telling of divine revelations, let me relate what I heard from that truthful tongue. He did not tell it out of ambition, for that passion too was far from his divine soul. Some need forced him to say what he wished to keep hidden. I had begged him to entreat the God of all to make my field clean of weeds and free it completely from heretical seeds. The error of the abominable Marcion, which had held on for so long, grieved me deeply. Under my urging he said, "You need neither me nor any other intercessor with him. You have John, the great one, the voice of the Word, the forerunner of the Master, who offers this very petition for you continually." I said that I trusted his prayers, and those of the other holy apostles and prophets whose relics had recently been brought to us. "Take courage," he said, "for you have John the Baptist." But even so I could not bear to keep silent. I pressed him much harder, asking and wanting to learn

why he had mentioned John rather than the others. He said, "I wanted to embrace his lovely relics." I answered, "I will not bring them unless you promise to tell me what you saw." He promised. The next day I brought what he longed for, told everyone to stand far off, and he told me alone: "When you received these protectors of the city, who had come from Phoenicia and Palestine, together with the choir of David, a thought came to me: whether these were truly the relics of John the great, and not of some other martyr of the same name."

21j "One day later I got up at night for the psalm-singing. I saw someone in white clothing, who said, 'Brother Jacob, tell us, why did you not meet us when we arrived?' I asked who they were. He answered, 'Those who came yesterday from Phoenicia and Palestine. All received us eagerly, the shepherd, the people, the townsmen and the villagers. You alone did not share in the honor.' He was hinting at the doubt I had had. He said that he replied to this: [text damaged] 'Even when you and all the others are absent, I worship God.' "Again the next day, at the same hour, that same man appeared and said, 'Look, brother Jacob, at the one standing over there, whose robe is like snow in color, and before whom a furnace of fire is set.' I turned my eyes in that direction and guessed it was John the Baptist, for he was wearing that garment and stretching out his hand as if baptizing. 'He is the one you supposed,' he said. "At another time, when you were going by night to the first village to discipline them as rebels, I had urged them to offer God a more earnest prayer, and I stayed awake the whole night, beseeching the Master. Then I heard a voice saying, 'Fear nothing, Jacob. The great John the Baptist is entreating the God of all through the whole night. There would have been much bloodshed, if the devil's boldness had not been put out by his intercessions.'" Having told me this, he charged me to keep it to myself and not to take others as witnesses. But for the sake of the benefit, I have not only told the story to many, I am also committing it to writing. He said too that he saw the patriarch Joseph, with white hair and beard, giving off in old age the radiance of his beauty, and at the very height of virtue calling himself the last of the saints. For he said that when he first named [one of those who share the tomb with him], Joseph named himself last. He also told me of the many kinds of attacks that evil demons made on him.

21k "At the very start of this way of life," he said, "a naked figure appeared to me. He looked like an Ethiopian and shot fire from his eyes. When I saw

him I was filled with fear. I turned to prayer and could not bring myself to eat, since he appeared at mealtimes. Seven days passed, then eight, then ten, and I stayed without food. At last I despised the evil assault, sat down, and ate. He could not bear this boldness of mine and threatened to beat me with a rod. I said to him, 'If you have been given permission by the Master of all, strike, and I will gladly take the blow as coming from him. But if you have not been given permission, you will not strike, even if you rage ten thousand times.' When he heard this he fled then, but he kept raging against me in secret. Twice a week water was brought up to me from below. He would meet the man who carried it, take the form of me, take the water, order the man to go away, and pour the water out. He did this not twice only but three times, and so he brought the torment of thirst against me. I was greatly distressed and asked the man who usually brought it, 'Why have you not brought water, now that fifteen days have passed?' He said he had brought it three or four times and that I had received it. 'And where,' I said, 'did I receive it from you?' When he showed me the place, I said, 'Even if you see me coming there ten thousand times, do not hand over the vessel until you reach this place.' In this way I undid that plot of his, and he tried another. At night he shouted, 'I will fill you with such a stench and bring you such disgrace that no human being will ever want to look at you anywhere.' I answered, 'I will be grateful to you. Against your will you will be doing your enemy a kindness, because you will make me delight even more in the remembrance of God. With more free time I will have the vision of the divine beauty as my constant work.' A few days later, at midday, while I was performing my usual service, I saw two women coming down from the mountain."

211 "I was disgusted by this unusual sight and tried to throw stones at them. Then I remembered the threat of that avenging spirit and supposed this was the disgrace. So I cried out first: 'Even if they sit on my shoulders, I will not throw stones, I will not chase them away. I will use prayer alone.' When I said this, the women vanished, and the appearance of the vision was brought to nothing by my word. After this, again at night, I was praying when I heard the noise of a carriage, the shout of a driver, and the neighing of horses. The strangeness of it troubled me. I thought: no governor was visiting the city at that time, there was no road for carriages here, and the season was not suitable for carriages. While I was reasoning in this way, I heard

the din of a crowd drawing near. Some leaders carrying rods were shouting, whistling, driving most of the people out of the middle, and clearing the way for the one in front. When he seemed very close, I said, 'Who are you? Where have you come from? What do you need that you have come at this hour? How long will you play, you wretch, and despise the patience of God?' I said this facing east and offering my plea to God. He shoved me but could not knock me down, for divine grace held firm, and at once everything vanished." He also said that at the time of those accursed robbers, when they set out from Isauria, burned most of the east, and plundered it, he was very much afraid. It was not death he feared, for he was not so fond of his body, but being enslaved and taken captive, and having to look on impiety and lawlessness. The devil noticed this fear, for he had often heard him tell his acquaintances about it, and at night he imitated the wailing of women. "I seemed to hear," he said, "that the enemy had come and were setting fire to the villages. At once I divided my head in two, set the villages on the right and the left, and carried them over my shoulders to my chest. I made my neck ready for the sword's cut, so that I would receive a quick blow and be delivered from that dreadful sight."

21m So I spent that whole night, always expecting their attack. When day came and some people arrived, I asked what they had heard about the Isaurians. They said they had heard nothing in those days. "And so," he said, "I recognized that this vision too was the devil's." Another time, he said, the devil took the likeness of a vigorous young man, in the bloom of youth and adorned with fair hair, and came up to him smiling and playing. "But I armed myself with anger," he said, "and drove him off with abuse. He stayed, looking at me like a prostitute, and his smile and his voice gushed pleasure. Then I sharpened my anger further and said, 'How can you go all around the world and bring such plots to everyone?' He said that he was not alone, but that a host of demons was scattered over the whole world, at once playing and working hard at such things. For in what looks like play they labor to destroy the whole human race. 'But you, be gone,' I said, 'at the command of Christ, who sent a whole legion down into the deep by way of the pigs.'" The devil heard this and fled at once. He could not bear the power of the Master's name, nor look upon the brightness of the servant's philosophy. I know many more stories besides these, but I do not wish to write them down, lest their number give weaker readers an excuse for unbelief. To those who see

the divine man, nothing said of him seems incredible, since the virtue they see confirms what is told. But this written account will pass on to those who come after, and for most people the ears are less trustworthy than the eyes. So I will measure my narrative by the weakness of those who hear it. Other people built for him a very large shrine in the nearby village, not many stades away, and I too prepared a tomb in the shrine of the apostles, the glorious victors. But when the divine man learned this, he begged me again and again to give his body burial on that mountain. I said many times that it is not fitting for one who has neglected the present life to make provision for burial.

21n But when I saw that this was his heart's desire, I agreed and consented, and had the coffin cut and brought up. When I saw the stone being damaged by the frost, I allowed a small house to be built over the coffin. When he ordered it and we had finished the building and put the roof on, he said, "I will not allow this to be called the tomb of Jacob. I want it to be a shrine of the glorious martyrs, and I want to lie in another coffin, like a resident alien, counted worthy to live as a neighbor beside them." And he not only said this but did it. He gathered relics of many prophets, many apostles, and very many martyrs from every quarter and laid them in one coffin. He wished to dwell with the people of the saints, to rise with them, and he longed to be counted worthy of the vision of God. This is sufficient proof of the humility of his mind. For he who had amassed so great a wealth, while living in utter poverty, desired to live as a neighbor to the company of the rich. What labors this venerable man endured, how great his struggles, how much grace he enjoyed from God, how many victories he won, and with what crowns he is adorned, these things are enough to teach. But since some people accuse him of a harsh temper and dislike his love of solitude and quiet, I will say a little about this and then end my account. He is exposed to all for viewing, as I said, neither fenced in by a wall nor sheltered by any hut or tent. Each person who arrives, hindered by no enclosure, comes straight up and wants to speak with him. The other lovers of this philosophy have walls and doors and the enjoyment of quiet. The one shut in opens the door when he wishes, puts people off as long as he likes, and takes his fill of the divine vision as much as he wants. Here there is none of this. That is why he is especially irritated by those who disturb him at the time of prayer. If they go away at once when he tells them, he returns to prayer. But if they stay and keep pestering him, and

he urges them once or twice without persuading them, then he becomes angry and sends them away with a rebuke. I once spoke with him about this. I told him that some were distressed at being driven off and not sharing in his blessing. I said it was fitting that those who come for this purpose, traveling many days' journey, should not go back grieved but filled with gladness, and should feed those who do not know you on the stories of your philosophy.

210 He answered, "I have taken this mountain for no one else's sake but my own. I carry many wounds from my sins, and I need much treatment. For this reason I beg our Master to hand me the remedies for my wickedness. How then would it not be absurd, and very foolish, to break off the chain of my pleading and in the middle of it to hold a conversation with men? "Suppose I were the servant of a man of my own nature, and at the hour of service to my master I left off bringing him his food or drink at the proper time and started a conversation with one of my fellow servants. How many blows would I rightly receive! Or suppose I came to a ruler and was telling of the injustice I suffer from someone, and I broke off the speech in the middle and began to say other things to some of those standing by. Do you not think the judge would be angry, deprive me of his help, add lashes, and drive me away from the bar? How then is it right that a servant should behave properly toward a master, and a petitioner toward a judge, while I, who come to God, the eternal Master, the most just Judge and King of all, should not approach in the same way, but in the middle of my prayer turn to my fellow servants and carry on a long conversation?" This is what I heard from him, and I passed it on to those who had been offended. It seems to me well and rightly said. For besides what he said, it is also the way of lovers to look past everything else and cling to the one whom they love and cherish, to dream of him by night and to picture him by day. That is why he seems to me to be annoyed: he has come to the contemplation he longs for, and he is prevented from being filled with the beauty he loves. I have written these things as a plain narrative, taking care to be quite brief, so that I would not wear out my readers with length. If this man lives on for a time, he will no doubt add countless other achievements to the earlier ones, and others will write those down. As for me, I have a great longing to depart from here. May the one who presides over the contests of the athletes of godliness grant this man an end of his struggles worthy of them. May he let the rest of the course turn

out like the first part, so that he reaches the goal as a victor. And may he hold up our weakness by this man's prayers, so that, strengthened, we may wrestle back from our many defeats, and leave this life with victory.

CHAPTER 22

22a Tillima is a village in our region. Long ago it received the seeds of the impiety of Marcion, but now it enjoys the farming of the Gospel. South of it there is a hill, neither very rough nor very steep. On it the admirable Thalassius built his dwelling for the ascetic life. He was a man adorned with many good qualities, and in simplicity of character, gentleness and humility of mind he surpassed the men of his time. I say this not only because I believe what I have heard, but because I have tested it. I came to the man and often enjoyed his sweet company. Into his company came Limnaios, whom everyone now celebrates in song. He arrived at that wrestling-school while still quite young, and was well trained in this highest philosophy. First, knowing how slippery the tongue is, while still a boy he made a law for it to be silent, and for a very long time he spoke to no one at all. When he had received enough of the divine old man's teaching and had made himself a perfect impression of that man's virtue, he went to the great Maron, whom we mentioned earlier. He came at the same time as the divine Jacob. From him too he gathered much benefit, and he came to admire the life in the open air. He took possession of another summit, above a certain village called Targala. There he has remained to this day. He has no hut, no tent, no shelter, but is enclosed by a bare wall of stones laid without mortar. He has a small door, always sealed with clay. He never opens it for others who come, but when I alone arrive he allows it to be done. For this reason a great many people gather from every side when they learn of my coming, longing to share my entrance with me.

22b To others who come to him at various times, he speaks through a small window and gives them his blessing, and through it he grants health to very many. For he uses the name of the Saviour, and so he stops diseases, drives out demons, and imitates the miracles of the apostles. Yet he does not only pour out healing for those who come to him; he has often applied it to his own body as well. Long ago an affliction of the limb attacked him. Those who have suffered it know exactly what pains and agonies come from it, and so do those who have watched someone suffer it. The sufferers writhe like madmen, twisting this way and that, stretching out their legs and drawing

them back. Sometimes they sit, then stand, then walk about, trying to find some way to ease it. For this reason they spend time at the baths and go in often, finding some relief there. But why drag this out, listing things that are clear to everyone? He wrestled with such an affliction and was struck by pains so many and so great, and yet he received no help from a physician. He would not put up with a bed. He accepted no comfort from medicines or foods. Instead he sat on a board lying on the ground, and received his cure through prayer and the sign of the cross, and with the charm of the divine name he put the pains to sleep. At another time, as he was walking at night, he stepped on a viper that was asleep. It seized the sole of his foot and fixed its teeth in. He tried to defend his foot; he bent down and put his hand to it, and so moved the creature's mouth onto the hand. Then he used his left hand to help the other, and drew the beast's fury onto that one too. When it had had its fill of rage (it inflicted more than ten bites on him), it let go and went back to its own hole, while he was struck on every side with bitter pains.

22c But even then he would not accept the physician's art. To his wounds he applied only the remedies of faith: the sign of the cross, prayer, and the invocation of God. I think the God of all allowed that beast to rage against his holy body for this reason: so that he might show everyone, plainly and openly, the endurance of that divine soul. For we see the same dealing of God in the case of noble Job. He allowed him to be flooded by many waves of every kind, because he wished to show everyone the wisdom of the Helmsman. How else would we have known Job's courage, or this man's endurance, if the adversary of godliness had not been given room to let fly every sort of missile against them? These things are enough to teach the man's endurance; let me show his love for people from another side. He gathered many who had lost their sight and were forced to beg. On either side of his enclosure, to the east and to the west, he built lodgings, and he urged them to live in these and to sing hymns to God. He ordered that the food they needed be supplied by those who came to him. Shut in the middle, he stirs up both groups to sing, and one can constantly hear them praising the Master. Such was the love he showed to his fellow human beings. His open-air struggles run for the same length of time as those of the great Jacob; for they have now completed thirty-eight years.

CHAPTER 23

John also took up this way of life. Besides his other qualities, he was remarkable for gentleness and meekness. He settled on a rough ridge, exposed to torrents and facing north. There he spent twenty-five years so far, taking the full force of every harsh change in the weather. I will not go through everything one by one: his food, his clothing and the weight of iron he carries are much like those of the men I have already described. He is so far above everything human that he takes no comfort from any of it. I will give one clear proof of this at once. One of his devoted followers planted an almond tree right beside his sleeping mat. In time it grew into a tree. It gave him shade, and [its appearance ??] was pleasing to the eye. John ordered it cut down, so that he would get not even one small comfort from it. Moses also embraced this kind of life. He struggles on a high peak of Rhama, above the village. So does Antiochus, an old man, who built his enclosure in a very desolate place. So does Antoninus, who, though his body is aged, struggles just as the young do. They have the same clothing, the same food, the same standing, the same prayer, and the same labors all night and all day. Neither the length of time, nor old age, nor weakness of nature exposes any failing in their endurance. The love of labor is still in full vigor in them. God, who presides over the contest of virtue, has very many other contestants in our region, in the mountains and on the plains. It is hard even to count them, let alone write the life of each. I have now set before those who wish to profit enough for their benefit from these accounts. So I will turn to another kind of narrative, asking also to share in the blessing of these men.

CHAPTER 24

24a Those who were thought worthy to see Zebinas sing his praises to this day. They say that he reached a great old age and kept up the same labors right to the end. Though pressed by very heavy old age, he gave up nothing of what he had practiced in his youth. They said that he surpassed all the men of his time in his devotion to prayer. He spent his days and nights in it, and far from ever having enough, he made his longing burn hotter. Even when visitors came to him and he spoke a few words with them, he could not bear to bring his mind down from heaven. As soon as he was rid of them, as if he had not wanted to be parted from the God of all even for a moment, he took up his prayer of supplication again. When old age would not let him

bear his continual standing without pain, he took a staff as a support. Leaning on it, he sang praises to the Master and prayed. Among his other good qualities he was known for hospitality, and he urged many of those who came to him to stay for the evening. But they dreaded his standing all night. They pleaded some business or other and slipped away from the labors. The great Maron greatly admired this man. He urged everyone who came to him to run to Zebinas and gather the blessing of the old man. He called him father and teacher, and the pattern of every virtue. Maron also asked to share a burial place with him. But the people who seized Maron's holy body and carried it to the place I mentioned would not allow it. The wonderful Zebinas died first, in the neighboring village (it is called Kitta). He received the customary honors, and the people built a very large shrine over his tomb. Healing of every kind pours out from it for those who come with faith. The shrine now also has martyrs under the same roof, who contended among the Persians and are honored by us with annual festivals. The great Polychronius benefited from this man's teaching. And the most godly Jacob said that Zebinas was the first to give him a hair tunic.

24b I never saw Zebinas myself, for he had reached the end of his life before I came. But in this Polychronius I see the philosophy of the divine Zebinas. A seal does not stamp its pattern on wax as exactly as this man bears the marks of that one. I know this for certain, because I have set the stories told about Zebinas beside what Polychronius does. Like him, he is set on fire with love for God, and he stands above everything earthly. Though he is bound to a body, his soul has wings. It passes through the air and the upper sky, rises higher than the heavens, and continually pictures to itself the contemplation of God. He never allows his mind to be dragged down from there. Even while he talks with those who come to him, his thoughts move about in the heights. I learned of his all-night vigil and standing in prayer from this. I saw him wrestling with old age and weakness together, and receiving no care at all. By pleading with him many times I persuaded him to take two men to live with him and enjoy some comfort from them. He asked for men who shone with virtue and who lived by themselves in another monastery, so I persuaded those admirable men to choose, above everything else, the care of this man of God. They stayed with him only a short time, and then tried to run away, because they could not bear the all-night standing. They begged the man of God to measure the labor by the weakness of the body. He said to

them, "Not only do I not force you to share my standing continually, I often urge you to lie down." They answered, "How could we, healthy men in the middle of life, lie down while the one who has grown old in toil stands, and despises the weakness of his body?" This is how I learned of the night labors of that venerable head. As for these two men, in time they gained so much virtue that they pursued the same philosophy as this great man.

24c One of them, Moses (for that name has stayed with him to this day), gives Polychronius every service as to a father and master, and he imprints on himself the virtue that flashes out from that holy soul. The other, whose name is Damian, went to a city not far away (it is called Niara). He found a small hut beside the threshing floors and lives there, following the same way of life. Those who know both men well say that when they look at him they seem to see the soul of the great Polychronius in another body. He has the same simplicity, gentleness and humility, the same mildness of voice and sweetness in company, the same alertness of soul and attention to God, and the same standing, labor, sleeplessness, food, and poverty according to the divine law. For apart from a small basket holding soaked lentils, his dwelling has nothing in it. That is how much he gained from the company of the great Polychronius. But I will leave the disciple and return to the teacher, for the stream gets its water from the spring. Along with his other passions, Polychronius drove out ambition from his soul and trampled the tyranny of empty glory, and he was always careful to hide his labors. He would not wear iron, fearing that some harm might come of it, if his soul were inflamed with pride. Instead he told someone to bring him a very heavy oak root, saying he needed it for some other use. He put it on his shoulders at night and prayed with it lying on him, and he did the same by day whenever he had leisure. When someone arrived and knocked at the door, he hid it in a certain place. Someone showed it to me. I wanted to know how heavy the load was, and I could barely lift it with both hands. When he saw me, he told me to put it down.

24d I begged in return to take it, so that I might steal away the occasion for his labor. But when I saw that he was distressed, I gave way to his longing for the victory. From these labors of his there blossoms a grace given by God, and many miracles are worked through his prayers. For example, when that terrible drought was wearing people down and driving them to supplication, a crowd of priests came to him. Among them was one from the territory of

Antioch, appointed to shepherd many villages. This man begged the older men who were present to persuade the man to lay his right hand on a small oil flask. They said that he would not put up with it. Afterward, when a prayer was being made and my holy father was praying, the priest stood behind him and held out the little flask in both hands. The flask began to gush, so that two or three of those present stretched out their hands and received them full of the oil. Yet although he sends out the rays of divine grace, is laden with achievements of every kind, and day by day gathers the riches of the philosophic life, he is so modest in his thinking that he embraces both feet of everyone who comes to him and puts his forehead to the ground, whether the visitor is a soldier, a craftsman, or a farmer. I will tell something that can show his simplicity and his modesty. A certain earnest man had been given the governorship of this region. He came to Cyrrhus and wished to enjoy, together with me, the sight of these great athletes. So we went around to the others, and came also to the man whose virtue I am now describing. I said that the one who had come with me was a governor, a man who cared for justice and loved the godly. At once the holy man stretched out both hands, took hold of both the governor's feet, and said, "I want to ask you for a favor." The governor was very upset and begged him to get up, and promised to do whatever he asked (he guessed that he was going to plead with him on behalf of some of his subjects). Then the holy man said, "Since you have promised, and have confirmed the promise with an oath, earnestly offer prayers to God on my behalf."

24e The governor, striking his forehead, begged to be released from the oath, since he was not worthy even to bring petitions to the Master for himself. What speech could be adequate to praise worthily a man who, at such a height of philosophy, has so great a humility of mind? Not even the many kinds of suffering that have come upon him have shown up his love of labor as weak. Though besieged by illness of many kinds, he endures the same labors. After much persuasion we barely managed to build this little cell, contriving a little warmth for a body that was thoroughly chilled. Many people have often come to him with gold, and some even left it to him when they died. But he never accepted anything from anyone. He told them instead to become stewards of what they offered. The great Jacob once sent him a goatskin cloak that someone had brought to Jacob. He sent it back, because he saw that it was too weatherproof and too comfortable. He always

wore very cheap and plain clothing. He considered poverty more lovable than any kingdom, so that he did not even always have the food he needed. I know, since I have often come to him, asked for his blessing, and found nothing else there but two dried figs. His honey is thrice desired by those who see him, and very sweet to those who hear of him. For I know of no one, not even the most mocking of men, who has ever laid any blame on him. Instead everyone sings his praise and speaks well of him, and those who go to him do not want to leave.

CHAPTER 25

Asklepios, a remarkable man, belongs to this same company. He lives about ten stades away and has taken up the same way of life. His food is the same, and so are his clothing, his humble character, his hospitality, his love for the brothers, his gentleness and mildness, his conversation with God, and his extreme poverty. Besides these there is his abundance of virtue, the wealth of his philosophy, and everything else we have described in that holy man. They say that even when he was counted among the brothers living in the village, he embraced the ascetic and orderly life and took no harm from mixing with the crowd. Since he distinguished himself in both ways of life, the one among citizens and the one in the wilderness, he will rightly be thought worthy of double crowns. Many others have also imitated his virtue. Not only our own region but the neighboring cities and villages are full of this kind of philosophy. One of them is the most godly Jacob, who is shut up in a small cell near a village called Nimouzan. He is now near the end of his life, for he is more than ninety years old. He is shut in alone and gives his answers through a short opening dug in a winding shape, so that he cannot be seen. He uses no fire and has no lamplight. Twice he opened the door and told me to come inside. In this way he honored me and showed the affection he has for me. Those who are still alive do not need my words, for if they wish they can see the philosophy of these men for themselves. But for those who come after, and who will not share in the sight of them, these accounts are enough to help, since they show the character of this philosophy. So I will end my account of these men here, ask for their blessing in return, and move on to another narrative.

CHAPTER 26

26a Symeon, the great Symeon, the wonder of the whole world, is known to all who live under Roman rule. The Persians know him too, and the Medes and the Ethiopians. Report has even run to the nomad Scythians and told them of his labor and his philosophy. I have nearly all people as witnesses of his struggles, which are beyond description. Even so, I fear my account may seem to later generations a mere story, stripped of all truth. For what has been done is higher than human nature, and people like to measure what they are told by nature. If anything is said that goes beyond nature's limits, those not initiated into divine things take the account to be false. But earth and sea are full of devout people who have been trained in divine things and taught the grace of the all-holy Spirit. They will not disbelieve what is to be said but will readily believe it. So I will make my account eagerly and with confidence. I will begin where he was found worthy of the heavenly calling. There is a village on the border between our country and that of the Cilicians. They call it Sisan. He came from there. At first his parents taught him to shepherd flocks, so that in this he would be like the great men: Jacob the patriarch, Joseph the self-controlled, Moses the lawgiver, David the king and prophet, Micah the prophet, and the holy men of their times. Once, when a heavy snow had fallen and the sheep had to stay indoors, he had a break from work. He went to the holy church with those who were breathing out the breath of life [text uncertain: "τῶν φυσάντων"]. I heard this from his own holy tongue. He said that he heard the voice of the Gospel call blessed those who weep and mourn, and call wretched those who laugh. It named as enviable those who have a pure soul, and it said the other things joined to these. Then he asked one of those present what a person should do to gain each of these things. The man pointed him to the solitary life and showed him that highest philosophy.

26b So he received the seeds of the divine word and buried them well in the deep furrows of his soul. He told me he then ran to a shrine of the holy martyrs nearby. There he pressed his knees and his forehead to the ground and begged the One who wants all people to be saved to guide his steps onto the perfect road of godliness. He spent a long time in this way, and a sweet sleep came over him, and he saw a dream like this. "I seemed," he said, "to be digging foundations. Then I heard someone standing by say that I still had to deepen the trench. So I added depth as he commanded and tried to rest

again. But once more he ordered me to dig and not to stop working. He told me this three and four times. At last he said the depth was sufficient, and he commanded me to build from then on without toil, since the labor had come to an end and the building would go up easily." What happened afterward bears witness to this prediction, for what came about was beyond nature. He got up from there and found lodging with some ascetics who lived nearby. He spent two years with them. Then, longing for a more perfect virtue, he reached the village of Teleda, which I mentioned earlier, near which the great and godly men Ammianos and Eusebios had set up their training ground for ascetics. But the wonderful Symeon did not go to that one. He went to the other, which had grown out of it. For Eusebones and Abibion, who had received full benefit from the teaching of the great Eusebios, built this school of philosophy. They were of one mind and one way of life all their days, as if they showed one soul in two bodies, and they had many fellow lovers of this life. When they departed this life with good reputation, the wonderful Heliodoros took over the leadership of the community. He lived sixty-five years, and he spent sixty-two of them shut inside. For he was raised by his parents for three years, and then entered this flock, never having seen anything of what goes on in the world.

26c He used to say that he did not even know what pigs or roosters or other such creatures looked like. I myself often enjoyed seeing him. I marvelled at the simplicity of his manners and greatly admired the purity of his soul. This champion of godliness, a contender in all five events, came to him and spent ten years in the contest. There were eighty fellow contenders, and he outdid them all. While the others took food every other day, he stayed without food the whole week. The superiors were annoyed and kept quarrelling with him and called it disorder, but he did not obey what they said, and they could not put a bridle on his eagerness. I heard the man who now leads that same flock tell this story. Symeon once took a rope made of palm fibre, which is very rough to the touch, and tied it around his waist. He did not put it on over his clothes; he fastened it right against the skin. He pulled it so tight that it made a sore all around the part where it lay. He kept on like this for more than ten days, and the wound grew worse and dripped blood. Someone saw it and asked him the reason for the blood. He said there was nothing to be troubled about. But his fellow contender forced the matter, put his hand in, learned the cause, and reported it to the superior. At once

the superior rebuked him, begged him, and exposed the cruelty of what he had done, and with difficulty he got him to undo the rope. Even so, he could not persuade him to put any treatment on the wound. When they saw him doing other things of this kind, they ordered him to leave that training ground. Otherwise he might harm the physically weaker men who tried to imitate what was beyond their strength. So he left. He went to the most deserted part of the mountain and found a dry cistern, not very deep. He lowered himself into it and offered his hymns to God there. Five days went by. Then the leaders of that training ground changed their minds and sent two men to look for him, with permission to bring him back.

26d So these two men went around the mountain and asked some people who were pasturing flocks there whether they had seen anyone of such a complexion and wearing such a dress. The shepherds pointed out the pit. The two men at once shouted loudly down to him, then brought a rope and hauled him up with great effort, since getting out is not as easy as going down. After spending a short time with them, he came to the village of Telanissos, which lies below the summit where he now stands. There he found a small hut and stayed shut up in it for three years. Always eager to increase the wealth of his virtue, he longed to go forty days without food, like Moses and Elijah, those men of God. He persuaded the admirable Bassus, who at that time was traveling through many villages overseeing the priests of each village, to leave nothing inside and to seal the door with clay. Bassus pointed out how hard the thing was and urged him not to think that a violent death was virtue, for that is an accusation, the greatest and the first. But Symeon said, "Father, set aside for me ten loaves and a jar of water, and if I see that the body needs food, I will take some of them." It was done as he ordered. The loaves and water were put in place, and the door received the clay. When the days were over, the admirable Bassus, a man of God, came. He took away the clay and went in through the door. He found the loaves still in their number and the jar of water still full, and Symeon himself lying breathless, unable either to speak or to move. So Bassus asked for a sponge, moistened the man's mouth with it and washed it out, and gave him the tokens of the divine mysteries. Strengthened by these, Symeon raised himself up and took a modest meal: lettuce, chicory and the like, chewing them a little at a time and sending them down to his stomach. Bassus the great was filled with ad-

miration. He returned to his own community and told them of this great wonder.

26e Bassus had more than two hundred members in his company. He did not allow them to keep an animal or a mill, or to accept gold that was offered, or for anyone to go outside the door either to buy something necessary or to visit an acquaintance. They were to stay inside and receive the food sent by divine grace. His company keeps this rule to this day, and though they have grown more numerous, they have not broken the commands they were given. But I will go on to the great Symeon. From that time until today (twenty-eight years have passed) he stays forty days without food. Time and practice in the labor have robbed it of most of its difficulty. In the first days he used to stand and sing hymns to God. Then, as his body, weakened by the fast, could no longer bear standing, he would sit and carry out the divine service. In the last days he would lean over, for as his strength was gradually spent and extinguished, he was forced to lie half-dead. Once he was on the pillar, he could not bear to come down, so he devised another way of standing. He tied a beam to the pillar, and fastened himself to the beam with ropes, and in this way he spent the forty days. After that, receiving a greater measure of grace from above, he no longer needed even this help. He stands the forty days taking no food, strengthened by his eagerness and by divine grace. As I said, he spent three years in that little hut, and then took possession of this much-talked-of summit. He ordered a low wall built around it. He had an iron chain of twenty cubits made, nailed one end of it to a very large rock, and fastened the other to his right foot, so that even if he wished he could not go outside those limits. So he lived inside, continually picturing heaven to himself and straining to behold what lies above the heavens. For the iron bond did not hinder the flight of his mind. But the admirable Meletius, who was then appointed to oversee the territory of Antioch, a man shining in prudence and understanding and adorned with sharpness of mind, said that the iron was needless, since the will was enough to put rational bonds on the body. Symeon yielded and accepted the advice readily. He ordered a smith to be called, and had the bond removed.

26f The skin was bound to his leg so that the iron would not injure his flesh. It was sewn on, and it had to be torn open. They said that more than twenty very large lice were found nesting in it, and the admirable Meletius said he had seen this himself. I have recorded it to show the man's great en-

durance. He could easily have crushed the skin with his hand and killed them all, yet he put up with the painful bites and bore them steadily. In small things he welcomed training for greater struggles. As his fame spread in every direction, everyone came running, not only his neighbors but people who lived many days' journey away. Some brought those whose bodies were paralyzed. Some begged health for the sick. Some begged to become fathers, and asked to receive through him what nature had not given them. Those who received what they asked went home rejoicing, and by proclaiming the benefits they had obtained they sent out many times as many to ask for the same things. So people arrived from every side, and every road was like a river. You could see a sea of people gathering in that place, taking in rivers from everywhere. For not only do those who live in our own part of the world flow together there, but also Ishmaelites, Persians, Armenians who are subject to them, Iberians, Homerites, and people living farther inland than they. Many came who live at the farthest edges of the West: Spaniards, Britons, and the Gauls who live between them. About Italy it is needless even to speak. They say that the man became so famous in mighty Rome that at the entrances of all the workshops people set up small images of him, to get from them a kind of protection and security. Since those who came were beyond counting, and all tried to touch him and to gather some blessing from his garments of skin, he first thought that such excessive honor was out of place. Then, finding the burden of the situation hard to bear, he devised the plan of standing on the pillar.

26g First he ordered a pillar of six cubits to be cut, then one of twelve, after that one of twenty-two, and now one of thirty-six. For he longs to fly up to heaven and be freed from this earthly life. I believe that this way of standing did not come about without divine providence either. So I urge fault-finders to bridle their tongues and not let them run loose as they please. Rather, they should consider how often the Master has devised things like this for the benefit of the more careless. He commanded Isaiah to walk naked and barefoot. He commanded Jeremiah to put a loincloth around his waist and so bring his prophecy to the disobedient, and at another time to put wooden and then iron yokes on his neck. He commanded Hosea to take a prostitute as wife, and again to love a wicked and adulterous woman. He commanded Ezekiel to lie on his right side forty days and on his left a hundred and fifty. Again, he commanded him to dig through a wall, go out as a

fugitive, and act out a captivity in his own person. At another time he told him to sharpen a sword to a keen edge, shave his head with it, divide the hair into four parts, and distribute some to one place and some to another. I will not list them all. The Ruler of the universe commanded each of these things to be done. By the strangeness of the sight he gathered those who would not obey a word and would not tolerate listening to prophecy, and so prepared them to hear his oracles. For who would not be astonished to see a man of God walking naked? Who would not long to learn the reason for what was happening? Who would not ask, "Why on earth does the prophet put up with living with a prostitute?" Just as the God of the universe commanded each of those things to be done, looking out for the benefit of those living in carelessness, so he also arranged this new and strange spectacle. By its strangeness he draws everyone to come and see, and he makes the exhortation offered to those who arrive more persuasive. For the novelty of the sight becomes a sound pledge of the teaching, and the one who comes to see goes home instructed in the things of God.

26h Kings, too, change the images on their coins from time to time. Sometimes they stamp the likeness of lions, sometimes stars and angels, and at other times they try to make the gold more valuable by a strange new design. In the same way the King of all puts these new and varied ways of life on true religion like so many stamps, and so moves the tongues of everyone to praise. This includes not only those raised in the faith but also those sick with unbelief. That this is so is shown not by arguments but by the clamor of the facts themselves. The Ishmaelites, many tens of thousands of them, were enslaved to the darkness of impiety, and the standing on the pillar has enlightened them. For this brilliant lamp, set as if on a lampstand, sends its rays everywhere like the sun. As I said, you can see Iberians, Armenians and Persians coming, and receiving holy baptism. The Ishmaelites come in bands, two hundred together, or three hundred, and sometimes a thousand. They loudly renounce their fathers' deception. Before that great lamp they smash the idols they once worshiped. They renounce the rites of Aphrodite (for from ancient times they had accepted the worship of that demon) and they share in the divine mysteries. They receive laws from that holy tongue, bid farewell to their ancestral customs, and refuse to eat wild asses and camels. I have been an eyewitness of these things. I have also heard them renouncing their fathers' impiety and agreeing to the teaching of the Gospel.

And once I went through a very great danger. Symeon himself ordered them to come to me and receive the priestly blessing from me, saying they would gain the greatest benefit from it. But they ran together in a rather barbarous way. Some pulled me from the front, some from behind, some from the side. Those standing farther back climbed over the others and stretched out their hands. Some pulled at my beard, and others grabbed hold of my clothes.

26i I would have been suffocated by their over-eager rush if he had not shouted and scattered them all. Such is the benefit that flowed from the pillar that the mockers love to mock, and such a ray of the knowledge of God has it sent down into the minds of the barbarians. I know of another incident involving these people. One tribe begged the holy man to send a prayer and blessing to its chieftain. Another tribe, which was present, objected. They said the blessing should not be sent to him but to their own leader, for the first man was thoroughly unjust, while theirs had nothing to do with injustice. There was a long quarrel and a barbarian brawl, and at last they came to blows. I used many words to urge them to be quiet, saying the holy man was fully able to give his blessing to both. But these said that the other man must not receive it, and those tried to keep it from the other. Symeon threatened them from above and called for dogs, and with difficulty he put an end to the quarrel. I tell this because I wanted to show the faith in their minds. They would never have raged against one another like this unless they believed that the blessing of the godlike man had very great power. At another time I saw a celebrated miracle. A man came in (he too was a chieftain of the Saracens) and begged the holy head to help a man who had been struck on the road and had lost the use of the limbs of his body. He said this had happened near Callinicus, which is a very large fortress. The man was brought into the middle. Symeon ordered him to renounce the impiety of his forefathers. When he gladly accepted this and obeyed, and did what he was told, Symeon asked whether he believed in the Father, and in the only-begotten Son, and in the Holy Spirit. When he confessed that he believed, Symeon said, "Since you believe in these names, stand up." When the man stood up, Symeon ordered him to carry the chieftain on his shoulders as far as his own bed. The chieftain had a very large body. The man took him up and went off at once. Those present set their tongues to singing hymns to God.

26j He gave this order in imitation of the Master, who told the paralytic to carry his bed. Let no one call this imitation tyranny. For the saying is the Master's own: "He who believes in me, the works that I do he will do also, and greater than these he will do." We have seen the fulfillment of this promise too. The Lord's shadow never worked a miracle anywhere, yet the shadow of the great Peter both undid death and drove out diseases and put demons to flight. But it was the Master who was working these miracles through his servants. So now too, in the same way, the divine Symeon uses his name and works countless miracles. Another miracle happened through him, in no way inferior to the first. One of those who had come to believe in the saving name of Christ the Master, an Ishmaelite of some standing, made a vow to God with Symeon as witness. The promise was that from then on, to the end of his life, he would abstain from all food that has life. Somehow, after some time, he let the promise slip, slaughtered a bird, and dared to eat it. But God wished to bring him to repentance by rebuke, and also to honor his own servant, who had witnessed the broken promise. So the flesh of the bird was changed into the nature of stone, and the man, even if he wanted to, could no longer eat it. For how could he possibly eat from a body that had turned to stone, the very one he had taken up for food? The barbarian was struck with amazement at this strange sight. He hurried to the holy man, bringing his hidden sin into the light, proclaiming his transgression to everyone, asking God's forgiveness for his fault, and calling on the saint for help, so that by his all-powerful prayers Symeon might draw him out of the bonds of sin. Many people saw the miracle with their own eyes and felt with their hands the part near the breast, made of bone and stone together. I was not only an eyewitness of his miracles; I also heard him foretell things that were to come.

26k He foretold the drought that came, the great failure of crops that year, and the famine and plague that followed, two years in advance. He said he had seen a rod being carried against mankind, signaling the scourges that would come through it. At another time he announced the attack of the so-called caterpillar, and said that it would do no great harm, since God's love for mankind would accompany the punishment. Thirty days later an immense swarm arrived, so thick that it cut the sunlight and cast a shadow. We all saw this clearly. It damaged only the fodder for the animals and did no harm at all to the food of men. Once, when someone was making war on

me, he told me fifteen days beforehand that my enemy would be overthrown, and by experience I learned that his prediction was true. I know very many other things like these, but I will pass over them to avoid a long account. These are enough to show the spiritual insight of his mind. His fame is great even with the king of the Persians. The ambassadors who came to that king told his story, and he asked carefully what kind of life the man led and what miracles he did. They say that the king's wife asked for oil that had been granted his blessing, and received it as a very great gift. All the king's court were struck by the report; though they heard many slanders against him from the magi, they still inquired carefully, and when they were told, they called him a man of God. The rest of the crowd approached the muleteers, the couriers and the soldiers, offering them money and begging to share in the blessing of the oil. The queen of the Ishmaelites was barren and longed for children. First she sent some of her most eminent people to ask that she might become a mother. When her request was granted and she had what she desired, she took the child, now a king, and ran to the holy old man. Since women were not allowed to approach him, she sent the baby to him and begged to receive his blessing, saying, "This sheaf is yours."

261 "I brought the seed of my prayer with tears, but you have made the seed into a sheaf, drawing down the rain of divine grace through your prayer." But how long shall I keep trying to measure the depth of the Atlantic Ocean? Just as those depths cannot be measured by men, so what he does day by day goes beyond any telling. For my part, I admire his endurance above all of this. Night and day he stands in the sight of everyone. He has taken away the doors and pulled down no small part of the enclosure, so that he is set before all as a new and strange spectacle. At one time he stands for a long while, at another he bows again and again, offering worship to God. Many of those standing by count these bows. Once one of those with me counted one thousand two hundred and forty-four, and then he grew tired, sat down, and gave up the count. As he bends down he always brings his forehead to his toes. His stomach receives food only once a week, and then only a little, so it readily allows his back to bend. They say that from the standing a long-lasting sore has formed on one foot, and a great deal of pus is constantly draining from it. Yet none of these sufferings has shamed his philosophy. He bears bravely both what he has chosen and what has been forced on him, and has overcome both by his eagerness. He was once compelled to show this sore to

someone, and I will tell the reason. A man came from Ravenna, an earnest man honored with service to Christ. When he reached that summit he said, "Tell me, by the truth itself that turned the race of men around: are you a man, or a bodiless nature?" The bystanders were angered at the question, but Symeon ordered them all to be silent. To the man he said, "Why have you asked this?" The man replied, "Because I hear everyone repeating that you neither eat nor sleep. Each of these belongs to human beings, for no one who has this nature could live without food and sleep." Symeon ordered a ladder to be set against the pillar and told him to climb up. First he was to examine his hands, then put his hand inside the leather covering, and see not only the feet but also the very grievous sore.

26m The man saw it and marveled at the extent of the sore. He learned from Symeon himself that he does take food, and he came down from there. When he reached me, he told me everything. At the great public festivals Symeon shows yet another kind of endurance. From sunset until the sun returns to the eastern horizon he stands all night with his hands stretched up to heaven, neither charmed by sleep nor overcome by weariness. Amid so many labors, such a mass of achievements, and so many miracles, his mind is so humble that he considers himself, by his own worth, the last of all men. Besides his humble mind, he is very easy to approach, gentle, and gracious, and he answers each person who speaks to him, whether a craftsman, a beggar, or a countryman. He has also received from the generous Master the gift of teaching. Twice each day he gives his exhortations and floods the ears of his hearers, speaking with great grace and bringing the instruction of the divine Spirit. He urges them to lift their heads toward heaven and take wing, to be freed from the earth, to picture the kingdom that is expected, to fear the threat of Gehenna, to despise earthly things, and to wait for what is to come. One can also see him sitting as judge and delivering right and just verdicts. These things and others like them he does after the ninth hour. For he spends the whole night, and the day until the ninth hour, in prayer. After the ninth hour he first gives divine teaching to those present. Then he receives each one's petition, works some healings, and settles the quarrels of those in dispute. Around sunset he begins his conversation with God for the rest of the time. Yet while doing all this he does not neglect care for the holy Churches. At one time he fights against Greek impiety, at another he puts down the boldness of the Jews, and at another he scatters the factions of the

heretics. Sometimes he writes to the emperor about these matters. Sometimes he rouses the rulers to zeal for God. At other times he urges the shepherds of the Churches themselves to take greater care of their flocks.

26n Having gone through these things, I have tried to show the whole rain from a single drop, and to give those who read this writing a taste of the sweetness of the honey on the tip of my forefinger. What everyone else sings of him is many times more than this. But I have not undertaken to write down everything. I have undertaken to show, through a few things, the character of each man's way of life. Others, as is likely, will write far more about him, and if he lives on, they may perhaps add greater wonders. As for me, I long for him, helped by his own prayers, to continue in these good labors. I also beg God that he, who is a common adornment and the glory of true religion, may have my own life set in order and steered toward the life of the Gospel.

CHAPTER 27

27a The common destroyer of mankind has found many roads of wickedness, striving to hand the whole human race over to utter ruin. In the same way, the children of true religion have devised many different ladders for the ascent to heaven. Some contend together in companies. In countless such communities, beyond counting, they enjoy the unfading crowns and reach the ascent they long for. Others embrace the solitary life. They train themselves to speak with God alone, and they take no share in any human comfort, and in this way they win the proclamation of victory. Others live in tents, and others in huts, and sing hymns to God. Others embrace life in caves and grottoes. Many, some of whom I have mentioned, could not be persuaded to have a cave, a grotto, a tent or a hut. They have given their bodies to the open air and put up with extremes of weather: at one time stiff with unmixed frost, at another scorched by the fire of the sun's rays. Their way of life differs again among themselves. Some stand continually. Others divide the day between sitting and standing. Some shut themselves up behind low walls and avoid the company of the crowd. Others use no such covering and are set out in full view for anyone who wishes to look. I have been forced to go through each of these now, because I wanted to write the life of the wonderful Baradatus. For he too devised new practices of endurance. First he shut himself in a small cell for a long time, and enjoyed only the soul's delight in God. From there he went up to the ridge above, and made a small wooden

chest, not even matched to the size of his body, and lived in it, forced always to stoop. For it was not as high as his body was long.

27b It was not joined with solid planks. It stood open like a lattice, and was like those skylights that have wider openings for the light. For this reason he was not spared the beating of the rains, nor freed from the blaze of the sun. He took both just as other men do who live in the open air. His one advantage was the hardship of being shut in. After he had continued in this way for a long time, he later came out, yielding to the urgings of the holy Theodotus, who received the high priesthood of the church of Antioch. Now he stands continually with his hands stretched out to heaven, singing hymns to the God of all. He covers his whole body with a leather tunic. Only around the nose and mouth he has left a small opening for his breath, so that he can breathe the common air, since human nature cannot live otherwise. He endures all this labor though he did not receive a strong body. He is struck by many ailments. But his boiling zeal, set on fire by love for God, forces to labor a body that cannot labor. His mind is adorned with understanding, and he asks and answers questions very well. At times he reasons better and more powerfully than those who have read through the labyrinths of Aristotle. Though he is at the very height of virtue, he does not let his mind climb up with him. He bids it creep below, at the very foot of the mountain. For he knows how much harm a mind inflamed with pride brings on itself. Such, in sum, is his philosophy. May it grow until he reaches the turning post of the race. For the fame of these victors is the common joy of the godly. As for me, may I be upheld by his prayers and not be far from delighting in such sights.

CHAPTER 28

28a I will not pass over the story of Thalelaios either, for the sight of him is full of wonder. I have not only heard others tell of this strange marvel; I saw it myself. About twenty stades from Gabala (a small and very charming city) he took possession of a hill. On it stood a sacred precinct dedicated to demons, honored with many sacrifices by the godless people of former times, and there he built a small hut. The people used to serve these accursed beings, as they said, trying to soften their great cruelty with sacrifices. For the demons harmed many people, both passersby and neighbors, and not only human beings but also donkeys, mules, cattle and sheep. They were not making war on the animals; through them they were plotting against

people. So when they saw him arrive at that time, they tried to terrify him but could not, since faith fenced him round and grace fought on his side. Filled with rage and madness, they turned against the trees planted there. Around that hill there happened to be many flourishing fig and olive trees. They say that more than five hundred of these were suddenly torn up. I heard this from the neighboring country people as they told it. They had long been held in the darkness of ungodliness, but through his teaching and his miracles they received the light of the knowledge of God. When the accursed demons had done this and still had not frightened the champion of the philosophic life, they brought other devices against him. At night they raised howling cries and showed torches, trying to scare him and throw his mind into confusion. But he laughed at all their assaults, and in the end they left him and ran away. He then made two wheels, each two cubits across, with boards not fitted tightly against each other but standing apart, and joined the two wheels together. Then he sat inside, fastened those spaced boards with pegs and nails, and hung the wheel out in the open air. He drove three other tall timbers into the ground, joined their upper ends with further beams, tied the double wheel between them, and suspended it. The inside of this is two cubits high and one cubit wide.

28b Sitting in this, or rather hanging in it, he spent ten years so far. He is a man of very large frame, and even sitting he cannot straighten his neck. He always sits bent over, with his face pressed to his knees. When I came to him, I found him gathering the benefit of the divine Gospels. I asked him, because I wanted to learn the reason for that strange way of life. He answered in Greek (he was a Cilician by birth): "I am weighed down by many sins, and I believe in the punishments that have been threatened. So I thought up this kind of life, devising moderate punishments for my body, so that I might take something away from the weight of those that are expected. For those are harder, not only in amount but in their very nature, because they are involuntary. What happens against one's will is very painful, but what is freely chosen, even if it is hard, hurts less. For the labor is self-chosen, not forced. So by lessening what I expect to suffer with these small troubles, I shall carry away from here great gain." When I heard this I greatly admired his sharpness of mind. He was not only contending in contests beyond those set before him and devising other struggles of his own, but he also understood the reasons for them and taught them to others. The people of the neighbor-

hood also said that many miracles happen through his prayer, with healing given not only to people but also to camels, donkeys and mules. As a result that whole nation, long held in ungodliness, renounced the deceit of their fathers and received the brightness of the divine light. With these as his helpers he tore down the demons' precinct and raised a very large shrine to the glorious martyrs, setting the holy dead against the falsely named gods. By their intercession may he too come to the end of his contests with the same victory, and may we, helped by them and by him, become warm lovers of the struggles of the philosophic life. Amen.

CHAPTER 29

29a Now that I have written about the lives of the best men, I think it fitting to record also the women who have contended no less, and perhaps even more. They deserve even greater praise. Their nature is weaker, yet they show the same zeal as the men, and they free their sex from the disgrace it inherited from its ancestors. For the present I will speak of Marana and Cyra, who have surpassed all the others in the contests of endurance. Their homeland was Beroea. Their family was distinguished in that city, and their upbringing matched their family. But they looked down on all of this. They enclosed a small plot of ground a short way outside the city, went inside it, and walled up the door with clay and stones. Their maidservants were eager to share this way of life. So they built a small lodging outside the enclosure and told them to live there. These women watch what goes on in the enclosure through a small window. They rise often for prayer, and they are set ablaze with love for God. Marana and Cyra have neither house nor hut, and they embrace life in the open air. In place of a door they have had a small opening made. Through it they receive the food they need, and they speak with the women who come to them. The time of Pentecost is set aside for this meeting. For the rest of the year they keep to a life of silence. Marana alone speaks with those who come. No one has ever heard the other utter a word. They wear iron, and carry so heavy a load that Cyra, who has the weaker body, is bent down to the ground and can hardly straighten up. Their garments are very large. At the back they trail along the ground and cover the feet completely. At the front they hang down to the belt itself, and they completely hide the face, the neck, the chest and the hands. I saw them often when I went inside that door. They had told me to have an opening dug through, out of respect for the dignity of the priestly office. I saw that the weight of that iron could

not be borne even by a strong man. After much pleading I was able to have it taken off at once. But after I left, they put it back on their limbs, the collar on the neck and the belt on the waist.

29b They put on also the irons assigned to the hands and feet. They have lived this way not for five, ten or fifteen years, but for forty-two. After contending for so long, they long for the toil of the struggle as if they had only just begun. For they picture the beauty of the Bridegroom, and so they bear the labor of the race very lightly and easily. They hurry to reach the end of the contest, seeing their Beloved standing there and holding out the crown of victory. For this reason, though they take the force of rain, snow and sun, they are not distressed or pained. Out of what seems painful they gather joy. They imitated the fast of the divine Moses, and three times went without food for that long. For through forty days they took only a little food. Three times too they imitated the abstinence of the divine Daniel. They went through three weeks of days, and only then gave food to the body. Once they longed to see the holy places of the saving sufferings of Christ, and they ran to Aelia. They took no food at all on the road. Only when they reached that city and had finished their worship did they take food. Then they came back the same way, again without food. The journey is no fewer than twenty stages. They also desired to see the shrine of the glorious Thecla in Isauria, so as to kindle the torch of their love for God from every side. As they went, so they came back, without food. Such was the divine love that drove them into ecstasy. So did divine love for the Bridegroom drive them to frenzy. These women have adorned the female sex with such a way of life. They have become models for the others, and they will be crowned by the Master with the garlands of victory. As for me, I have set out the benefit that comes from this and gathered the blessing. Now I will move on to another account.

CHAPTER 30

30a The wonderful Domnina, whom I mentioned a little while ago, imitated the way of life of the holy Maron. In the garden of her mother's house she set up a small hut. Her hut is made of reeds from the millet plant. She spends her days in it, and with unceasing tears she soaks not only her cheeks but also her garments of hair, for she covers her body with clothing of that kind. About the time of the cock-crow she goes to the house of God, which is not far off, and with the other women and men she offers the hymn of praise to the Master of all. She does this not only at the beginning of the day but also

at its close. She both believes, and teaches others, that the place dedicated to God is more worthy of reverence than any other place. For this reason she also gave it great care. She persuaded her mother and her brothers to spend their possessions on it. Her food is lentils soaked in water. She endures all this hardship in a body that is wasted and half dead. For a very thin skin, like a membrane, is stretched over thin bones, since her fat and flesh have been used up by her labors. She is open to everyone who wants to see her, men and women alike. She does not look at a face, nor does she show her face to anyone. She is carefully covered by her garment and bent down to her knees. She speaks very softly and indistinctly, and always with tears as she speaks. Often she took my right hand and laid it on her eyes, and let it go so drenched that the tears dripped from the hand itself. When someone with such great riches of philosophy weeps, laments and groans like those who live in the utmost poverty, what words could praise her as she deserves?

30b For it is burning love toward God that brings forth those tears. It sets the mind ablaze toward the contemplation of God, pricks it with its rays, and urges it on toward the passage from this life to the next. Although she spends her days and nights in these things, she does not neglect the other kinds of virtue. As far as she can, she serves the excellent contenders whom I have mentioned, and those I have passed over. She also serves those who come to her. She tells them to lodge with the shepherd [priest] of the village, and she herself sends them everything they need. For her mother's and her brothers' goods are set before her for expenses, and they gain a blessing through her. When I too go to that district, which lies to the south of our country, she sends me loaves, fruit and soaked lentils. But how long shall I go on, striving to tell all her virtue at length, when I ought to set before you the lives of others as well, who imitated her and those women I mentioned earlier? For there are many others. Some have embraced the solitary life. Others have loved life in a community with many, so that two hundred and fifty, or more or fewer, live together. They put up with one kind of food and choose to sleep only on rush mats. They give their hands to wool-working and dedicate their tongues to hymns. There are countless such schools of philosophy, too many to number, not only in our country but throughout the whole East. Palestine too is full of them, and Egypt, and Asia, and Pontus, and all of Europe. For ever since Christ the Master honored virginity by being born of a virgin, nature has put forth meadows of virginity. It offers these fra-

grant, unfading flowers to its Maker. It does not divide virtue into male and female, nor split philosophy into [differences of sex]. For the difference is of bodies, not of souls.

30c For in Christ Jesus, as the divine Apostle says, there is no male and female. One faith has been given to men and women alike. There is one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all of us; and to each one of us grace was given according to the measure of Christ's gift. The one who sets the contest has also laid out a single prize for the victors, the kingdom of heaven, and has made this the common reward for all who strive. There are, then, as I said, many training grounds of godliness for men and women, not only in our own country but throughout Syria, in Palestine, in Cilicia, and in Mesopotamia. In Egypt, they say, some monasteries hold as many as five thousand men, who work with their hands and sing hymns to the Master in the midst of their work. They do not only earn the food they need from their labor, but also help strangers who come to them and the poor. But to tell it all is impossible, not only for me but for any writer. And if it were possible, I think it would be superfluous, an ambition that gains nothing. For those who want to reap some benefit, what has been said is enough to give them what they long for. This is why I have recorded different ways of life, and added the stories of women to those of men: so that old and young and women alike may have patterns of the philosophic life, and so that each person, copying the life that suits his heart, may have a rule and measuring-line for his own life in the account set down here. Painters look at their model and copy the eyes, the nose, the mouth, the cheeks, the ears, the forehead, even the hair of the head and of the beard. Beyond these they copy the seat and the stance, and even the look of the eyes, whether gentle or fierce. In the same way, each reader of this work who chooses to imitate some way of life should shape his own life by the one he has chosen.

30d Carpenters straighten their boards with a chalk line, and they keep trimming off what is extra until they lay the rule against the board and see that it is level. In the same way, the one who wants to emulate some way of life should lay it beside himself as a rule, cutting away the excess of vice and filling up whatever is lacking in virtue. This is why I took on the labor of writing: to give those who wish it a starting point for benefit. And I ask those who read, since they enjoy the labors of others without labor, to repay

those labors with prayer. I also beg those whose lives I have written not to overlook me while I live far from their spiritual dance. Lift me up from where I lie below, lead me up to the height of virtue, and join me to their own company. Then I will not only praise the wealth of others but may myself have some grounds for praise, glorifying with deed, word and thought Christ, the Savior of all, our God. With him be glory to the Father, together with the Holy Spirit, now and always, and to the ages of ages. Amen.

PART TWO

Dialogues and Counter-Statements

The Eranistes, in three dialogues, with the counter-statements, the demonstrations by syllogisms, and the criticism of Cyril's anathemas.

The Eranistes: Three Dialogues

Theodoret of Cyrus

c. AD 393–458

Bishop of Cyrus; theologian, historian and exegete.

dialogue 1

1 Orthodoxos and Eranistes. Orth.-Better were it for us to agree and abide by the apostolic doctrine in its parity. But since, I know not how, you have broken the harmony, and are now offering us new doctrines, let us, if you please, with no kind of quarrel, investigate the truth. Eran.-We need no investigation, for we exactly hold the truth. Orth.-This is what every heretic supposes. Aye, even Jews and Pagans reckon that they are defending the doctrines of the truth; and so also do not only the followers of Plato and Pythagoras, but Epicureans too, and they that are wholly without God or belief. It becomes us, however, not to be the slaves of a priori assumption, but to search for the knowledge of the truth. Eran.-I admit the force of what you say and am ready to act on your suggestion. Orth.-Since then you have made no difficulty in yielding to this my preliminary exhortation, I ask you in the next place not to suffer the investigation of the truth to depend on the reasonings of men, but to track the footprints of the apostles and prophets, and saints who followed them. For so way-farers when they wander from the high-road are wont to consider well the pathways, if haply they shew any prints of men or horses or asses or mules going this way or that, and when they find any such they trace the tracks as dogs do and leave them not till once more they are in the rightroad.

2 Eran.-So let us do. Lead on yourself, as you began the discussion. Orth-Let us, therefore, first make careful and thorough investigation into the divine names,-I mean substance, and essences, and persons and proprieties, and let us learn and define how they differ the one from the other. Then let us thus handle afterwards what follows. Eran.-You give us a very admirable and

proper introduction to our argument. When these points are clear, our discussion will go forward without let or obstacle. Orth.-Since we have decided then that this must be our course of procedure, tell me, my friend, do we acknowledge one substance of God, alike of Father and of the only begotten Son and of the Holy Ghost, as we have been taught by Holy Scripture, both Old and New, and by the Fathers in Council in Nicaea, or do we follow the blasphemy of Arius? Eran.-We confess one substance of the Holy Trinity.

3 Orth.-And do we reckon hypostasis to signify anything else than substance, or do we take it for another name of substance? Eran.-Is there any difference between substance and hypostasis? Orth-In extra Christian philosophy there is not, for ousia signifies to on, that which is, and upostasij that which subsists. But according to the doctrine of the Fathers there is the same difference between ousia and upostasij as between the common and the particular, and the species and the individual. Eran.-Tell me more clearly what is meant by race or kind, and species and individual. 4 Orth.-We speak of race or kind with regard to the animal, for it means many things at once. It indicates both the rational and the irrational; and again there are many species of irrational, creatures that fly, creatures that are amphibious, creatures that go on foot, and creatures that swim. And of these species each is marked by many subdivisions; of creatures that go on foot there is the lion, the leopard, the bull, and countless others. So, too, of flying creatures and the rest there are many species; yet all of them, though the species are the aforesaid, belong to one and the same animal race. Similarly the name man is the common name of mankind; for it means the Roman, the Athenian, the Persian, the Sauromatian, the Egyptian, and, in a word, all who are human, but the name Paulus or Petrus does not signify what is common to the kind but some particular man; for no one on hearing of Paul turns in thought to Adam or Abraham or Jacob, but thinks of him alone whose name he has heard. But if he hears the word man simply, he does not fix his mind on the individual, but bethinks him of the Indian, the Scythian, and the Massagete, and of all the race of men together, and we learn this not only from nature, but also from Holy Scripture, for God said, we read, "I will destroy man from the face of the earth," and this he spake of countless multitudes, and when more than two thousand and two hundred years had gone by after Adam, he brought universal destruction on men through the flood, and so the blessed David says: "Man that is in honour and understandeth not," accusing not one

here nor one there, but all men in common. A thousand similar examples might be found, but we must not be tedious.

5 Eran.-The difference between the common and the proper is shewed clearly. Now let us return to discussion about ousia and upostasij. Orth.-As then the name man is common to human nature, so we understand the divine substance to indicate the Holy Trinity; but the hypostasis denotes any person, as the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost; for, following the definitions of the Holy Fathers, we say that hypostasis and individuality mean the same thing. Eran.-We agree that this is so. Orth.-Whatever then is predicated of the divine nature is common both to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as for instance "God," "Lord," "Creator," "Almighty," and so forth. Eran.-Without question these words are common to the Trinity. Orth.-But all that naturally denotes the hypostasis ceases to be common to the Holy Trinity, and denotes the hypostasis to which it is proper, as, for instance, the names "Father," "Unbegotten," are peculiar to the Father; while again the names "Son," "Only Begotten," "God the Word," do not denote the Father, nor yet the Holy Ghost, but the Son, and the words "Holy Ghost," "Paraclete," naturally denote the hypostasis of the Spirit.

6 Eran.-But does not Holy Scripture call both the Father and the Son "Spirit"? Orth.-Yes, it calls both the Father and the Son "Spirit," signifying by this term the incorporeal illimitable character of the divine nature. The Holy Scripture only calls the hypostasis of the Spirit "Holy Ghost." Eran.-This is indisputable. Orth.-Since then we assert that some terms are common to the Holy Trinity, and some peculiar to each hypostasis, do we assert the term "immutable" to be common to the substance or peculiar to any hypostasis? Eran.-The term "immutable" is common to the Trinity, for it is impossible for part of the substance to be mutable and part immutable. Orth.-You have well said, for as the term mortal is common to mankind, so are "immutable" and "invariable" to the Holy Trinity. So the only-begotten Son is immutable, as are both the Father that begat Him and the Holy Ghost. Eran.-Immutable.

7 Orth.-How then do you advance the statement in the gospel "the word became flesh." and predicate mutation of the immutable nature? Eran.-We assert Him to have been made flesh not by mutation, but as He Him self knows. Orth.-If He is not said to have become flesh by taking flesh, one of two things must be asserted, either that he underwent the mutation into

flesh, or was only so seen in appearance, and in reality was God without flesh. Eran.-This is the doctrine of the disciples of Valentinus, Marcion, and of the Manichees, but we have been taught without dispute that the divine Word was made flesh. Orth.-But in what sense do you mean "was made flesh"? "Took flesh," or "was changed into flesh"? Eran.-As we have heard the evangelist say, "the word was made flesh." Orth.-In what sense do you understand "was made"? Eran.-He who underwent mutation into flesh was made flesh, and, as I said just now, as He knows. But we know that with Him all things are possible, for He changed the water of the Nile into blood, and day into night, and made the sea dry land, and filled the dry wilderness with water, and we hear the prophet saying "Whatsoever the Lord pleased that did He in heaven, and in earth, in the seas and all deep places."

8 Orth.-The creature is transformed by the Creator as He will, for it is mutable and obeys the nod of Him that fashioned it. But His nature is immutable and invariable, wherefore of the creature the prophet saith "He that maketh and transformeth all things." But of the divine Word the great David says "Thou art the same and thy years shall not fail." And again the same God says of Himself "For I am the Lord and I change not." Eran.-What is hidden ought not to "be enquired into." Orth.-Nor yet what is plain to be altogether ignored. Eran.-I am not aware of the manner of the incarnation. I have heard that the Word was made flesh. Orth.-If He was made flesh by mutation He did not remain what He was before, and this is easily intelligible from several analogies. Sand, for instance, when it is subjected to heat, first becomes fluid, then is changed and congealed into glass, and at the time of the change alters its name, for it is no longer called sand but glass.

9 Eran.-So it is. Orth.-And while we call the fruit of the vine grape, when once we have pressed it, we speak of it no longer as grape, but as wine. Eran.-Certainly. Orth.-And the wine itself, after it has undergone a change, it is our custom to name no longer wine, but vinegar. Eran.-True. Orth.-And similarly stone when burnt and in solution is no longer called stone, but lime. And innumerable other similar instances might be found where mutation involves a change of name. Eran.-Agreed. Orth.-If therefore you assert that the Divine Word underwent the change in the flesh, why do you call Him God and not flesh? for change of name fits in with the alteration of nature. For if where the things which undergo change have some relation to their former condition (for there is a certain approximation of vinegar to

wine and of wine to the fruit of the vine, and of glass to sand) they receive another name after their alteration, how, where the difference between them is infinite and as wide as that which divides a gnat from the whole visible and invisible creation (for so wide, nay much wider, is the difference between the nature of flesh and of Godhead) is it possible for the same name to obtain after the change?

10 Eran.-I have said more than once that He was made flesh not by mutation, but continuing still to be what He was, He was made what He was not. Orth.-But unless this word "was made" becomes quite clear it suggests mutation and alteration, for unless He was made flesh by taking flesh He was made flesh by undergoing mutation. Eran.-But the word "take" is your own invention. The Evangelist says the Word was made flesh. Orth.-You seem either to be ignorant of the sacred Scripture, or to do it wrong knowingly. Now if you are ignorant, I will teach you; if you are doing wrong, I will convict you. Answer then; do you acknowledge the teaching of the divine Paul to be of the Spirit? Eran.-Certainly. Orth.-And do you allow that the same Spirit wrought through both Evangelists and Apostles? Eran.-Yes, for so have I learnt from the Apostolic Scripture "There are diversities of gifts but the same spirit," and again "All these things worketh that one and the selfsame spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will," a and again "Having the same Spirit of the Faith."

11 Orth.-Your introduction of the apostolic testimony is in season. If we assert that the instruction alike of the evangelists and of the apostles is of the same spirit, listen how the apostle interprets the words of the Gospel, for in the Epistle to the Hebrews he says, "Verily he took not on him the nature of angels, but be took on him the seed of Abraham." Now tell me what you mean by the seed of Abraham. Was not that which was naturally proper to Abraham proper also to the seed of Abraham? Eran.-No; not without exception, for Christ did no sin. Orth.-Sin is not of nature, but of corrupt will. On this very account, therefore, I did not say indefinitely what Abraham had, but what he had according to nature, that is to say, body and reasonable soul.Now tell me plainly; will you acknowledge that the seed of Abraham was endowed with body and reasonable soul? If not, in this point you agree with the ravings of Apollinarius. But I will compel you to confess this by other means. Tell me now; had the Jews a body and a reasonable soul?

12 Eran.-Of course they had. Orth.-So when we hear the prophet saying, "But thou, Israel, art my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham my friend," are we to understand the Jews to be bodies only? Are we not to understand them to be men consisting of bodies and souls? Eran.-True. Orth.-And the seed of Abraham not without soul nor yet intelligence, but with everything which characterizes the seed of Abraham? Eran.-He who so says puts forward two sons. Orth.-But he who says that the Divine Word is changed into the flesh does not even acknowledge one Son, for mere flesh by itself is not a son; but we confess one Son who took upon Him the seed of Abraham,according to the divine apostle, and wrought the salvation of mankind. But if you do not accept the apostolic preaching, say so openly. Eran.-But we maintain that the utterances of the apostles are inconsistent, for there appears to be a certain inconsistency between "the Word was made flesh" and "took upon Him the seed of Abraham."

13 Orth.-It is because you lack intelligence, or because you are arguing for arguing's sake, that the consistent seems inconsistent. It does not so appear to men who use sound reasoning; for the divine apostle teaches that the Divine Word was made Flesh, not by mutation, but by taking on Him the seed of Abraham. At the same time, too, he recalls the promise given to Abraham. Or do you not remember the promises given to the Patriarch by the God of the Universe? Eran.-What promises? Orth.-When He brought him out of his father's house, and ordered him to come into Palestine, did He not say to him "I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee, and in thy seed shall all families of the earth be blessed"? Eran.-I remember these promises. Orth.-Remember, too, the covenants made by God with Isaac and Jacob, for He gave them, too, the same promises, confirming the former by the second and the third.

14 Eran.-I remember them too. Orth.-It is in relation to these covenants that the divine apostle writes in his Epistle to the Galatians "Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made." He saith not "seeds" as of many, but as of one ...which is Christ, very plainly showing that the manhood of Christ sprang from the seed of Abraham, and fulfilled the promise made to Abraham. Eran.-So the apostle says. Orth.-Enough has been said to remove all the controversy raised on this point. But I will nevertheless remind you of another prediction. The blessing given to the Patriarch Jacob and to his father and his grand father was given by him to his son Judah alone. He said

"A Prince shall not fail Judah, no a leader from his loins, until he shall have come to whom it is in store, and he is the expectation of the Gentiles." Or do you not accept this prediction as spoken of the Saviour Christ?

15 Eran.-Jews give erroneous interpretations of prophecies of this kind, but I am a Christian; I trust in the Divine word; and I receive the prophecies without doubt. Orth.-Since then you confess that you believe the prophecies and acknowledge the predictions have been divinely uttered about our Saviour, consider what follows as to the intention of the words of the apostle, for while pointing out that the promises made to the patriarchs have reached their fulfilment, he uttered those remarkable words "He took not on Him the nature of angels," all but saying the promise is true; the Lord has fulfilled His pledges; the fount of blessing is open to the gentiles; God had taken on Him the seed of Abraham; through it He brings about the promised salvation; through it He confirms the promise of the gentiles. Eran.-The words of the Prophet fit in admirably with those of the apostle.

16 Orth.-So again the divine apostle, reminding us of the blessing of Judah, and pointing out how it received its fulfilment exclaims "For it is evident that our Lord sprang out of Judah." So too the Prophet Micah and the evangelist Matthew. For the former spoke his prediction, and the latter connects the prophecy with his narrative. What is extraordinary is that he says that the open enemies of the truth plainly told Herod that the Christ is born in Bethlehem, for it is written, he says, "And thou Bethlehem in the land of Judah art not the least among the Princes of Judah for out of thee shall come a Governor who shall rule my people Israel." Now let us subjoin what the Jews in their malignity omitted and so made the witness imperfect. For the prophet, after saying "Out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be Ruler in Israel" adds "Whose goings forth have been of old, from everlasting."

17 Eran.-You have done well in adducing the whole evidence of the Prophet, for he points out that He who was born in Bethlehem was God. Orth.-Not God only but also Man; Man as sprung from Judah after the flesh and born in Bethlehem; and God as existing before the ages. For the words "Out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be Ruler," shew his birth after the flesh which has taken place in the last days; while the words "Whose goings forth have been of old, from everlasting" plainly proclaim His existence before the ages. In like manner also the divine apostle in his Epistle to

the Romans bewailing the change to the worse of the ancient felicity of the Jews, and calling to mind their divine promises and legislation, goes on to say "Whose are the fathers, and of whom concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all God blessed for ever Amen." and in this same passage he exhibits Him both as Creator of all things and Lord and Ruler as God and as sprung from the Jews as man.

18 Eran.-Well; you have explained these passages, what should you say to the prophecy of Jeremiah? For this proclaims him to be God only. Orth.-Of what prophecy do you speak? Eran.-"This is our God and there shall none other be accounted of in comparison to him-he hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto Jacob his servant and to lsrael his beloved. Afterward did he shew himself upon earth and conversed with men." In these words the Prophet speaks neither of the flesh, nor of manhood, nor of man,but of God alone. Orth.-What then is the good of reasoning? Do we say that the Divine nature is invisible? or do we dissent from the Apostle when he says "Immortal, invisible, the only God." Eran.-Indubitably the Divine nature is invisible. Orth.-How then was it possible for the invisible nature to be seen without a body? Or do you not remember those words of the apostle in which he distinctly teaches the invisibility of the divine nature? He says "Whom no man hath seen nor can see." If therefore the Divine Nature is invisible to men, and I will add too to Angels, tell me how he who cannot be seen or beheld was seen upon earth?

19 Eran.-The Prophet says he was seen on the earth, Orth.-And the apostle says "Immortal, invisible, the only God" and "Whom no man hath seen and can see." Eran.-What then? is the Prophet lying? Orth.-God forbid. Both utterances are the words of the Holy Ghost. Eran.-Let us inquire then how the invisible was seen. Orth.-Do not, I beg you, bring in human reason. I shall yield to scripture alone. Eran.-You shall receive no argument unconfirmed by Holy Scripture, and if you bring me any solution of the question deduced from Holy Scripture I will receive it, and will in no wise gainsay it. Orth.-You know how a moment ago we made the word of the evangelist clear by means of the testimony of the apostle; and that the divine apostle showed us how the Word became Flesh, saying plainly "for verily He took not on Him the nature of angels but He took on Him the seed of Abraham." The same teacher will teach us how the divine Word was seen upon the earth and dwelt among men.

20 Eran.-I submit to the words both of apostles and of prophets. Shew me then in accordance with your promise the interpretation of the prophecy. Orth.-The divine apostle, writing to Timothy, also says "without controversy great is the mystery of godliness. God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles believed on in the world, received up into glory." It is therefore plain that the divine nature is invisible, but the flesh visible, and that through the visible the invisible was seen, by its means working wonders and unveiling its own power, for with the hand He fashioned the sense of seeing and healed him that was blind from birth. Again He gave the power of hearing to the deaf, and loosed the fettered tongue, using his fingers for a tool and applying his spittle like some healing medicine. So again when He walked upon the sea He displayed the almighty power of the Godhead. Fitly, therefore, did the apostle say "God was manifest in the flesh." For through it appeared the invisible nature beheld by its means by the angel hosts, for "He was seen," he says, "of angels."

21 The nature then of bodiless beings has shared with us the enjoyment of this boon. Eran.-Then did not the angels see God before the manifestation of the Saviour? Orth.-The apostle says that He "was made manifest in the flesh and seen of angels." Eran.-But the Lord said, "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones, for I say unto you that their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven." Orth.-But the Lord said again, "Not that any man hath seen the Father save he which is of God, he hath seen the Father." Wherefore the evangelist plainly exclaims, "No man hath seen God at any time," and confirms the word of the Lord, for he says, "The only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father He hath declared Him," and the great Moses, when he desired to see the invisible nature, heard the Lord God saying, "There shall no man see me and live."

22 Eran.-How then are we to understand the words, "Their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven"? Orth.-Just as we commonly understand what is said about men who have been supposed to see God. Eran.-Pray make this plainer, for I do not understand. Can God be seen of men also? Orth.-Certainly not. Eran.-Yet we hear the divine scripture saying God appeared unto Abraham at the oak of Mamre; and Isaiah says "I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne high and lifted up," and the same thing is said by Micah, by Daniel and Ezekiel. And of the lawgiver Moses it is related that "The Lord spake to Moses face to face as a man speaketh unto his

friend," and the God of the universe Himself said, "With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently and not in dark speeches." What then shall we say; did they behold the divine nature?

23 Orth.-By no means, for God Himself said, "There shall no man see me and live." Eran.-Then they who say that they have seen God are liars? Orth.-God forbid-they saw what it was possible for them to see. Eran.-Then the loving Lord accommodates his revelation to the capacity of them that see Him? Orth.-Yes; and this He has shewn through the Prophet, "for I," He says, "have multiplied visions and by the hands of the Prophets was made like." He does not say "was seen" but "was made like." And making like does not shew the very nature of the thing seen. For even the image of the emperor does not exhibit the emperor's nature, though it distinctly preserves his features. Eran.-This is obscure and not sufficiently plain. Was not then the substance of God seen by them who beheld those revelations? Orth.-No; for who is mad enough to dare to say so?

24 Eran.-But yet it is said that they saw. Orth.-Yes; it is said; but we both in the exercise of reverent reason, and in reliance on the Divine utterances, which exclaim distinctly, "No man hath seen God at any time," affirm that they did not see the Divine Nature, but certain visions adapted to their capacity. Eran.-So we say. Orth.-So also then let us understand of the angels when we hear that they daily see the face of your Father. For what they see is not the divine substance which cannot be circumscribed, comprehended, or apprehended, which embraces the universe, but some glory made commensurate with their nature. Eran.-This is acknowledged. Orth.-After the incarnation, however, He was seen also of angels, as the divine apostle says, not however by similitude of glory, but using the true and living covering of the flesh as a kind of screen. "God," he says, "was made manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels."

25 Eran.-I accept this as Scripture, but I am not prepared to accept the novelties of phrase. Orth.-What novelties of phrase have we introduced? Eran.-That of the "screen." What Scripture calls the flesh of the Lord a screen? Orth.-You do not seem to be a very diligent reader of your Bible; if you had been you would not have found fault with what we have said as in a figure. For first of all the fact that the divine apostle says that the invisible nature was made manifest through the flesh allows us to understand the flesh as a screen of the Godhead. Secondly, the divine apostle in his Epistle to the

Hebrews, distinctly uses the phrase, for he says, "Having therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the Holiest by the blood of Jesus by a new and living way, which he hath consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say his flesh; and having an High Priest over the House of God. Coming with truth drawing near with a true heart in fulness of faith."

26 Eran.-Your demonstration is unanswerable, for it is based on apostolic authority. Orth.-Do not then charge us with innovation. We will adduce for you yet another prophetic authority, distinctly calling the Lord's flesh a robe and mantle. Eran.-Should it not appear obscure and ambiguous we will say nothing against it, and be thankful for it. Orth.-I will make you yourself testify to the truth of the promise. You know how the Patriarch Jacob, when he was addressing Judah, limited the sovereignty of Judah by the birth of the Lord. "A prince shall not fail Judah, nor a leader from his loins until he shall have come to whom it is in store and he is the expectation of the Gentiles." You have already confessed that this prophecy was uttered about the saviour. Eran.-I have. Orth.-Remember then what follows; for he says "And unto him shall the gathering of the people be ...he shall wash his robe in wine and his mantle in the blood of the grape."

27 Eran.-The Patriarch spoke of garments, not of a body. Orth.-Tell me, then, when or where be washed his cloak in the blood of the grape? Eran.-Nay; tell me you when he reddened his body in it? Orth.-Answer I beseech you more reverently. Perhaps some of the uninitiated are within hearing. Eran.-I will both hear and answer in mystic language. Orth.-You know that the Lord called himself a vine? Eran.-Yes I know that he said "I am the true vine." Orth.-Now what is the fruit of a vine called after it is pressed? Eran.-It is called wine. Orth.-When the soldiers wounded the Saviour's side with the spear, what did the evangelist say was poured out from it? Eran.-Blood and water. Orth.-Well, then; he called the Saviour's blood blood of the grape, for if the Lord is called a vine, and the fruit of the vine wine, and from the Lord's side streams of blood and water flowed downwards over the rest of his body, fitly and appropriately the Patriarch foretells "He shall wash his robe in wine and his mantle in blood of the grape." For as we after the consecration call the mystic fruit of the vine the Lord's blood, so be called the blood of the true vine blood of the grape.

28 Eran.-The point before us has been set forth in language at once mystical and clear. Orth.-Although what has been said is enough for your faith, I

will, for confirmation of the faith, give you yet another proof. Eran.-I shall be grateful to you for so doing, for you will increase the favour done me. Orth.-You know how God called His own body bread? Eran.-Yes. Orth.-And how in another place he called His flesh corn? Eran.-Yes, I know. For I have heard Him saying "The hour is come that the Son of man should be glorified," and "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit." Orth.-Yes; and in the giving of the mysteries He called the bread, body, and what had been mixed, blood. Eran.-He so did. Orth.-Yet naturally the body would properly be called body, and the blood, blood.

29 Eran.-Agreed. Orth.-But our Saviour changed the names, and to His body gave the name of the symbol and to the symbol that of his body. So, after calling himself a vine, he spoke of the symbol as blood. Eran.-True. But I am desirous of knowing the reason of the change of names. Orth.-To them that are initiated in divine things the intention is plain. For he wished the partakers in the divine mysteries not to give heed to the nature of the visible objects, but, by means of the variation of the names, to believe the change wrought of grace. For He, we know, who spoke of his natural body as corn and bread, and, again, called Himself a vine, dignified the visible symbols by the appellation of the body and blood, not because He had changed their nature, but because to their nature He had added grace? Eran.-The mysteries are spoken of in mystic language, and there is a clear declaration of that which is not known to all.

30 Orth.-Since then it is agreed that the body of the Lord is called by the patriarch "robe" and "mantle" and we have reached the discussion of the divine mysteries, tell me truly, of what do you understand the Holy Food to be a symbol and type? Of the godhead of the Lord Christ, or of His body and His blood? Eran.-Plainly of those things of which they received the names. Orth.-You mean of the body and of the blood? Eran.-I do. Orth.-You have spoken as a lover of truth should speak, for when the Lord had taken the symbol, He did not say "this is my godhead," but "this is my body;" and again "this is my blood" and in another place "the bread that I will give is my flesh which I will give for the life of the world." Eran.-These words are true, for they are the divine oracles.

31 Orth.-If then they are true, I suppose the Lord had a body. Eran.-No; for I maintain him to be bodiless. Orth.-But you confess that He had a body?

Eran.-I say that the Word was made flesh, for so I have been taught. Orth.-It seems, as the proverb has it, as if we are drawing water in a pail with a hole in it. For after all our demonstrations and solutions of difficulties, you are bringing the same arguments round again. Eran.-I am not giving you my arguments, but those of the gospels. Orth.-And have I not given you the interpretation of the words of the gospels from those of prophets and apostles? Eran.-They do not serve to clear up the point at issue. Orth.-And yet we shewed how, being invisible, He was made manifest through flesh, and the relationship of this very flesh we have been taught by the sacred writers-"He took on Him the seed of Abraham." And the Lord God said to the patriarch, "in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," and the apostle, "It is evident our Lord sprang out of Judah." We adduced further several similar testimonies; but, since you are desirous of hearing yet others, listen to the apostle when he says, "For every high priest taken from among men is ordained that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices, wherefore it is of necessity that this man have somewhat also to offer."

32 Eran.-Point out, then, how He offered after taking a body. Orth.-The divine apostle himself clearly teaches in the very passage, for after a few words he says: "Wherefore, when He cometh into the world, He saith, sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not, but a body hast thou prepared me." He does not say "into a body hast thou changed," but "a body hast thou prepared," and he shows plainly that the formation of the body was wrought by the Spirit in accordance with the utterance of the gospel, "Fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife; for that which is generated in her is of the Holy Ghost." Eran.-The virgin then gave birth only to a body? Orth.-It appears that you do not even understand the composition of words, much less their meaning, for he is teaching Joseph the manner, not of the generation, but of the conception. For he does not say that which is generated of her, i.e. made, or formed, is of the Holy Ghost. Joseph, ignorant of the mystery, was suspicions of adultery; he was therefore plainly taught the formation by the Spirit. It is this which He signified through the prophet when He said "A body hast thou prepared me" for the divine Apostle being full of the Spirit interpreted the prediction. If then the offering of gifts is the special function of priests and Christ in His humanity was called priest and offered no other sacrifice save His own body, then the Lord Christ had a body.

33 Eran.-This even I have repeatedly affirmed, and I do not say that the divine Word appeared without a body. What I maintain is not that He took a body but that He was made flesh. Orth.-So far as I see our contest lies with the supporters of Valentinus, of Marcion, and of Manes; but even they never had the hardihood to say that the immutable nature underwent mutation into flesh. Eran.-Reviling is unchristian. Orth.-We do not revile, but we are fighting for truth, and we are vexed at your arguing about the indisputable as though it could be disputed. However, I will endeavour to put an end to your ungracious contention. Answer now; do you remember the promises which God made to David? Eran.-Which? Orth.-Those which the prophet inserted in the 88th Psalm. Eran.-I know that many promises were made to David. Which are yon enquiring about now? Orth.-Those which refer to the Lord Christ.

34 Eran.-Recall the utterances yourself, for you promised to adduce your proofs. Orth.-Listen now how the prophet praises God at the very beginning of the Psalm. He saw with his prophetic eyes the future iniquity of his people, and the captivity that was in consequence foredoomed; yet he praised his own Lord for unfailing promises. "I will sing," he says, "of the mercies of the Lord forever, with my mouth will I make known Thy faithfulness to all generations, for thou hast said, Mercy shall be built up for ever, Thy faithfulness shalt Thou establish in the very heavens." Through all this the prophet teaches that the promise was made by God on account of lovingkindness, and that the promise is faithful. Then he goes on to say what He promised, and to whom, introducing God Himself as the speaker. ("I have made a covenant with my chosen.") It is the Patriarchs that He called chosen; then He goes on "I have sworn unto David my servant," and He states concerning what He swore, "Thy seed will I establish for ever, and build up thy throne to all generations."

35 Now whom do you suppose to be called the seed of David? Eran.-The promise was made about Solomon. Orth.-Then he made his covenant with the Patriarchs about Solomon, for before what was said about David he mentioned the promises made to the Patriarchs "I have made a covenant with my chosen," and He promised the Patriarchs that in their seed He would bless all nations. Kindly point out how the nations were blessed through Solomon Eran.-Then God fulfilled this promise, not by means of Solomon, but of our Saviour. Orth.-So then our Lord Christ gave the fulfil-

ment to the promises made to David. Eran.-I hold that these promises were made by God, either about Solomon, or about Zerubbabel. Orth.-Just now you used the arguments of Marcion and Valentinus and of Manes. Now you have gone over to the directly opposite faction, and are advocating the impudence of the Jews. This is just like all those who turn out of a straight road; they err and stray first one way and then another, wandering in a wilderness.

36 Eran.-Revilers are excluded by the Apostle from the kingdom. Orth.-Yes, if their revilings are vain. Sometimes the divine Apostle himself opportunely uses this mode of speech. He calls the Galatians "foolish," and of others he says "men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith," and again of another set, "Whose God is their belly, whose glory is in their shame," and so forth. Eran.-What occasion did I give you for reviling? Orth.-Do you really not think that the willing advocacy of the declared enemies of the truth furnishes the pious with very reasonable ground of indignation? Eran.-And what enemies of the truth have I patronized? Orth.-Now, Jews. Eran.-How so? Orth.-Jews connect prophecies of this kind with Solomon and Zerubbabel, in order to exhibit the groundlessness of the Christian position; but the mere words are quite enough to convict them of their iniquity, for it is written "I will establish my throne for ever." Now not only Solomon and Zerubbabel, to whom such prophecies are applied by the Jews, have lived out their appointed time, and reached the end of life, but the whole race of David has become extinct; for who ever heard of any one at the present day descended from the root of David?

37 Eran.-But are not, then, those who are called Patriarchs of the Jews of the family of David? Orth.-Certainly not. Eran.-Whence, then, are they sprung? Orth.-From the foreigner Herod, who, on his father's side, was an Ascalonite, and on his mother's an Idumaean; but they, too, have all disappeared, and many years have gone by since their sovereignty came to an end. But our Lord God promised not only to maintain the seed of David for ever, but to establish his kingdom undestroyed; for He said, "I will build up my throne to all generations." But we see that his race is gone, and his kingdom come to an end. Yet though we see this, we know that the God of the Universe is true. Eran.-That God is true is plain. Orth.-If, then, God is true, as in truth He is, and promised David that He would establish His race for ever, and keep his kingdom through all time, and if neither race nor kingdom are

to be seen, for both have come to an end, how can we convince our opponents that God is true?

38 Eran.-I suppose, then, the prophecy really points to the Lord Christ. Orth.-If, then, you confess this, let us investigate together a passage in the middle of the Psalm; we shall then more clearly see what the prophecy means. Eran.-Lead on; I will religiously follow in your footsteps. Orth.-After making many promises about this seed that it should be Lord both by sea and land and higher than the kings of the earth and be called the first begotten of God, and should boldly call God, Father God also added this, "My mercy will I keep for him for evermore and my covenant shall stand fast with him. His seed also will I make to endure for ever and his throne as the days of heaven." Eran.-The promise goes beyond the bounds of human nature, for both the life and the honour are indestructible and eternal. But men endure but for a season; their nature is short lived and their kingdom even during its lifetime undergoes many and various vicissitudes, so that truly the greatness of the prophecy befits none but the Saviour Christ.

39 Orth.-Go on then to what follows and your opinion upon this point will be in every way confirmed, for again saith the God of the universe, "Once have I sworn by my holiness, if I 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." Then, pointing out the truth of the promise He adds, "And the witness is faithful in heaven." Eran.-We must believe without doubt in the promises given by the faithful witness, for, if we are wont to believe men who have promised to speak the truth even if they do not confirm their words with an oath, who can be so mad as to disbelieve the Creator of the Universe, when He adds an oath to his words? For He who forbids others to swear confirmed the immutability of his counsel by an oath, "that by two immutable things in which it was impossible for God to lie we might have a strong consolation who have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us."

40 Orth.-If then the promise is irrefragable, and among the Jews there is now neither family nor kingdom of the prophet David to be seen, let us believe that our Lord Jesus Christ is plainly called seed of David in His humanity, for of Him the life and the kingdom are both alike eternal. Eran.-We have no doubt; and this I own to be the truth. Orth.-These proofs then are sufficient to show clearly the manhood which our Lord and Saviour took of

David's seed. But to remove all possibility of doubt by the witness of the majority, let us hear how God makes mention of the promises given to David through the voice of the prophet Isaiah. "I will make," he says, "an everlasting covenant with you," and, signifying the law-giver, he adds, "even the sure mercies of David." Since He made this promise to David, and spoke through Esaias, He will assuredly bring the promise to pass. And what follows after the prophecy is in harmony with what I say, for he saith "Behold I have given him for a witness to the people, a leader and commander to the people. Behold nations that know thee not shall call upon thee, and peoples that understand thee not shall run unto thee." Now this fits in with none that are sprung from David, for who of David's descendants, as Esaias says, was made a ruler of nations? And what nations in their prayers ever called on David's descendants as God?

41 Eran.-About what is perfectly clear it is unbecoming to dispute, and this plainly refers to the Lord Christ. Orth.-Then let us pass on to another prophetic testimony and let us hear the same prophet saying "There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse and a branch shall grow out of his roots." Eran.-I think this prophecy was delivered about Zerubbabel. Orth.-If yon hear what follows, you will not remain in your opinion. The Jews have never so understood this prediction, for the prophet goes on, "and the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord." This would never be attributed by any one to a mere man, for even to the very holy the gifts of the Spirit are given by division, as the divine apostle witnesses when he says, "To one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit," and so on. The prophet describes Him who sprang from the root of Jesse as possessing all the powers of the spirit.

42 Eran.-To gainsay this were sheer folly. Orth.-Now hear what follows. You will see some things that transcend human nature, he goes on. "He shall not judge after the sight of His eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of His ears, but with righteousness shall He judge the poor, and reprove with equity the mighty of the earth, and He shall smite the earth with the word of His mouth, and with the breath of His lips shall he slay the wicked." Now of these predictions some are human and some divine. Justice, truth, equity, and rectitude in giving judgment exhibit virtue in human nature. Eran.-We

have so far clearly learned that the prophet predicts the coming of our Saviour Christ. Orth.-The sequel will shew you yet more plainly the truth of the interpretation. For he goes on, "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb," and so on, whereby he teaches at once the distinction of modes of life and the harmony of faith; and experience furnishes a proof of the prediction, for they that abound in wealth, they that live in poverty, servants and masters, rulers and ruled, soldiers and citizens and they that wield the sceptre of the world are received in one font, are all taught one doctrine, are all admitted to one mystic table, and each of the believers enjoys an equal share.

43 Eran.-It is thus shewn that God is spoken of. Orth.-Not only God but man. So at the very beginning of this prediction he says that a rod shall grow out of the root of Jesse. Then at the conclusion of the prediction he takes up once more the strain with which he began, for he says "There shall be a root of Jesse which shall stand for an ensign of the people, to it shall the Gentiles seek and his rest shall be glorious." Now Jesse was the father of David, and the promise with an oath was made to David. The prophet would not have spoken of the Lord Christ as a rod growing out of Jesse if he had only known Him as God. The prediction also foretold the change of the world, for "the earth" he says "shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."

44 Eran.-I have heard the prophetic utterances. But I was anxious to know clearly if the divine company of the apostles also says that the Lord Christ sprang from the seed of David according to the flesh. Orth.-You have asked for information which so far from being hard is exceedingly easy to give you. Only listen to the first of the apostles exclaiming "David being a prophet and knowing that God had sworn an oath to him that of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, He would raise up Christ to sit upon His throne; he seeing this before spake of the resurrection of Christ, that His soul was not left in hell neither His flesh did see corruption." Hence you may perceive that of the seed of David according to the flesh sprang the Lord Christ, and had not flesh only but also a soul. Eran.-What other apostle preached this?

45 Orth.-The great Peter alone was sufficient to testify to the truth, for the Lord after receiving the confession of the truth given by Peter alone confirmed it by a memorable approval. But since you are anxious to hear others proclaiming this same thing, hear Paul and Barnabas preaching in Antioch in Pisidia; for they, when they had made mention of David, continued

"Of this man's seed hath God according to his promise raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus." and so on. And in a letter to Timothy the divine Paul says "Remember that Jesus Christ of the seed of David was raised from the dead according to my gospel." And, when writing to the Romans, at the very outset he calls attention to the Davidic kin, for he says "Paul a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, separated unto the gospel of God which He had promised before by his prophets in the holy scriptures concerning His Son which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh," and so on.

46 Eran.-Your proofs are numerous and convincing; but tell me why you have omitted what follows? Orth.-Because it is not about the Godhead, but about the manhood, that you are in difficulties. Had you been in doubt about the Godhead, I would have given you proof of it. It is enough to say "according to the Flesh" to declare the Godhead which is not expressed in terms. When speaking of a relationship of man in general I do not say the son of such an one "according to the flesh," but simply "son," so the divine Evangelist writing his genealogy says "Abraham begat Isaac" and does not add according to the flesh, for Isaac was merely man, and he mentions the rest in like manner, for they were men and had no qualities transcending their nature. But when the heralds of the truth are discoursing of our Lord Christ, and are pointing out to the ignorant His lower relation, they add the words "according to the flesh," thus indicating His Godhead and teaching that the Lord Christ was not only man but also Eternal God.

47 Eran.-You have adduced many proofs from the apostles and prophets, but I follow the words of the Evangelist "The Word was made Flesh." 48 Orth.-I also follow this divine teaching, but I understand it in a pious sense, as meaning that He was made Flesh by taking flesh and a reasonable soul. But if the divine Word took nothing of our nature, then the covenants made with the patriarchs by the God of all with oaths were not true, and the blessing of Judah was vain, and the promise to David was false, and the Virgin was superfluous, because she did not contribute anything of our nature to the Incarnate God. Then the predictions of the prophets have no fulfilment. Then vain is our preaching, vain our faith and vain the hope of the resurrection for the Apostle, it appears, lies when he says "and hath raised us up together and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus." For if the Lord Christ had nothing of our nature then He is falsely described as our first fruits, and His bodily nature has not risen from the dead and has not

taken the seat in Heaven on the right hand; and if He has obtained none of these things, how hath God raised us up together and made us sit together with Christ, when we in no wise belong to Him in Nature? But it is impious to say this, for the divine apostle, though the general resurrection has not yet taken place, though the kingdom of heaven has not yet been bestowed upon the faithful, exclaims, "He hath raised us up together and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus," in order to teach that since the resurrection of our first fruits, and His sitting on the right hand has come to pass, we too in general shall attain the resurrection, and that all they who share in His nature and have adopted His faith, share too in the first fruits of His glory.

49 Eran.-We have gone through many and sound arguments, but I was anxious to know the force of the Gospel saying. Orth.-You stand in need of no interpretation from without. The evangelist himself interprets himself. For after saying "the Word was made flesh," he goes on "and dwelt among us." That is to say by dwelling in us, and using the flesh taken from us as a kind of temple, He is said to have been made flesh, and, teaching that He remained unchanged, the evangelist adds "and we beheld His glory-the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." For though clad with flesh He exhibited His Father's nobility, shot forth the beams of the Godhead, and emitted the radiance of the power of the Lord, revealing by His works of wonder His hidden nature. A similar illustration is afforded by the words of the divine apostle to the Philippians: "Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who being in the form of God thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made Himself of no reputation and took upon Him the form of a servant and was made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a man he humbled Himself and became obedient unto death even the death of the cross."

50 Look at the relation of the utterances. The evangelist says "the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us," the apostle, "took upon him the form of a servant;" the evangelist "We beheld His glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father"-the apostle, "who being in the form of God thought it not robbery to be equal with God." To put the matter briefly, both teach that being God and son of God, and clad with His Father's glory, and having the same nature and power with Him that begat Him, He that was in the beginning and was with God, and was God, and was Creator of the world, took

upon Him the form of a servant, and it seemed that this was all which was seen; but it was God clad in human nature, and working out the salvation of men. This is what was meant by "The word was made flesh" and "was made in the likeness of men and being found in fashion as a man." This is all that was looked at by the Jews, and therefore they said to him "For a good work we stone Thee not but for blasphemy and because that Thou being a man makest Thyself God," and again "This man is not of God because He keepeth not the Sabbath Day."

51 Eran.-The Jews were blind on account of their unbelief, and therefore used these words. Orth.-If you find even the apostles before the resurrection thus saying, will you receive the interpretation? I hear them in the boat, after the mighty miracle of the calm, saying "what manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey Him?" Eran.-This is made plain. But now tell me this;-the divine apostle says that He "was made in the likeness of man." Orth.-What was taken of him was not man's likeness, but man's nature. For "formof a servant" is understood just as "the form of God" is understood to mean God's nature. He took this, and so was made in the likeness of man, and was found in fashion as a man. For, being God, He seemed to be man, on account of the nature which He took. The evangelist, however, speaks of His being made in the likeness of man as His being made flesh. But that you may know that they who deny the flesh of the Saviour are of the opposite spirit, hear the great John in his Catholic Epistle saying "Every spirit that confesses that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God, and every spirit that confesses not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God, and this is that spirit of Anti-Christ."

52 Eran.-You have given a plausible interpretation, but I was anxious to know how the old teachers of the Church have understood the passage "the word was made flesh." Orth.-You ought to have been persuaded by the apostolic and prophetic proofs; but since you require further the interpretations of the holy Fathers I will also furnish you, God helping me, this medicine. Eran.-Do not bring me men of obscure position or doubtful doctrine. I shall not receive the interpretation of such as these. Orth.-Does the far famed Athanasius, brightest light of the church of Alexandria, seem to you to be worthy of credit? Eran.-Certainly, for he ratified his teaching by the suffering he underwent for the Truth's sake. Orth.-Hear then how he wrote to Epictetus. "The expression of John `the Word was made flesh' has this in-

terpretation, so far as can be discovered from the similar passage which we find in St. Paul `Christ was made a curse for us.' It is not because He was made a curse but because He received the curse on our behalf that He is said to have been made a curse, and so it is not because He was turned into flesh, but because He took flesh on our behalf, that He is said to have been made flesh." So far the divine Athanasius. Gregory, too, whose glory among all men is great, who formerly ruled the Imperial city at the mouth of the Bosphorus and afterwards dwelt at Nazianzus, thus wrote to Cledonius against the specious fallacies of Apollinarius.

53 Eran.-He was an illustrious man and a foremost fighter in the cause of piety. Orth.-Hear him then. He says "the expression `He was made Flesh' seems to be parallel to His being said to have been made sin and a curse, not because the Lord was transmuted into these,-for how could He?-but because He accepted these when He took on Him our iniquities and bore our infirmities." Eran.-The two interpretations agree. Orth.-We have shown you the pastors of the south and north in harmony; now then let us introduce too the illustrious teachers of the west, who have written their interpretation, if with another tongue, yet with one and the same mind. Eran.-I am told that Ambrosius, who adorned the episcopal throne at Milan, fought in the first ranks against all heresy, and wrote works of great beauty and in agreement with the teaching of the apostles. Orth.-I will give you his interpretation. Ambrosius says in his work concerning the faith "It is written that the Word was made flesh. I do not deny that it is written, but look at the terms used; for there follows `and dwelt among us,' that is to say dwelt in human flesh. You are therefore astonished at the terms in which it is written that the Word was made flesh, on the assumption of flesh, by the divine Word, when also concerning sin which He had not, it is said that He was made sin, that is to say not that He was made the nature and operation of sin, but that he might crucify our sin in the flesh; let them then give over asserting that the nature of the Word has undergone change and alteration, for He who took is one and that which was taken other."

54 It is now fitting that you should hear the teachers of the east, this being the only quarter of the east, this being the only quarter of the world which we have hitherto left unnoticed, though they indeed might well have first witnessed to the truth, for to them was first imparted the teaching of the apostles. But since you have sharpened your tongues against the first-born

sons of piety by whetting them on the hone of falsehood, we have reserved for them the last place, that after first hearing the rest, you might lay witness by the side of witness, and so at once admire their harmony, and cease from your own interminable talk. Listen then to Flavianus who for a long time right wisely moved the tiller of the church of Antioch, and made the churches which he guided ride safe over the Arian storm, by expounding to them the word of the gospel. "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us; He is not turned into flesh, nor yet did he cease from being God, for this he was from all eternity and became flesh in the dispensation of the incarnation after himself building his own temple, and taking up his abode in the passible creature." And if you desire to hear the ancients of Palestine, lend your ears to the admirable Gelasius, who did diligent husbandry in the church of Caesarea. Now these are his words in his homily on the festival of the Lord's epiphany. "Learn the truth from the words of John the Fisherman, `And the word was made flesh,' not having himself undergone change, but having taken up his abode with us. The dwelling is one thing; the Word is another; the temple is one thing, and God who dwells in it, another."

55 Eran.-I am much struck by the agreement. Orth.-Now do you not suppose that the rule of the apostolic faith was kept by John, who first nobly watered the field of the church of the Antiochenes, and then was a wise husbandman of that of the imperial city? Eran.-I hold this teacher to be in all respects an admirable one. Orth.-Well, this most excellent man has interpreted this passage of the Gospel. He writes, "When you hear that the Word was made flesh, be not startled or cast down, for the substance did not deteriorate into flesh-an idea of the uttermost impiety-but continuing to be just what it is, so took the form of a servant. For just as when the apostle says `Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us,' he does not say that the substance of Christ departed from His own glory, and took the substance of a curse, a position which not even devils would imagine, nor the utterly senseless, and the naturally idiotic-so remarkable being the connection between impiety and insanity. But what he does assert is that after receiving the curse due to us, He does not suffer us to be cursed for the future. It is in this sense that He is stated to have been made flesh, not because he had changed the substance into flesh, but because he had assumed the flesh, the substance remaining all the while unimpaired."

56 You may like to bear also Severianus, Bishop of Gabala. If so, I will adduce his testimony and do you lend your ears. "The text `the Word was made flesh' does not indicate a deterioration of nature but the assumption of our nature. Suppose you take the word `was made' to indicate a change; then when you hear Paul saying `Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law being made a curse for us,' do you understand him to mean a change into the nature of a curse? Just as being made a curse had no other meaning than that He took our curse upon Himself, so the words was made flesh and dwelt among us mean nothing other than the assumption of flesh." Eran.-I admire the exact agreement of these men. For they are as unanimous in giving the same interpretations of evangelical writings as if they had met in the same place and written down their opinion together.

57 Orth.-Mountains and seas separate them very far from one another, yet distance does not damage their harmony, for they were all inspired by the same gift of the spirit. I would also have offered you the interpretations of the victorious champions of piety Diodorus and Theodorus, had I not seen that you were ill disposed towards them, and had inherited the hostility of Apollinarius; you would have seen that they have expressed similar experiences, drawing water from the divine Fount, and becoming themselves too, streams of the spirit. But I will pass them by, for you have declared a truceless war against them. I will, however, shew you the famous teacher of the Church, and his mind about the divine incarnation, that you may know what opinion he held concerning the assumed nature. You have no doubt heard of the illustrious Ignatius, who received episcopal grace by the hand of the great Peter, and after ruling the church of Antioch, wore the crown of martyrdom. You have heard too of Irenaeus, who enjoyed the teaching of Polycarp, and became a light of the western Gauls;-of Hippolytus and Methodius, bishops and martyrs, and the rest, whose names I will append to their expressions of opinion.

58 Eran.-I am exceedingly desirous of hearing their testimony too. Orth.-Hear them now bringing forward the apostolic teaching. Testimony of Saint Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, and martyr. From the letter to the Smyrnaeans (I.):- "Having a full conviction with respect to our Lord as being truly descended from David according to the flesh, son of God according to Godhead and power, born really of a virgin, baptized by John that all righteousness might be fulfilled by Him, really in the time of Pontius Pilate and of Herod

the tetrarch crucified for our sake in the flesh." Of the same in the same epistle:- "For what advantageth it me if a man praises me but blasphemes my Lord, in not confessing him to be a bearer of flesh? but he who does not make this confession really denies Him and is himself bearer of a corpse." Of the saint from the same epistle:-

59 "For if these things were done by our Lord in appearance only, then it is in appearance only that I am a prisoner in chains; and why have I delivered myself to death, to fire, to sword, to the beasts? But he who is near to the sword is near to God. Only in the name of Jesus Christ that I may share his sufferings I endure all things while He, Perfect Man whom some in their ignorance deny, gives me strength." From the same in the letter to the Ephesians:- "For our God Jesus Christ was born in Mary's womb by dispensation of God of the seed of David and of the Holy Ghost who was born and was baptized that our mortality might be purified." From the same epistle:- "If ye all individually come together by grace name by name in one faith, and in one Jesus Christ according to the flesh of David's race Son of God and Son of man.

60 Of the same from the same epistle:- "There is one Physician of flesh and of spirit generate and ingenerate, God in man, true life in death, Son of Mary and of God, first passible and then impassible, Jesus Christ our Lord." Lastly of the same in his epistle to the Trallians:- "Be ye made deaf therefore when any man speaks to you apart from Jesus Christ, who was of David's race and of Mary, who was really born and really ate and drank and was persecuted in the time of Pontius Pilate, was crucified and died, while beings on earth and beings in heaven and beings under the earth were looking on." Testimony of Irenaeus bishop of Lyons, from his third book Against the heresies:- "Why then did they add the words 'In the city of David, save to proclaim the good news that the promise made by God to David, that of the fruit of his loins should come an everlasting king, was fulfilled; a promise which indeed the Creator of the world had made."

61 Of the same from the same book:- "And when he says `Hear ye now, Oh House of David' he means that the everlasting King whom God promised to David that he would raise up from his body is He who was born of David's Virgin." Of the same from the same book:- "If then the first Adam had had a human father and had been begotten of seed, it would have been reasonable to say that the second Adam had been begotten of Joseph. But if

the former was taken from earth, and his creator was God, it was necessary also that He who renews in himself the man created by God should have the same likeness of generation with that former. Why then did not God again take dust? Why did he on the other hand ordain that the formation should be made of Mary? That there might be no other creation; that that which was being saved might be no other thing; but that the former might himself be renewed without loss of the likeness. For then do they too fall away who allege that He took nothing from the Virgin, that they may repudiate the inheritance of the flesh and cast off the likeness."

62 Of the same from the same book:- "Since his going down into Mary is useless; for why went He down into her if He was designed to take nothing from her? And further, if He had taken nothing from Mary He would not have accepted the food taken from earth whereby is nourished the body taken from earth, nor would He like Moses and Elias, after fasting forty days, have hungered, on account of His body demanding its own food, nor yet would John his disciple when writing about him have said-`Jesus being wearied from his journey sat,' nor would David have uttered the prediction about him `And they added to the pain of my wounds,' nor would he have wept over Lazarus, nor would He have sweated drops of blood, nor would He have said, `my soul is exceedingly sorrowful,' nor yet when He was pierced would blood and water have issued from His side. For all these things are proofs of the flesh taken from earth, which He had renewed in Himself in the salvation of his own creature."

63 Of the same from the same book:- "For as by the disobedience of the one man who was first formed from rude earth the many were made sinners and lost their life, so also was it fitting that through obedience of one man, the firstborn of a virgin, many should be made righteous and receive their salvation." Of the same from the same work:- "`I have said ye are gods and all of you children of the Most High but ye shall die like man.' This He says to them that did not accept the gift of adoption, but dishonour the incarnation of the pure generation of the word of God, deprive man of his ascent to God, and are ungrateful to the Word of God who for their sakes was made flesh. For this cause was the word made man that man receiving the word and accepting the adoption should be made God's son. "

64 Of the same from the same book:- "Since then on account of the foreordained dispensation the spirit came down, and the only begotten Son of

God, who also is Word of the Father, when the fulness of time was come, was made flesh in man and our Lord Jesus Christ-being one and the same-fulfilled all the human dispensation as the Lord himself testifies, and the apostles confess, all the teachings of men who invented the ogdoads and tetrads and similitudes are proved plainly false." Testimony of the Holy Hippolytus, Bishop and Martyr, from his discourse on "The Lord is my shepherd":- "And an ark of incorruptible wood was the Saviour Himself, for the incorruptibility and indestructibility of His Tabernacle signified its producing no corruption of sin. For the sinner who confesses his sin says `My wounds stink and are corrupt because of my foolishness.' But the Lord was without sin, made in His human nature of incorruptible wood, that is to say, of the Virgin and the Holy Ghost, overlaid within and without, as it were, by purest gold of the word of God."

65 Of the same from his discourse on Elkanah and Hannah:- "Bring me then, O Samuel, the Heifer drawn to Bethlehem, that you may shew the King begotten of David, and anointed King and Priest by the Father." From the same discourse:- "Tell me, O Blessed Mary, what it was that was conceived by thee in the womb; what it was that was borne by thee in a Virgin's womb. It was the Word of God, firstborn from Heaven, on thee descending, and man firstborn being formed in a womb, that the first born Word of God might be shewn united to a firstborn man." From the same discourse:- "The second, which was through the prophets as through Samuel, he revokes, and turns his people from the slavery of strangers. The third, in which He took the manhood of the Virgin and was present in the flesh; who, when He saw the city wept over it."

66 Of the same from his discourse on the beginning of Isaiah: - "He likens the world to Egypt; its idolatry, to images; its removal and destruction to an earthquake. The Word he calls the `Lord' and by a `swift cloud' he means the right pure tabernacle enthroned on which our Lord Jesus Christ entered into life to undo the fall." Testimony of the Holy Methodius, bishop and martyr, from his discourse on the martyrs:- "So wonderful and precious is martyrdom that our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, the Son of God, testified in its honour that He thought it not robbery to be equal with God, that He might crown with this grace the Manhood into whom He had come down." Testimony of the holy Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, confessor. From his interpretation of the xvith Psalm:- "The soul of Jesus experienced both. For it was in the place

of the souls of men and being made without the flesh, lives and survives. So it is reasonable and of the same substance as the souls of men, just as the flesh is of the same substance as the flesh of men, coming forth from Mary."

67 Of the same from his work about the soul:- "On looking at the education of the child, or at the increase of his stature, or at the extension of time, or at the growth of the body, what would they say? But, to omit the miracles wrought upon earth, let them behold the raisings of the dead to life, the signs of the Passion, the marks of the scourges, the bruises and the blows, the wounded side, the prints of the nails, the shedding of the blood, the evidences of the death, and in a word the actual resurrection of the very body." From the same work:- "Indeed if any one looks to the generation of the body, he would clearly discover that after being born at Bethlehem He was wrapped in swaddling clothes, and was brought up for some time in Egypt, because of the evil counsel of the cruel Herod, and grew to man's estate at Nazareth."

68 From the same work:- "For the tabernacle of the Word and of God is not the same, whereby the blessed Stephen beheld the divine glory." Of the same from his sermon on "the Lord created me in the beginning of His way":- "If the Word received a beginning of His generation from the time when passing through His mother's womb He wore the human frame, it is clear that He was made of a woman; but if He was from the first Word and God with the Father, and if we assert that the universe was made by Him, then He who is and is the cause of all created things was not made of a woman, but is by nature God, self existent, infinite, incomprehensible; and of a woman was made man, formed in the Virgin's womb by the Holy Ghost." From the same work:- "For a temple absolutely holy and undefiled is the tabernacle of the word according to the flesh, wherein God visibly made his habitation and dwelt, and we assert this not of conjecture, for He who is by nature the Son of this God when predicting the destruction and resurrection of the temple distinctly instructs us by His teaching when He says to the murderous Jews, `Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up.'"

69 From the same work:- "When then the Word built a temple and carried the manhood, companying in a body with men, He invisibly displayed various miracles, and sent forth the apostles as heralds of His everlasting kingdom." Of the same from his intrepretation of Psalm xcii:- "It is plain then if `He that anointeth' means God whose throne He calls `everlasting,'

the anointer is plainly by nature God, begotten of God. But the anointed took an acquired virtue, being adorned with a chosen temple of the Godhead dwelling in it." The testimony of the holy Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria and Confessor. From the defence of Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria:- "`I am the vine, ye are the branches My Father is the husbandman.' For we according to the body are of kin to the Lord, and for this reason He himself said `I will declare thy name unto my brethren.' And just as the branches are of one substance with the vine, and of it, so too we, since we have bodies akin to the body of the Lord, receive them of His fulness, and have it as a root for our resurrection and salvation. And the Father is called a husbandman, for He Himself through the Word tilled the vine which is the Lord's body."

70 Of the same from the same treatise:- "The Lord was called a vine on account of His bodily relationship to the branches which are ourselves." Of the same from his greater oration concerning the faith:- "The scripture `in the beginning was the Word' clearly indicates the Godhead. The passage `the Word was made flesh' shews the human nature of the Lord." From the same discourse:- "`He shall wash His garments in wine' that is His body, which is the vestment of the Godhead in His own blood." Of the same from the same discourse:- "The Word `was' is referred to His divinity, the words `was made flesh' to His body, the Word was made flesh not by being reduced to flesh, but by bearing flesh, just as any one might say such an one became or was made an old man, though not so born from the beginning, or the soldier became a veteran, not being previously such as he became. John says, `I became,' or `was in the island of Patmos on the Lord's day.' Not that he was made or born there, but he says `I became or was in Patmos' instead of saying `I arrived;' so the Word `arrived' at flesh, as it is said `the Word was made flesh.' Hear the words `I became like a broken vessel,' and `I became like a man that hath no strength, free among the dead.'"

71 Of the same from his letter to Epictetus:- "Whoever heard such things? Who taught them? Who learnt them? `Out of Zion shall go forth the law and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem.' But whence did these things come forth? What hell vomited them out? To say that the body taken of Mary was of the same substance as the Godhead of the Word, or that the Word was changed into flesh and bones and hairs and a whole body; whoever heard in a church or at all among Christians that God bore a body by adoption and not by birth?" Of the same from the same Epistle:- "But who, hear-

ing that the Word made for Himself a passible body, not of Mary, but of His own substance, would call the sayer of these things a Christian? Who has invented so unfounded an impiety, as even to think and to say that they who affirm the Lord's body to be of Mary, conceive no longer of a Trinity, but of a quaternity in the godhead? As though they that are of this opinion described the flesh which the Saviour clothed himself with of Mary as of the substance of the Trinity.

72 "Whence further have some men vomited forth an impiety as bad as the foregoing, and alleged that the body is not of later time than the godhead of the Word, but has always been co-eternal with it, since it is formed of the substance of wisdom." Of the same from the same letter:- "So the body taken of Mary was human according to the scriptures, and real in that it was the same as our own. For Mary was our sister, since we are all of Adam, a fact which no one could doubt who remembers the words of Luke." Testimony of the holy Basil, bishop of Caesarea:- From the interpretation of Psalm LX. "All strangers have stooped and been put under the yoke of Christ, wherefore also `over Edom' does he `cast out' his `shoe.' Now the shoe of the Godhead is the flesh which bore God whereby he came among men."

73 Of the same from his writings about the Holy Ghost to Amphilochius:- "He uses the phrase `of whom' instead of `through whom;' as when Paul says `made of a woman.' He clearly made this distinction for us in another place where he says that the being made of the man is proper to a woman, but to a man the being made by the woman, in the words `For as the woman is of the man so is the man by the woman.' But with the object at once of pointing out the different use of these expressions, and of correcting obiter an error of certain men who supposed the body of the Lord to be spiritual, that he may shew how the God-bearing flesh was composed of human matter, he gives prominence to the more emphatic expression, for the expression `by a woman' was in danger of suggesting that the sense of the word generation was merely in passing through, while the phrase `of the woman' makes the common nature of the child and of the mother plain enough."

74 Testimony of the holy Gregory bishop of Nazianus. From the former exposition to Cledonius:- "If any one says that the flesh came down from heaven, and not from this earth, and from us, let him be Anathema. For the words `The second man is from heaven,' and `as is the heavenly such are they also that are heavenly' and `no man hath ascended up to heaven but the son

of man that came down from heaven,' and any other similar passage, must be understood to be spoken on account of the union with man, as also the statement that `all things were made by Christ,' and that `Christ dwells in our hearts,' must be understood not according to the sensible, but according to the intellectual conception of the Godhead, the terms being commingled together just as are the natures." Of the same from the same work:- 75 "Let us see from their own words what reason they give for the being made man, that is for the incarnation. If indeed it was that God otherwise not contained in space, might be contained in space and, as it were under a veil, might converse with men in the flesh, then their mask and their stage play are exquisite: not to say that it was possible for Him otherwise to converse with us, as of yore, in a burning bush and in human form, but if that He might undo the damnation of sin by taking like to like then just as He required flesh on account of the condemned flesh, and a soul on account of the soul, so too he required a mind on account of the mind, which in Adam not only fell but,- to employ a term which physicians are accustomed to use about diseases-was affected with original malady. For that which did not keep the commandment was what had received the commandment; and that which dared transgression was what had not kept the commandment; and that which specially needed salvation was what had transgressed, and that which was assumed was what needed salvation; so the mind was assumed. Now this point has been demonstrated, whether they will or no, by proofs which are so to say mathematical and necessary. But you are doing just as though, if a man were to have a diseased eye and a limping foot you were to cure the foot but leave the eye uncured;

76 or, if a painter had painted a picture badly, were to alter the picture, but leave the painter alone, as though he were doing his work well. But if they are so constrained by these arguments as to take refuge in the statement that it is possible for God to save man, even without a mind, why then clearly He might have done so even without flesh, by the mere expression of His will, just as He works and has worked in the universe without a body. Away then with the flesh as well as with the mind! Let there be no inconsistency in your absurdity." 77 Testimony of the Holy Gregory, bishop of Nyssa. From his sermon on Abraham:- "So the Word came down not naked, but after having been made flesh, not in the form of God, but in the form of a servant. This then is He who said that He could do nothing of Himself. For

the not being able is the part of powerlessness. For as darkness is opposed to light, and death to life, so is weakness to power. But yet Christ is Power of God. Power is wholly inconsistent with not being able. For if power were powerless what is powerful? When then the Word declares that He can do nothing it is plain that He does not attribute his powerlessness to the Godhead of the Only-begotten, but connects his not being able with the powerlessness of our nature. The flesh is weak, as it is written, `The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.'"

78 Of the same from his Book "on the Perfection of Life":- "Again the true lawgiver, of whom Moses was a type, hewed for Himself out of our earth the slabs of nature. No wedlock fashioned for Him the flesh that was to receive the godhead, but He Himself is made the hewer of His own flesh, graven as it is by the finger of God. For the Holy Ghost came upon the Virgin, and the power of the Highest overshadowed her. And when this had come to pass, nature once again took its indestructible character, being made immortal by the marks of the divine finger." Of the same from his Book against Eunomius:- "We assert therefore that when He said above that wisdom built for herself a house, he intimates by the phrase the formation of the flesh of the Lord, for the very wisdom made its home in no strange dwelling, but built itself its dwelling of the Virgin's body."

79 Of the same from the same treatise:- "The Word was before the ages, but the flesh was made in the last times, and no one would say on the contrary either that the flesh was before the ages, or the Word made in the last times." Of the same from the same treatise:- "The expression `created me' is not to be understood of the divine and the undefiled, but, as has been said, of our created nature, according to the dispensation of the incarnation." Of the same from the first discourse on the Beatitudes:- "`Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself, and took the form of a servant.' What poorer, in respect of God, than the form of a servant? What more lowly, in respect of the King of all, than approach to fellowship in our poor nature? The King of Kings and Lord of Lords voluntarily dons the form of servitude."

80 Testimony of the Holy Flavianus, bishop of Antioch. From his sermon on John the Baptist:- "Do not think of connexion in any physical sense, nor entertain the idea of conjugal intercourse. For thy Creator is creating His own bodily temple now being born of thee." Of the same from his book on

"The Spirit of the Lord is upon me":- "Hear Him saying, `The Spirit is upon me because He hath anointed me.' You do not know, He says, what you read, for I, the anointed with the Spirit, am come to you. Now what is akin to us, and not the invisible nature, is anointed with the Spirit." Testimony of Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium. From his Discourse on "My Father is greater than I:" - "Distinguish me now the natures, the Divine and the human. For man was not made from God by failing away, nor was God made of man by advancement. I am speaking of God and man. When, however, you attribute the passions to the flesh and the miracles to God, you of necessity and involuntarily assign the lowly titles to the man born of Mary, and the exalted and divine to the Word Who in the beginning was God. Wherefore in some cases I utter exalted words, in others lowly, to the end that by means of the lofty I may shew the nature of the indwelling Word, and by the lowly, own the weakness of the lowly flesh. Whence sometimes I call myself equal to the Father and sometimes greater than the Father, not contradicting myself, but shewing that I am God and than, for God is of the lofty, man of the lowly; but if you wish to know how my Father is greater than I, I spoke of the flesh and not of the person of the Godhead."

81 Of the same from his discourse on "The Son, can do nothing of Himself:" - "How was Adam disobedient in Heaven, and how of heavenly body was he formed first-formed beside the first formation? But it was the Adam of the earth who was formed at the beginning; the Adam of the earth disobeyed; the Adam of the earth was assumed. Wherefore also the Adam of the earth was saved that thus the reason of the incarnation may be proved necessary and true." Testimony of the Holy John Bishop of Constantinople. From the speech which he made when the Gothic envoy had spoken before him:- "See from the beginning what He does. He clothes Himself in our nature, powerless and vanquished, that by its means He may fight and struggle and from the beginning He uproots the nature of rebellion." Of the same from his discourse on The Festival of the Nativity:-

82 "For is it not of the very last stupidity for them to bring down their own gods into stones and cheap wooden images, shutting them up as it were in a kind of prison, and to fancy that there is nothing disgraceful in what they either say or do, and then to find fault with us for saying that God made a living temple for Himself of the Holy Ghost, by means of which he brought succour to the world? For if it is disgraceful for God to dwell in a

human body, then in proportion as the stone and the wood are more worthless than man is it much more disgraceful for him to dwell in stone and wood. But perhaps mankind seems to them to be of less value than these senseless objects. They bring down the substance of God into stones and into dogs; but many heretics into fouler things than these. But we could never endure even to hear of these things. But what we say is that of a virgin's womb the Christ took pure flesh, holy and without spot, and made impervious to all sin, and restored the body that was His own."

83 A little further on: "And we assert that when the divine Word had fashioned for Himself a holy temple by its means he brought the heavenly state into our life." Of the same from the oration: That the lowly words and deeds of Christ were not spoken and done through lack of power, but through distinctions of dispensation. "What then are the causes of many humble things having been said about Him both by Himself and by His apostles? The first and greatest cause is the fact of His having clothed Himself with flesh, and wishing all his contemporaries and all who have lived since, to believe that He was not a shadow, nor what was seen merely a form, but reality of nature. For if when He Himself and His apostles had spoken about Him so often in humble and in human sense, the devil yet had power to persuade some wretched and miserable men to deny the reason of the incarnation, and dare to say that He did not take flesh and so to destroy all the ground of His love for man, how many would not have fallen into this abyss if He had never said anything of the kind?"

84 I have now produced for you a few out of many authorities of the heralds of the truth, not to stun you with too many. They are quite enough to show the bent of the mind of the excellent writers. It is now for you to say what force their writings seem to have. Eran.-They have all spoken in harmony with one another, and the workers in the vineyard of the West agree with them whose husbandry is done in the region of the rising sun. Yet I perceived a considerable difference in their sayings. Orth.-They are successors of the divine apostles; some even of those apostles were privileged to hear the holy voice and see the goodly sight. The majority of them too were adorned with the crown of martyrdom. Does it seem right for you to wag the tongue of blasphemy against them? Eran.-I shrink from doing this; at the same time I do not approve of their great divergence.

85 Orth.-But now I will bring you an unexpected remedy. I will adduce one of your own beautiful heresy-your teacher Apollinarius, and I will shew you that he understood the text "The Word was made flesh" just as the holy Fathers did. Hear now what he wrote about it in his "Summary." The testimony of Apollinarius from his "Summary":- "If no one is turned into that which he assumes, and Christ assumed flesh, then He was not turned into flesh." And immediately afterward he continues:- "For also He gave himself to us in relationship by means of the body to save us. Now that which saves is far more excellent than that which is being saved. Far more excellent then than we are, is He in the assumption of a body! But He would not have been more excellent had He been turned into flesh." A little further on he says:-

86 "The simple is one, but the complex cannot be one; he then that alleges that He was made flesh affirms the mutation of the one Word. But if the complex is also one, as man, then he who on account of the union with the flesh says the Word was made flesh means the one in complexity." And again a little further on he says-"To be made flesh is to be made empty, but the being made empty declares not man, but the Son of man, who `emptied Himself' not by undergoing change, but by investiture." There; you see the teacher of your own doctrines has introduced the word `investiture' and indeed in his little work upon the faith he says-"We then believe that he was made flesh, while His Godhead remained unchanged for the renewal of the manhood. For in the holy power of God there has been neither alteration nor change of place, nor inclusion"-and then shortly again-"We worship God who took flesh of the blessed virgin, and on this account in the flesh is man, but in the spirit God." And in another exposition he says-"We confess the Son of God to have been made the Son of man, not nominally but verily, on taking flesh of the Virgin Mary."

87 Eran.-I did not suppose that Apollinarius held these sentiments. I had other ideas about him. Orth.-Well; now you have learnt that not only the prophets and apostles, and they who after them were ordained teachers of the world, but even Apollinarius, the writer of heretical babbling, confesses the divine Word to be immutable, states that He was not turned into flesh but assumed flesh, and this over and over again, as you have heard. Do not then struggle to throw your master's blasphemy into the shade by your own, For, says the Lord "the disciple is notabove his master." Eran.-Yes, I confess that the divine Word of God is immutable and took flesh. It were the uttermost

foolishness to withstand authorities so many and so great. Orth.-Do you wish to have a solution of the rest of the difficulties? Eran.-Let us put off their investigation until to-morrow. Orth.-Very well; our synod is dismissed. Let us depart, and bear in mind what we have agreed upon.

DIALOGUE 2

1 Eranistes and Orthodoxus. Eran.-I am come as I promised. 'Tis yours to adopt one of two alternatives, and either furnish a solution of my difficulties, or assent to what I and my friends lay down. Orth.-I accept your challenge, for I think it right and fair. But we must first recall to mind at what point we left off our discourse yesterday, and what was the conclusion of our argument. Eran.-I will remind you of the end. I remember our agreeing that the divine Word remained immutable, and took flesh, and was not himself changed into flesh. Orth.-You seem to be content with the points agreed on, for you have faithfully called them to mind. Eran.-Yes, and I have already said that the man that withstands teachers so many and so great is indubitably out of his mind. I was moreover put to not a little shame to find that Apollinarius used the same terms as the orthodox, although in his books about the incarnation his drift has distinctly been in another direction.

2 Orth.-Then we affirm that the Divine Word took flesh? Eran.-We do. Orth.-And what do we mean by the flesh? A body only, as is the view of Arius and Eunomius, or body and soul? Eran.-Body and soul. Orth.-What kind of soul? The reasonable soul, or that which is by some termed the phytic, vegetable, that is, vital? for the fable-mongering quackery of the Apollinarians compels us to ask unseemly questions. Eran.-Does then Apollinarius make a distinction of souls? Orth.-He says that man is composed of three parts, of a body, a vital soul, and further of a reasonable soul, which he terms mind. Holy Scripture on the contrary knows only one, not two souls; and this is plainly taught us by the formation of the first man. For it is written God took dust from the earth and "formed man," and "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul." And in the gospels the Lord said to the holy disciples "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell."

3 And the very divine Moses when he told the tale of them that came down into Egypt and stated with whom each tribal chief had come in, added, "All the souls that came out of Egypt were seventy-five," reckoning one

soul for each immigrant. And the divine apostle at Troas, when all supposed Eutychus to be dead, said "Trouble not yourselves for his soul is in him." Eran.-It is shewn clearly that each man has one soul. Orth.-But Apollinarius says two; and that the Divine Word took the unreasonable, and that instead of the reasonable, he was made in the flesh. It was on this account that I asked what kind of soul you assert to have been assumed with the body. Eran.-I say the reasonable. For I follow the Divine Scripture. Orth.-We agree then that the "form of a servant" assumed by the Divine Word was complete. Eran.-Yes; complete.

4 Orth.-And rightly; for since the whole first man became subject to sin, and lost the impression of the Divine Image, and the race followed, it results that the Creator, with the intention of renewing the blurred image, assumed the nature in its entirety, and stamped an imprint far better than the first. Eran.-True. But now I beg you in the first place that the meaning of the terms employed may be made quite clear, that thus our discussion may advance without hindrance, and no investigation of doubtful points intervene to interrupt our conversation. Orth.-What you say is admirable. Ask now concerning whatever point yon like. Eran.-What must we call Jesus the Christ? Man? Orth.-By neither name alone, but by both. For the Divine Man after being made man was named Jesus Christ. "For," it is written, "Thou shalt call His name Jesus for he shall save His people from their sins," and unto you is born this day in the city of David Christ the Lord. Now these are angels' voices. But before the Incarnation he was named God, son of God, only begotten, Lord, Divine Word, and Creator. For it is written "In the beginning was the Word, and the word was with God, and the word was God," and "all things were made by Him," and "He was life," and "He was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." There are also other similar passages, declaring the divine nature. But after the Incarnation He was named Jesus and Christ.

5 Eran.-Therefore the Lord Jesus is God only. Orth.-You hear that the divine Word was made man, and do you call him God only? Eran.-Since He became mall without being changed, but remained just what He was before, we must call Him just what He was. Orth.-The divine Word was and is and will be immutable. But when He had taken man's nature He became man. It behoves us therefore to confess both natures, both that which took, and that which was taken. Eran.-We must name Him by the nobler. Orth-Man,-I

mean man the animal,-is he a simple or a composite being? Eran.-Composite. Orth.-Composed of what component parts? Eran.-Of a body and a soul. Orth.-And of these natures whether is nobler? Eran.-Clearly the soul, for it is reasonable and immortal, and has been entrusted with the sovereignty of the animal. But the body is mortal and perishable, and without the soul is unreasonable, and a corpse.

6 Orth.-Then the divine Scripture ought to have called the animal after its more excellent part. Eran.-It does so call it, for it calls them that came out of Egypt souls. For with seventy-five souls, it says, Israel came down into Egypt. Orth.-But does the divine Scripture never call any one after the body? Eran.-It calls them that are the slaves of flesh, flesh. For "God," it is written, "said my spirit shall not always remain in these men, for they are flesh." Orth.-But without blameno one is called flesh? Eran.-I do not remember. Orth.-Then I will remind you, and point out to you that even the very saints are called "flesh." Answer now. What would you call the apostles? Spiritual, or fleshly? Eran.-Spiritual;-and leaders and teachers of the spiritual. Orth.-Hear now the holy Paul when he says "But when it pleased God who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace, to reveal his son in me that I might preach him among the heathen, immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood neither went I up to them that were apostles before me." Does he so style the apostles because he blames them?

7 Eran.-Certainly not. Orth.-Is it not that he names them after their visible nature, and comparing the calling which is of men with that which is of heaven? Eran.-True. Orth.-Then hear too the psalmist David-"Unto thee shall all flesh come." Hear too, the prophet Isaiah foretelling "All flesh shall see the salvation of our God." Eran.-It is made perfectly plain that Holy Scripture names human nature fromthe flesh without the least blame. Orth.-I will proceed to give you the yet further proof. Eran.-What further? Orth.-The fact that sometimes when giving blame the divine Scripture uses only the name of soul. Eran.-And where will you find this in holy Scripture? Orth.-Hear the Lord God speaking through the prophet Ezekiel "The sold that sinneth it shall die." Moreover through the great Moses He saith "If a soul sin-" And again "It shall come to pass that every soul that will not hear that prophet shall be cut off." And many other passages of the same kind may be found.

8 Eran.-This is plainly proved. Orth.-In cases, then, where there is a certain natural union, and a combination of created things, and of beings connected by service and by time, it is not the custom of holy Scripture to use a name for this being derived only from the nobler nature; it names it indiscriminately both by the meaner and by the nobler. If so, how can you find fault with us for calling Christ the Lord,man, after confessing Him to be God, when many things combine to compel us to do so? Eran.-What is there to compel us to call the Saviour Christ, "man"? Orth.-The diverse and mutually inconsistent opinions of the heretics. Eran.-What opinions, and contrary to what? Orth.-That of Arius to that of Sabellius. The one divides the substances: the other confounds the hypostases. Arius introduces three substances, and Sabellius makes one hypostasis instead of three. Tell me now, how ought we to heal both maladies? Must we apply the same drug for both ailments, or for each the proper one?

9 Eran.-For each the proper one. Orth.-We shall therefore endeavour to persuade Arius to acknowledge the substance of the Holy Trinity, and we shall adduce proofs of this position from Holy Scripture. Eran.-Yes: this ought to be done. Orth.-But in arguing with Sabellius we shall adopt the opposite course. Concerning the substance we shall advance no argument, for even he acknowledges but one. Eran.-Plainly. Orth.-But we shall do our best to cure the unsound part of his doctrine. Eran.-We say that where he halts is about the hypostases. Orth.-Since then he asserts there to be one hypostasis of the Trinity, we shall point out to him that the divine Scripture proclaims three hypostases. Eran.-This is the course to take. But we have wandered from the subject. Orth.-Not at all. We are collecting proofs of it, as you will learn in a moment. But tell me, do you understand that all the heresies which derive their name from Christ, acknowledge both the Godhead of Christ and His manhood?

10 Eran.-By no means. Orth.-Do not some acknowledge the godhead alone, and somethemanhood alone? Eran.-Yes. Orth.-And some but a part of the manhood? Eran.-I think so. But it will be well for us to lay down the names of the holders of these different opinions, that the point under discussion may be made plainer. Orth.-I will tell you the names. Simon, Menander, Marcion, Valentinus, Basilides, Bardesanes, Cerdo, and Manes, openly denied the humanity of Christ. On the other hand Artemon, Theodotus, Sabellius, Paul of Samosata, Marcellus, and Photinus, fell into the diametric-

ally opposite blasphemy; for they preach Christ to be man only, and deny the Godhead which existed before the ages. Arius and Eunomius make the Godhead of the only begotten a created Godhead, and maintain that He assumed only a body. Apollinarius confesses that the assumed body was a living body, but in his work deprives the reasonable soul alike of its honour and of its salvation. This is the contrariety of these corrupt opinions. But do you, with all due love of truth, tell us, must we institute a discussion with these men, or shall we let them go dashed down headlong and howling to their doom?

11 Eran.-It is inhuman to neglect the sick. Orth.-Very well; then we must compassionate them, and do our best to heal them. Eran.-By all means. Orth.-If then you had scientifically learned how to cure the body, and round you stood many men asking you to cure them, and shewing their various ailments, such as arise from running at tile eyes, injury to the ears, tooth-ache, contraction of tile joints, palsy, bile, or phlegm, what would you have done? Tell me; would you have applied the same treatment to all, or to each that which was appropriate? Eran.-I should certainly have given to each the appropriate remedy. Orth.-So by applying cold treatment to the hot, and heating the cold, and loosing the strained, and giving tension to tim loose, and drying the moist, and moistening the dry, you would have driven out the diseases and restored the health which they had expelled.

12 Eran.-This is the treatment prescribed by medical science, for contraries, it is said, are the remedies of contraries. Orth.-If you were a gardener, would yon give the same treatment to all plants? or their own to the mulberry and the fig, and so to the pear, to the apple, and to the vine what is fitting to each, and in a word to each plant its own proper culture? Eran.-It is obvious that each plant requires its own treatment. Orth.-And if you undertook to be a ship builder, and saw that the mast wanted repair, would you try to mend it in the same way as you would the tiller? or would you give it the proper treatment of a mast? Eran.-There is no question about these things: everything demands its own treatment, be it plant or limb or gear or tackle. Orth.-Then is it not monstrous to apply to the body and to things without life to each its own appropriate treatment, and not to keep this rule of treatment in the case of the soul?

13 Eran.-Most unjust; nay, rather stupid than unrighteous. They who adopt any other method are quite unskilled in the healing art. Orth.-Then in disputing against each heresy we shall use the appropriate remedy? Eran.-By

all means. Orth.-And it is fitting treatment to add what is wanting and to remove what issuperfluous? Eran.-Yes. Orth.-In endeavouring then to cure Photinus and Marcellus and their adherents, in order to carry out the rule of treatment, what should we add? Eran.-The acknowledgment of the Godhead of Christ, for it is this that they lack. Orth.-But about the manhood we will say nothing to them, for they acknowledge the Lord Christ to be man. Eran.-You are right. Orth.-And in arguing with Arius and Eunomius about the incarnation of the only begotten, what should we persuade them to add to their own confession? Eran.-The assumption of the soul; for they say that the divine Word took only a body.

14 Orth.-And what does Apollinarius lack to make his teaching accurate about the incarnation? Eran.-Not to separate the mind from the soul, but to confess that, with the body, was assumed a reasonable soul. Orth.-Then shall we dispute with him on this point? Eran.-Certainly. Orth.-But under this head what did we assert to be confessed, and what altogether denied, by Marcion, Valentinus, Manes and their adherents? Eran.-That they admitted their belief in the Godhead of Christ, but do not accept the doctrine of His manhood. Orth.-We shall therefore do our best to persuade them to accept also the doctrine of the manhood, and not to call the divine incarnation a mere appearance. Eran.-It will be well so to do. Orth.-We will therefore tell them that it is right to style the Christ not only God, but also man. Eran.-By all means. Orth.-And how is it possible for us to induce others to style the Christ `man' while we excuse ourselves from doing so? They will not yield to our persuasion, but on the contrary will convict us of agreeing with them.

15 Eran.-And how can we, confessing as we do that the divine Word took flesh and a reasonable soul, agree with them? Orth.-If we confess the fact, why then shun the word? Eran.-It is right to name the Christ from His nobler qualities. Orth.-Keep this rule then. Do not speak of Him as crucified, nor yet as risen from the dead, and so on. Eran.-But these are the names of the sufferings of salvation. Denial of the sufferings implies denial of the salvation. Orth.-And the name Man is the name of a nature. Not to pronounce the name is to deny the nature: denial of the nature is denial of the sufferings, and denial of the sufferings does away with the salvation. Eran.-I hold it profitable to acknowledge the assumed nature; but to style the Saviour of the world man is to belittle the glory of the Lord. Orth.-Do you then deem yourself wiser than Peter and Paul; aye, and than the Saviour Himself? For

the Lord said to the Jews "Why do ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth, which I heard of my Father?" And He frequently called Himself Son of Man.

16 And the meritorious Peter, in his sermon to the Jewish people, says,-"Ye men of Israel, hear these words. Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you." And the blessed Paul, when bringing the message of salvation to the chiefs of the Areopagus, among many other things said this,- "And the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent: Because he hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained, whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead." He then who excuses himself from using the name appointed and preached by the Lord and his Apostles deems himself wiser than even these great instructors, aye, even than the very well-spring of the wisest. Eran.-They gave this instruction to the unbelievers. Now the greater part of the world has professed the faith.

17 Orth.-But we have still among us Jews and pagans and of heretics systems innumerable, and to each of these we must give fit and appropriate teaching. But, supposing we were all of one mind, tell me now, what harm is there in calling the Christ both God and man? Do we not behold in Him perfect Godhead, and manhood likewise lacking in nothing? Eran.-This we have owned again and again. Orth.-Why then deny what we have again and again owned? Eran.-I hold it unnecessary to call the Christ `man,'-especially when believer is conversing with believer. Orth.-Do you consider the divine Apostle a believer? Eran.-Yes: a teacher of all believers. Orth.-And do youdeem Timothy worthy of being so styled? Eran.-Yes: both as a disciple of the Apostle, and as a teacher of the rest. Orth.-Very well: then hear the teacher of teachers writing to his very perfect disciple. "There is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all." Do stop your idle prating, and laying down the law about divine names. Moreover in this passage that very name `mediator' stands indicative both of Godhead and of manhood. He is called a mediator because He does not exist as God alone; for how, if He had had nothing of our nature could He have mediated between us and God? But since as God He is joined with God as having the same substance, and as man with us, because from us He took the form of a servant, He is properly termed a mediator,

uniting in Himself distinct qualities by the unity of natures of Godhead, I mean, and of manhood.

18 Eran.-But was not Moses called a mediator, though only a man? Orth.-He was a type of the reality: but the type has not all the qualities of the reality. Wherefore though Moses was not by nature God, yet, to fulfil the type, he was called a god. For He says "See, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh." And then directly afterwards he assigns him also a Prophet as though to God, for "Aaron thy brother," He says, "shall be thy Prophet." But the reality is by nature God, and by nature man. Eran.-But who would call one not having the distinct characteristics of the archetype, a type? Orth.-The imperial images, it seems, you do not call images of the emperor Eran.-Yes, I do. Orth.-Yet they have not all the characteristics which their archetype has. For in the first place they have neither life nor reason: secondly they have no inner organs, heart, I mean, and belly and liver and the adjacent parts. Further they present the appearance of the organs of sense, but perform none of their functions, for they neither hear, nor speak, nor see; they cannot write; they cannot walk, nor perform any other human action; and yet they are called imperial statues. In this sense Moses was a mediator and Christ was a mediator; but the former as an image and type and the latter as reality. But that I may make this point clearer to you from yet another authority, call to mind the words used of Melchisedec in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

19 Eran.-What words? Orth.-Those in which the divine Apostle comparing the Levitical priesthood with that of the Christ likens Melchisedec in other respects to the Lord Christ, and says that the Lord had the priesthood after the order of Melchisedec. Eran.-I think the words of the divine Apostle are as follows;-"For this Melchisedec, king of Salem, priest of the most high God who met Abraham returning from the slaughter of the kings, and blessed him; to whom also Abraham gave a tenth part of all; first being by interpretation king of righteousness, and after that also king of Salem, which is king of peace; without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life; but made like unto the son of God; abideth a priest continually." I presume you spoke of this passage. Orth.-Yes, I spoke of this; and I must praise you for not mutilating it, but for quoting the whole. Tell me now, does each one of these points fit Melchisedec in nature and reality?

20 Eran.-Who has the audacity to deny a fitness where the divine apostle has asserted it? Orth.-Then you say that all this fits Melchisedec by nature? Eran.-Yes. Orth.-Do you say that he was a man, or assumed some other nature? Eran.-A man. Orth.-Begotten or unbegotten? Eran.-You are asking very absurd questions. Orth.-The fault lies with you for openly opposing the truth. Answer then. Eran.-There is one only unbegotten, who is God and Father. Orth.-Then we assert that Melchisedec was begotten? Eran.-Yes. Orth.-But the passage about him teaches the opposite. Remember the words which you quoted a moment ago, "Without father without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days nor end of life." How then do the words "Without father and without mother" fit him; and how the statement that he neither received beginning of existence nor end, since all this transcends humanity? Eran.-These things do in fact overstep the limits of human nature.

21 Orth.-Then shall we say that the Apostle told lies? Eran.-God forbid. Orth.-How then is it possible both to testify to the truth of the Apostle, and apply the supernatural to Melchisedec? Eran.-The passage is a very difficult one, and requires much explanation. Orth.-For any one willing to consider it with attention it will not be hard to attain perception of the meaning of the words. After saying "without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days nor end of life," the divine Apostle adds "made like unto the Son of God, abideth a priest continually." Here he plainly teaches us that the Lord Christ is archetype of Melchisedec in things concerningthe human nature. And he speaks of Melchisedec as "made like unto the Son of God." Now let us examine the point in this manner;-do you say that the Lord had a father according to the flesh? Eran.-Certainly not.

22 Orth.-Why? Eran.-He was born of the holy Virgin alone. Orth.-He is therefore properly styled "without father"? Eran.-True. Orth.-Do you say that according to the divine Nature He had a mother? Eran.-Certainly not. Orth.-For He was begotten of the Father alone before the ages? Eran.-Agreed. Orth.-And yet, as the generation He has of the Father is ineffable, He is spoken of as "without descent." "Who" says the prophet "shall declare His generation?" Eran.-You are right. Orth.-Thus it becomes Him to have neither beginning of days nor end of life; for He is without beginning, indestructible, and, in a word, eternal, and coeternal with the Father. Eran.-This is my view too. But we must now consider how this fits the admirable

Melchisedec. Orth.-As an image and type. The image, as we have just observed, has not all the properties of the archetype. Thus to the Saviour these qualities are proper both by nature and in reality; but the story of the origin of the race has attributed them to Melchisedec. For after telling us of the father of the patriarch Abraham, and of the father and mother of Isaac, and in like manner of Jacob and of his sons, and exhibiting the pedigree of our first forefathers, of Melchisedec it records neither the father nor the mother, nor does it teach that he traced his descent from any one of Noah's sons, to the end that he may be a type of Him who is in reality without father, and without mother. And this is what the divine Apostle would have us understand, for in this very passage he says further, "But he whose descent is not counted from them received tithes of Abraham, and blessed him that had the promises."

23 Eran.-Then, since Holy Scripture has not mentioned his parents, can he be called without father and without mother? Orth.-If he had really been without father and without mother, he would not have been an image, but a reality. But since these are his qualities not by nature, but according to the dispensation of the Divine Scripture, he exhibits the type of the reality. Eran.-The type must have the character of the archetype. Orth.-Is man called an image of God? Eran.-Man is not an image of God, but was made in the image of God. Orth.-Listen then to the Apostle. He says: "For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God." Eran.-Granted, then, that he is an image of God. Orth.-According to your argument then he must needs have plainly preserved the characters of the archetype, and have been uncreate, uncompounded, and infinite. He ought in like manner to have been able to create out of the non existent, he ought to have fashioned all things by his word and without labour, in addition to this to have been free from sickness, sorrow, anger, and sin, to have been immortal and incorruptible and to possess all the qualities of the archetype.

24 Eran.-Man is not an image of God in every respect. Orth.-Though truly an image in the qualities in which you would grant him to be so, you will find that he is separated by awide interval from the reality. Eran.-Agreed. Orth.-Consider now too this point. The divine Apostle calls the Son the image of the Father; for he says "Who is the image of the invisible God?" Eran.-What then; has not the Son all the qualities of the Father? Orth.-He is

not Father. He is not uncaused. He is not unbegotten. Eran.-If He were He would not be Son. Orth.-Then does not what I said hold good; the image has not all the qualities of the archetype? Eran.-True. Orth.-Thus too the divine Apostle said that Melchisedec is made like unto the Son of God. Eran.-Suppose we grant that he is without Father and without Mother and without descent, as you have said. But how are we to understand his having neither beginning of days nor end of life?

25 Orth.-The holy Moses when writing the ancient genealogy tells us how Adam being so many years old begat Seth, and when he had lived so many years he ended his life. So too he writes of Seth, of Enoch, and of the rest, but of Melchisedec he mentions neither beginning of existence nor end of life. Thus as far as the story goes he has neither beginning of days nor end of life, but in truth and reality the only begotten Son of God never began to exist and shall never have an end. Eran.-Agreed. Orth.-Then, so far as what belongs to God and is really divine is concerned, Melchisedec is a type of the Lord Christ; but as far as the priesthood is concerned, which belongs rather to man than to God, the Lord Christ was made a priest after the order of Melchisedec. For Melchisedec was a high priest of the people, and the Lord Christ for all men has made the right holy offering of salvation.

26 Eran.-We have spent many words on this matter. Orth.-Yet more were needed, as you know, for you said the point was a difficult one. Eran.-Let us return to the question before us. Orth.-What was the question? Eran.-On my remarking that Christ must not be called man, but only God, you yourself besides many other testimonies adduced also the well known words of the Apostle which he has used in his epistle Timothy-"One God, one mediator between God and men, the man, Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all to be testified in due time." Orth.-I remember from what point we diverged into this digression. It was when I had said that the name of mediator exhibits the two natures of the Saviour, and you said that Moses was called a mediator though he was only a man and not God and man. was therefore under the necessity of following up these points to show that the type has not all the qualities of the archetype. Tell me, then, whether you allow that the Saviour ought also to be called man.

27 Eran.-I call Him God, for He is God's Son. Orth.-If you call him God, because you have learnt that he is God's Son, call him also man, for he often called Himself "Son of Man." Eran.-The name man does not apply to Him in

the same way as the name God. Orth.-As not really belonging to Him or for some other reason? Eran.-God is his name by nature; man is the designation of the Incarnation. Orth.-But are we to look on the Incarnation as real, or as something imaginary and false? Eran.-As real. Orth.-If then the grace of the Incarnation is real, and what we call Incarnation is the divine Word's being made man, then the name man is real; for after taking man's nature He is called man. Eran.-Before His passion He was styled man, but afterward He was no longer so styled. Orth.-But it was after the Passion and the Resurrection that the divine Apostle wrote the Epistle to Timothy wherein he speaks of the Saviour Christ as man, and writing after the Passion and the Resurrection to the Corinthians he exclaims "For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead." And in order to make his meaning clear he adds, "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." And after the Passion and the Resurrection the divine Peter, in his address to the Jews, called Him man. And after His being taken up into heaven, Stephen the victorious, amid the storm of stones, said to the Jews, "Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God." Are we to suppose ourselves wiser than the illustrious heralds of the truth?

28 Eran.-I do not suppose thyself wiser than the holy doctors, but I fail to find the use of the name. Orth.-How then could you persuade them that deny the incarnation of the Lord, Marcionists, I mean, and Manichees, and all the rest who are thus unsound, to accept the teaching of the truth, unless you adduce these and similar proofs with the object of shewing that the Lord Christ is not God only but also man? Eran.-Perhaps it is necessary to adduce them. Orth.-Why not then teach the faithful the reality of the doctrine? Are you forgetful of the apostolic precept enjoining us to be "ready to give an answer." Now let us look at the matter in this light. Does the best general engage the enemy, attack with arrows and javelins, and endeavour to break their column all alone, or does he also arm his men, and marshal them, and rouse their hearts to play the man?

29 Eran.-He ought rather to do this latter. Orth.-Yes; for it is not the part of a general to expose his own life, and take his place in the ranks, and let his men go fast asleep, but rather to keep them awake for their work at their post. Eran.-True. Orth.-This is what the divine Paul did, for in writing to them who had made profession of their faith he said, "Take unto you the

whole armour of God that ye be able to stand against the wiles of the Devil. And again, "Stand therefore with your loins girt about with truth," and so on. Bear in mind too what we have already said, that a physician supplies what nature lacks. Does he find the cold redundant? He supplies the hot, and so on with the rest; and this is what the Lord does. Eran.-And where will you show that the Lord has done this?

30 Orth.-In the holy gospels. Eran.-Show me then and fulfil your promise. Orth.-What did the Jews consider our Saviour Christ? Eran.-A man. Orth.-And that He was also God they were wholly ignorant. Eran.-Yes. Orth.-Was it not then necessary for the ignorant to learn? Eran.-Agreed. Orth.-Listen to Him then saying to them: "Many good works have I shewed you from my Father; for which of these works do ye stone me?" And when they replied: "For a good work we stone thee not, but for blasphemy, and because that thou being a man makest thyself God," He added "It is written in your law I said ye are gods. If he called them gods unto whom the word of God came and the scripture cannot be broken, say ye of Him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world thou blasphemest, because I said I am the Son of God? If I do not the works of my father believe me not ...that I am in the Father and the Father is in me."

31 Eran.-In the passages you have just read you bare shewn that the Lord shewed Himself to the Jews to be God and not man. Orth.-Yes, for they did not need to learn what they knew; that He was a man they knew, but they did not know that He was from the beginning God. He adopted this same course in the case of the Pharisees; for when He saw them accosting Him as a mere man He asked them "What think ye of Christ? Whose son is He?" And when they said "Of David" He went on "How then doth David calling him Lord say `The Lord said unto my Lord sit thou on my right hand.'" Then He goes on to argue, "If then He is His Lord how is He His Son?" Eran.-You have brought testimony against yourself, for the Lord plainly taught the Pharisees to call Him not "Son of David" but "Lord of David." Wherefore He is distinctly shown wishing to be called God and not man.

32 Orth.-I am afraid you have not attended to the divine teaching. He did not repudiate the name of "Son of David," but He added that He ought also to be believed to be Lord of David. This He clearly shews in the words "If He is his Lord how is He then his Son?" He did not say "if He is Lord He is not Son," but "how is He his Son?" instead of saying in one respect He is Lord and

in another Son. These passages both distinctly show the Godhead and the manhood. Eran.-There is no need of argument. The Lord distinctly teaches that He does not wish to be called Son of David. Orth.-Then He ought to have told the blind men and the woman of Canaan and the multitude not to call Him Son of David, and yet the blind men cried out "Thou Son of David have mercy on us." And the woman of Canaan "Have mercy on me O Son of David; my daughter is grievously vexed with a Devil." And the multitude: "Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord." And not only did He not take it ill, but even praised their faith; for the blind He freed from their long weary night and granted them the power of sight; the maddened and distraught daughter of the woman of Canaan He healed and drove out the wicked demon; and when the chief priests and Pharisees were offended at them that shouted "Hosanna to the Son of David" He did not merely not prevent them from shouting, but even sanctioned their acclamation, for, said He, "I tell you that if these should hold their peace the stones would immediately cry out."

33 Eran.-He put up with this style of address before the resurrection in condescension to the weakness of them that had not yet properly believed. But after the resurrection these names are needless. Orth.-Where shall we rank the blessed Paul? among the perfect or the imperfect? Eran.-It is wrong to joke about serious things. Orth.-It is wrong to make light of the reading of the divine oracles. Eran.-And who is such a wretch as to despise his own salvation? Orth.-Answer my question, and thenyou will learn your ignorance. Eran.-What question? Orth.-Where are we to rank the divine Apostle? Eran.-Plainly among the most perfect, and one of the perfect teachers. Orth.-And when did he begin his teaching? Eran.-After the ascension of the Saviour, the coming of the Spirit, and the stoning of the victorious Stephen. Orth.-Paul, at the very end of his life, when writing his last letter to his disciple Timothy, and in giving him, as it were, his paternal inheritance by will, added "Remember that Jesus Christ of the seed of David was raised from the dead according to my gospel." Then he went on to mention his sufferings on behalf of the gospel, and thus showed its truth saying, "Wherein I suffer trouble as an evil doer even unto bonds."

34 It were easy for me to adduce many similar testimonies, but I have judged it needless to do so. Eran.-You promised to prove that the Lord supplied the lacking instruction to them that needed, and you have shown that

He discoursed about His own Godhead to the Pharisees, and to the rest of the Jews. But that He gave also His instruction about the flesh you have not shewn. Orth.-It would have been quite superfluous to have discoursed about the flesh which was before their eyes, for He was plainly seen eating and drinking and toiling and sleeping. Furthermore, to omit the many and various events before the passion, after His resurrection He proved to His disbelieving disciples not His Godhead but His manhood; for He said, "Behold my hands and my feet that it is I myself. Handle me and see for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have."

35 Now I have fulfilled my promise, for we have proved the giving of instruction about the Godhead to them that were ignorant of the Godhead, and about the resurrection of the flesh to them that denied this latter. Cease therefore from contending, and confess the two natures of the Saviour. Eran.-There were two before the union, but, after combining, they made one nature. Orth.-When do you say that the union was effected? Eran.-I say at the exact moment of the conception. Orth.-And do you deny that the divine Word existed before the conception? Eran.-I say that He was before the ages. Orth.-And that the flesh was co-existent with Him? Eran.-By no means. Orth.-But was formed, after the salutation of the angel, of the Holy Ghost? Eran.-So I say. Orth.-Therefore before the union there were not two natures but only one. For if the Godhead pre-existed, but the manhood was not coexistent, being formed after the angelic salutation, and the union being coincident with the formation, then before the union there was one nature, that which exists always and existed before the ages. Now let us again consider this point. Do you understand the making of flesh or becoming man to be anything other than the union?

36 Eran.-No. Orth.-For when He took flesh He was made flesh. Eran.-Plainly. Orth.-And the union coincides with the taking flesh. Eran.-So I say. Orth.-So before the making man there was one nature. For if both union and making man are identical, and He was made man by taking man's nature, and the form of God took the form of a servant, then before the union the divine nature was one. Eran.-And how are the union and the making man identical? Orth.-A moment ago you confessed that there is no distinction between these terms. Eran.-You led me astray by your arguments. Orth.-Then, if you like, let us go over the same ground again. Eran.-We had better so do. Orth.-Is there a distinction between the incarnation and the union,

according to the nature of the transaction? Eran.-Certainly; a very great distinction. Orth.-Explain fully the character of this distinction. Eran.-Even the sense of the terms shows the distinction, for the word "incarnation" shows the taking of the flesh, while the word "union" indicates the combination of distinct things.

37 Orth.-Do yon represent the incarnation to be anterior to the union? Eran.-By no means. Orth.-You say that the union took place in the conception? Eran.-I do. Orth.-Therefore if not even the least moment of time intervened between the taking of flesh and the union, and the assumed nature did not precede the assumption and the union, then incarnation and union signify one and the same thing, and so before the union and incarnation there was one nature, while after the incarnation we speak properly of two, of that which took and of that which was taken. Eran.-I say that Christ was of two natures, but I deny two natures. Orth.-Explain to us then in what sense you understand the expression "of two natures;" like gilded silver? like the composition of electron? like the solder made of lead and tin? Eran.-I deny that the union is like any of these; it is ineffable, and passes all understanding.

38 Orth.-I too confess that the manner of the union cannot be comprehended. But I have at all events been instructed by the divine Scripture that each nature remains unimpaired after the union. Eran.-And where is this taught in the divine Scripture? Orth.-It is all full of this teaching. Eran.-Give proof of what you assert. Orth.-Do you not acknowledge the properties of each nature? Eran.-No: not, that is, after the union. Orth.-Let us then learn this very point from the divine Scripture. Eran.-I am ready to obey the divine Scripture. Orth.-When, then, yon hear the divine John exclaiming "In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God" and "By Him all things were made" and the rest of the parallel passages, do you affirm that the flesh, or the divine Word, begotten before the ages of the Father, was in the beginning with God, and was by nature God, and made all things?

39 Eran.-I say that these things belong to God the Word. But I do not separate Him from the flesh made one with Him. Orth.-Neither do we separate the flesh from God the Word, nor do we make the union a confusion. Eran.-I recognise one nature after the union. Orth.-When did the Evangelists write the gospel? Was it before the union, or a very long time after the union?

Eran.-Plainly after the union, the nativity, the miracles, the passion, the resurrection, the taking up into heaven, and the coming of the Holy Ghost. Orth.-Hear then John saying "In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God. He was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made" and so on. Hear too Matthew, "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, Son of David,-Son of Abraham,"-and so on. Luke too traced His genealogy to Abraham and David. Now make the former and the latter quotation fit one nature. You will find it impossible, for existence in the beginning, and descent from Abraham,-the making of all things, and derivation from a created forefather, are inconsistent.

40 Eran.-By thus arguing you divide the only begotten son into two Persons. Orth.-One Son of God I both know and adore, the Lord Jesus Christ; but I have been taught the difference between His Godhead and his manhood. You, however, who say that there is only one nature after the union, do you make this agree with tIle introductions of the Evangelists. Eran.-You appear to assume the proposition to be hard, nay impossible. Be it, I beg, short and easy;-only solve our question. Orth.-Both qualities are proper to the Lord Christ,-existence from the beginning, and generation, according to the flesh, from Abraham and David. Eran.-You laid down the law that after the union it is not right to speak of one nature. Take heed lest in mentioning the flesh you transgress your own law. Orth.-Even without mentioning the flesh it is quite easy to explain the point in question, for 12 am applying both to the Saviour Christ.

41 Eran.-I too assert that both these qualities belong to the Lord Christ. Orth.-Yes; but you do so in contemplation of two natures in Him, and applying to each its own properties. But if the Christ is one nature, how is it possible to attribute to it properties which are inconsistent with one another? For to have derived origin from Abraham and David, and still more to have been born many generations after David, is inconsistent with existence in the beginning. Again to have sprung from created beings is inconsistent with being Creator of all things; to have had human fathers with existence derived from God. In short the new is inconsistent with the eternal. Let us also look at the matter in this way. Do we say that the divine Word is Creator of the Universe? Eran.-So we have learnt to believe from the divine Scrip-

tures. Orth.-And how many days after the creation of heaven and earth are we told that Adam was formed?

42 Eran.-On the sixth day. Orth.-And from Adam to Abrahamhow many generations went by? Eran.-I think twenty. Orth.-And from Abraham to Christ our Saviour how many generations are reckoned by the Evangelist Matthew. Eran.-Forty-two. Orth.-If then the Lord Christ is one nature bow can He be Creator of all things visible and invisible and, at the same time, after so many generations, have been formed by the Holy Ghost in a virgin's womb? And how could He be at one and the same time Creator of Adam and Son of Adam's descendants? Eran.-I have already said that both these properties are appropriate to Him as God made flesh, for I recognise one nature made flesh of the Word. Orth.-Nor yet, my good sir, do we say that two natures of the divine Word were made flesh, for we know that the nature of the divine Word is one, but we have been taught that the flesh of which He availed Himself when He was incarnate is of another nature, and here I think that you too agree with me. Tell me now; after what manner do you say that the making flesh took place?

43 Eran.-I know not the manner, but I believe that He was made flesh. Orth.-You make a pretext of your ignorance unfairly, and after the fashion of the Pharisees. For they when they beheld the force of the Lord's enquiry, and suspecting that they were on the point of conviction, uttered their reply "We do not know." But I proclaim quite openly that the divine incarnation is without change. For if by any variation or change He was made flesh, then after the change all that is divine in His names and in His deeds is quite inappropriate to Him. Eran.-We have agreed again and again that God the Word is immutable. Orth.-He was made flesh by taking flesh. Eran.-Yes. Orth.-The nature of God the Word made flesh is different from that of the flesh, by assumption of which the nature of the divine Word was made flesh and became man.

44 Eran.-Agreed. Orth.-Was He then changed into flesh? Eran.-Certainly not. Orth.-If then He was made flesh, not by mutation, but by taking flesh, and both the former and the latter qualities are appropriate to Him as to God made flesh, as you said a moment ago, then the natures were not confounded, but remained unimpaired. And as long as we hold thus we shall perceive too the harmony of the Evangelists, for while the one proclaims the divine attributes of the one only begotten-the Lord Christ-the other sets

forth His human qualities. So too Christ our Lord Himself teaches us, at one time calling Himself Son of God and at another Son of man: at one time He gives honour to His Mother as to her that gave Him birth; at another He rebukes her as her Lord. At one time He finds no fault with them that style Him Son of David; at another He teaches the ignorant that He is not only David's Son but also David's Lord. He calls Nazareth and Capernaum His country, and again He exclaims "Before Abraham was I am." You will find the divine Scripture full of similar passages, and they all point not to one nature but to two.

45 Eran.-He who contemplates two natures in the Christ divides the one only begotten into two sons. Orth.-Yes; and he who says Paul is made up of soul and body makes two Pauls out of one. Eran.-The analogy does not hold good. Orth.-I know it does not, for here the union is a natural union of parts that are coaeval, created, and fellow slaves, but in the case of the Lord Christ all is of good will, of love to man, and of grace. Here too, though the union is natural, the proper qualities of the natures remain unimpaired. Eran.-If the proper qualities of the natures remain distinct, how does the soul together with the body crave for food? Orth.-The soul does not crave for food. How could it when it is immortal? But the body, which derives its vital force from the soul, feels its need, and desires to receive what is lacking. So after toil it long, for rest, after waking for sleep, and so with the rest of its desires. So forthwith after its dissolution, since it has no longer its vital energy, it does not even crave for what is lacking, and, ceasing to receive it, it undergoes corruption.

46 Eran.-You see that to thirst and to hunger and similar appetites belong to the soul. Orth.-Did these belong to the soul it would suffer hunger and thirst, and the similar wants, even after its release from the body. Eran.-What then do you say to be proper to the soul? Orth.-The reasonable, the absolute, the immortal, the invisible. Eran.-And what of the body? Orth.-The complex, the visible, the mortal. Eran.-And we say that man is composed of these? Orth.-Yes. Eran.-Then we define man as a mortal reasonable being. Orth.-Agreed. Eran.-And we give names to him from both these attributes. Orth.-Yes. Eran.-As then in this case we make no distinction, but call the same man both reasonable and mortal, so also should we do in the case of the Christ, and apply to Him both the divine and the human. Orth.-This is our argument, although you do not accurately express it. For look you. When

we are pursuing the argument about the human soul, do we only mention what is appropriate to its energy and nature?

47 Eran.-This only. Orth.-And when our discussion is about the body, do we not only recall what is appropriate to it? Eran.-Quite so. Orth.-But, when our discourse touches the whole being, then we have no difficulty in adducing both sets of qualities, for the properties both of the body and of the soul are applicable to man. Eran.-Unquestionably. Orth.-Well; just in this way should we speak of the Christ, and, when arguing about His natures, give to each its own, and recognise some as belonging to the Godhead, and some as to the manhood. But when we are discussing the Person we must then make what is proper to the natures common, and apply both sets of qualities to the Saviour, and call the same Being both God and Man, both Son of God and Son of Man-both David's Son and David's Lord, both Seed of Abraham and Creator of Abraham, and so on.

48 Eran.-That the person of the Christ is one, and that both the divine and the human are attributable to Him, you have quite rightly said, and I accept this definition of the Faith; but your real position, that in discussing the natures we must give to each its own properties, seems to me to dissolve the union. It is for this reason that I object to accept these and similar arguments. Orth.-Yet when we were enquiring about soul and body you thought the distinction of these terms admirable, and forthwith gave it your approbation. Why then do you refuse to receive the same rule in the case of the Godhead and manhood of the Lord Christ? Do you go so far as to object to comparing the Godhead and the manhood of the Christ to soul and body? So, while you grant an unconfounded union to soul and body, do you venture to say that the Godhead and manhood of the Christ have undergone commixture and confusion?

49 Eran.-I hold the Godhead of the Christ aye, and His flesh too, to be infinitely higher in honour than soul and body; but after the union I do assert one nature. Orth.-But now is it not impious and shocking, while maintaining that a soul united to a body is in no way subject to confusion, to deny to the Godhead of the Lord of the universe the power to maintain its own nature unconfounded or to keep within its proper bounds the humanity which He assumed? Is it not, I say, impious to mix the distinct, and to commingle the separate? The idea of one nature gives ground for suspicion of this confusion. Eran.-I am equally anxious to avoid the term confusion, but I

shrink from asserting two natures lest I fall into a dualism of sons. Orth.-I am equally anxious to escape either horn of the dilemma, both the impious confusion and the impious distinction; for to me it is alike an unhallowed thought to split the one Son in two and to gainsay the duality of the natures. But now in truth's name tell me. Were one of the faction of Arius or Eunomius to endeavour, while disputing with you, to belittle the Son, and to describe Him as less than and inferior to the Father, by the help of all their familiar arguments and citations from the divine Scripture of the text "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me" and that other, "Now is my soul troubled" and other like passages, how would you dispose of his objections? How could you show that the Son is in no way diminished in dignity by these expressions and is not of another substance, but begotten of the substance of the Father?

50 Eran.-I should say that the divine Scripture uses some terms according to the theology and some according to the oeconomy, and that it is wrong to apply what belongs to the economy to what belongs to the theology. Orth.-But your opponent would retort that even in the Old Testament the divine Scripture says many things economically, as for instance, "Adam heard the voice of the Lord God walking," and "I will go down now and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it which has come to me; and if not I will know," and again, "Now I know that thou fearest God" and the like. Eran.-I might answer to this that there is a great distinction between the oeconomies. In the Old Testament there is an economy of words; in the New Testament of deeds. Orth.-Then your opponent would ask of what deeds? Eran.-He shall straightway hear of the deeds of the making flesh. For the Son of God on being made man both in word and deed at one time exhibits the flesh, at another the Godhead: as of course, in the passage quoted, He shews the weakness of the flesh and of the soul, the sense namely of fear.

51 Orth.-But if he were to go on to say, "But he did not take a soul but only a body; for the Godhead instead of a soul being united to the body performed all the functions of the soul," with what arguments could you meet his objections? Eran.-I could bring proofs from the divine Scripture shewing how God the Word took not only flesh but also soul. Orth.-And what proofs of this shall we find in Sripture? Eran.-Have you not heard the Lord saying "I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. ...I lay it down

of myself that I might take it a again." And again, "Now is my soul troubled." And again, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful even unto deaths" and again David's words as interpreted by Peter "His soul was not left in hell neither did His flesh see corruption." These and similar passages clearly point out that God the Word assumed not only a body but also a soul.

52 Orth.-You have quoted this testimony most appositely and properly, but your opponent might reply that even before the incarnation God said to the Jews, "Fasting and holy day and feasts my soul hateth." Then he might go on to argue that as in the Old Testament He mentioned a soul, though He had not a soul, so He does in the New. Eran.-But he shall be told again how the divine Scripture, when speaking of God, mentions even parts of the body as "Incline thine ear and hear" and "Open thine eyes and see" and "The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it" and "Thy hands have made me and fashioned me" and countless other passages. If then after the incarnation we are forbidden to understand soul to mean sold, it is equally forbidden to hold body to mean body. Thus the great mystery of the oeconomy will be found to be mere imagination; and we shall in no way differ from Marcion, Valentinus and Manes, the inventors of all these figments.

53 Orth.-But if a follower of Apollinarius were suddenly to intervene in our discussion and were to ask "Most excellent Sir; what kind of soul do you say that Christ assumed?" what would you answer? Eran.-should first of all say that I know only one soul of man; then I should answer, "But if you reckon two souls, the one reasonable and the other without reason, I say that the soul assumed was the reasonable. Yours it seems is the unreasonable, inasmuch as you think that our salvation was incomplete." Orth.-But suppose he were to ask for proof of what you say? Eran.-I could very easily give it. I shall quote the oracles of the Evangelists "The Child Jesus grew anti waxed strong in spirit and the grace of God was upon him" and again "Jesus increased in wisdom and in stature and in favour with God and men." I should say that these have nothing to do with Godhead for the body increased in stature, and in wisdom the soul-not that which is without reason, but the reasonable. God the Word then took on Him a reasonable soul.

54 Orth.-Good Sir, you have bravely broken through the three fold phalanx of your foes; but that union, and the famous commixture and confusion, not in two ways only but in three, you have scattered and undone; and not only have you pointed out the distinction between Godhead and

manhood, but you have in two ways distinguished the manhood by pointing out that the soul is one thing and the body another, so that no longer two, according to our argument, but three natures of our Saviour Jesus Christ may be understood. Eran.-Yes; for did not you say that there is another substance of the soul besides the nature of the body? Orth.-Yes. Eran.-How then does the argument seem absurd to you? Orth.-Because while you object to two, yon have admitted three natures. Eran.-The contest with our antagonists compels us to this, for how could any one in any other way argue against those who deny the assumption of the flesh, or of the soul, or of the mind, but by adducing proofs on these points from the divine Scripture? And how could any one confute them who in their readiness strive to belittle the Godhead of the only Begotten but by pointing out that the divine Scripture speaks sometimes theologically and sometimes oeconomically.

55 Orth.-What you now say is true. It is what I, nay what all say, who keep whole the apostolic rule. You yourself bare become a supporter of our doctrines. Eran.-How do I support yours, while I refuse to acknowledge two sons? Orth.-When did you ever hear of our affirming two sons? Eran.-He who asserts two natures asserts two sons. Orth.-Then you assert three sons, for you have spoken of three natures. Eran.-In no other way was it possible to meet the argument of my opponents. Orth.-Hear this same thing from us too; for both you and I confront the same antagonists. Eran.-But I do not assert two natures after the union. Orth.-And yet after many generations of the union a moment ago you used the same words. Explain to us however in what sense you assert one nature after the union. Do you mean one nature derived from both or that one nature remains after the destruction of the other?

56 Eran.-I maintain that the Godhead remains and that the manhood was swallowed up by it. Orth.-Fables of the Gentiles, all this, and follies of the Manichees. I am ashamed so much as to mention such things. The Greeks had their gods' swallowings and the Manichees wrote of the daughter of light. But we reject such teaching as being as absurd as it is impious, for how could a nature absolute and uncompounded, comprehending the universe, unapproachable and infinite, have absorbed the nature which it assumed? Eran.-Like the sea receiving a drop of honey, for straightway the drop, as it mingles with the ocean's water, disappears. Orth.-The sea and the drop are different in quantity, though alike in quality; the one is greatest,

the other is least; the one is sweet and the other is bitter; but in all other respects you will find a very close relationship. The nature of both is moist, liquid, and fluid. Both are created. Both are lifeless yet each alike is called a body. There is nothing then absurd in these cognate natures undergoing commixture, and in the one being made to disappear by the other. In the case before us on the contrary the difference is infinite, and so great that no figure of the reality can be found. I will however endeavour to point out to you several instances of substances which are mixed without being confounded, and remain unimpaired.

57 Eran.-Who in the world ever heard of an unmixed mixture? Orth.-I shall endeavour to make you admit this. Eran.-Should what you are about to advance prove true we will not oppose the truth. Orth.-Answer then, dissenting or assenting as the argument may seem good to you. Eran.-I will answer. Orth.-Does the light at its rising seem to you to fill all the atmosphere except where men shut up in caverns might remain bereft of it? Eran.-Yes. Orth.-And does all the light seem to you to be diffused through all the atmosphere? Eran.-I am with you so far. Orth.-And is not the mixture diffused through all that is subject to it? Eran.-Certainly. Orth.-But, now, this illuminated atmosphere, do we not see it as light and call it light? Eran.-Quite so. Orth.-And yet when the light is present we sometimes are aware of moisture and aridity; frequently of heat and cold. Eran.-Yes.

58 Orth.-And after the departure of the light the atmosphere afterwards remains alone by itself. Eran.-True. Orth.-Consider this example too. When iron is brought in contact with fire it is fired. Eran.-Certainly. Orth.-And the fire is diffused through its whole substance? Eran.-Well? Orth.-How, then, does not the complete union, and the mixture universally diffused, change the iron's nature? Eran.-But it changes it altogether. It is now reckoned no longer as iron, but as fire, and indeed it has the active properties of fire. Orth.-But does not the smith call it iron, and put it on the anvil and smite it with his hammer? Eran.-Unquestionably. Orth.-Then the nature of the iron was not damaged by contact with the fire. If then, in natural bodies, instances may be found of an unconfounded mixture, it is sheer folly in the case of the nature which knows neither corruption nor change to entertain the idea of confusion and destruction of the assumed nature, and all the more so when this nature was assumed to bring blessing on the race.

59 Eran.-What I assert is not the destruction of the assumed nature, but its change into the substance of Godhead. Orth.-Then the human race is no longer limited as heretofore? Eran.-No. Orth.-When did it undergo this change? Eran.-After the complete union. Orth.-And what date do you assign to this? Eran.-I have said again and again, that of the conception. Orth.-Yet after the conception He was an unborn babe in the womb; after His birth. He was a babe and was called a babe, and was worshipped by shepherds, and in like manner became a boy, and was so called by the angel. Do you acknowledge all this? or do you think I am inventing fables? Eran.-This is taught in the history of the divine gospels, and cannot be gainsaid. Orth.-Now let us investigate what follows. We acknowledge, do we not, that the Lord was circumcised? Eran.-Yes. Orth.-Of what was there a circumcision? Of flesh or Godhead?

60 Eran.-Of the flesh. Orth.-Of what was then the growth and increase in wisdom and stature? Eran.-This, of course, is not applicable to Godhead. Orth.-Nor hunger and thirst? Eran.-No. Orth.-Nor walking about, and being weary, and failing asleep? Eran.-No. Orth.-If then the union took place at the conception, and all these things came to pass after the conception and the birth, then, after the union, the manhood did not lose its own nature. Eran.-I have not stated my meaning exactly. It was after the resurrection from the dead that the flesh underwent the change into Godhead. Orth.-Then, after the resurrection, nothing of all that indicates its nature remained in it? Eran.-If it remained, the divine change did not take place. Orth.-How then was it that He shewed His hands and His feet to the disciples who disbelieved? Eran.-Just as He came in when the doors were shut. Orth.-But He came in when the doors were shut just as He came out from the womb, though the virgin's bolts and bars were undrawn, and just as He walked upon the sea. Then according to your argument not even yet had the change of nature taken place?

61 Eran.-The Lord shewed His hands to the Apostles in the same way as He wrestled with Jacob. Orth.-No; the Lord does not allow us to understand it in this sense. The disciples thought they saw a spirit, but the Lord dispelled this idea, and shewed the nature of the flesh, for He said "Why are ye troubled? and why do thoughts arise in your hearts? Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." And observe the exactness of the language. He does

not say "is not flesh and bones," but "has not flesh and bones," in order to point out that the nature of the possessor and the nature of that which is possessed are distinct and separate. Just in the same way that which took and that which was taken are separate and distinct, and the Christ is beheld made one of both. Thus the part possessing is entirely different from the part possessed; and yet does not divide into two persons Him who is an object of thought in them. The Lord, indeed, while the disciples were still in doubt, asked for food and took and ate it, not consuming the food only in appearance, nor satisfyingto the need of the body.

62 Eran.-But one of these alternatives must be accepted; either He partook because He needed, or else, needing not, He seemed to eat, and did not really partake of food. Orth.-His body now become immortal required no food. Of them that rise the Lord says: "they neither marry nor are given in marriage but are as Angels." The apostles however bear witness that He partook of the food, for the blessed Luke in the preface to the Acts says "being assembled together with the apostles the Lord commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem" and the very divine Peter says more distinctly: "Who did eat and drink with Him after He rose from the dead." For since eating is proper to them that live this present life, of necessity the Lord by means of eating and drinking proved the resurrection of the flesh to them that did not acknowledge it to be real. This same course He pursued in the case of Lazarus and of Jairus' daughter. For when He had raised up the latter He ordered that something should be given her to eat and He made Lazarus sit with Him at the table and so shewed the reality of the rising again.

63 Eran.-If we grant that the Lord really ate, let us grant that after the resurrection all men partake of food. Orth.-What was done by the Saviour through a certain oeconomy is not a rule and law of nature. This follows from the fact that He did other things by oeconomy which shall by no means be the lot of them that live again. Eran.-What do you mean? Orth.-Will not the bodies of them that rise become incorruptible and immortal? Eran.-So the divine Paul has taught us. "It is sown" he says "in corruption; it is raised in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour; it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body." Orth.-But the Lord, who raises the bodies of all men, unmaimed and unmarred (for lameness of limb and blindness of eye are unknown among them that are risen), left in His own body the prints of the

nails, and the wound in His side, whereof are witnesses both the Lord Himself and the hand of Thomas.

64 Eran.-True. Orth.-If then after the resurrection the Lord both partook of food, and shewed His hands and His feet to His disciples, and in them the prints of the nails, and His side with the mark of the wound in it, and said to them, "Handle me and see for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have" it follows that after His resurrection the nature of His body was preserved and was not changed into another substance. Eran.-Then after the resurrection it is mortal and subject to suffering? Orth.-By no means; it is incorruptible, impassible, and immortal. Eran.-If it is incorruptible, impassible, and immortal, it has been changed into another nature. Orth.-Therefore the bodies of all men will be changed into another substance, for all will be incorruptible and immortal. Or have you not heard the words of the Apostle, "For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality"?

65 Eran.-I have heard. Orth.-Therefore the nature remains, but its corruption is changed into incorruption, and its mortal into immortality. But let us look at the matter in this way; we call a body that is sick and a body that is whole, in the same way, a body. Eran.-Unquestionably. Orth.-Wherefore? Eran.-Since both partake of the same substance. Orth.-Yet we see in them a very great difference, for the one is whole, perfect, and unhurt; the other has either lost an eye, or has a broken leg, or has undergone some other suffering. Eran.-But to the same nature belong both health and sickness. Orth.-So the body is called substance; disease and health are called accident. Eran.-Of course. For these things are accidents of the body, and again cease to be so. Orth.-In the same way corruption and death must be called accidents, and not substances, for they too are accidents and ceaseto be so.

66 Eran.-True. Orth.-So the body of the Lord rose incorruptible, impassible, and immortal, and is worshipped by the powers of heaven, and is yet a body having its former limitation. Eran.-In these points you seem to say sooth, but after its assumption into heaven I do not think that you will deny that it was changed into the nature of Godhead. Orth.-I would not so say persuaded only by human arguments, for I am not so rash as to say anything concerning which divine Scripture is silent. But I have heard the divine Paul exclaiming "God hath appointed a day in the which He will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom He hath ordained whereof He hath giv-

en assurance unto all men in that He hath raised Him from the dead," and I have learnt from the holy Angels that He will come in like manner as the disciples saw Him going into heaven. Now they saw His nature not unlimited. For I have heard the words of the Lord, "Ye shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven," and I acknowledge that what is seen of men is limited, for the unlimited nature is invisible. Furthermore to sit upon a throne of glory and to set the lambs upon the right and the kids upon the left indicates limitation.

67 Eran.-Then He was not unlimited even before the incarnation, for the prophet saw Him surrounded by the Seraphim. Orth.-The prophet did not see the substance of God, but a certain appearance accommodated to his capacity. After the resurrection, however, all the world will see the very visible nature of the judge. Eran.-You promised that you would adduce no argument without evidence, but you are introducing arguments adapted to us. Orth.-I have learnt these things from he divine Scripture. I have heard the words of the prophet Zechariah "They shall look on Him whom they pierced," and how shall the event follow the prophecy unless the crucifiers recognise the nature which they crucified? And I have heard the cry of the victorious martyr Stephen, "Behold I see the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God," and he saw the visible, not the invisible nature.

68 Eran.-These things are thus written, but I do not think that you will be able to show that the body, after the ascension into heaven, is called body by the inspired writers. Orth.-What has been already said indicates the body perfectly plainly; for what is seen is a body; but I will nevertheless point out to you that even after the assumption the body of the Lord is called a body. Hear the teaching of the Apostle, "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 glorious body." It was not changed into another nature, but remained a body, full however of divine glory, and sending forth beams of light. The bodies of the saints shall be fashioned like unto it. But if it was changed into another nature, their bodies will be likewise changed, for they shall be fashioned like unto it. But if the bodies of the saints preserve the character of their nature, then also the body of the Lord in like manner keeps its own nature unchanged.

69 Eran.-Then will the bodies of the saints be equal with the body of the Lord? Orth.-In its incorruption and its immortality they too will share.

Moreover in its glory they will participate, as says the Apostle, "If so be that we suffer with Him, that we may be also glorified together." It is in quantity that the vast difference may be found, a difference as great as between sun and stars, or rather between master and slaves, and that which gives and that which receives light. Yet has He given a share of His own name to His servants and as He is Light, calls His saints light, for "Ye," He says, "are the Light of the world," and being named servants and being named "Sun of Righteousness" He says of his servants "Then shall the righteous shine forth as the Sun." It is therefore according to quality, not according to quantity, that the bodies of the saints shall be fashioned like unto the body of the Lord. Now I have shewn you plainly what you bade me. Further, if you please, let us look at the matter in yet another way.

70 Eran.-One ought "to stir every stone," as the proverb says, to get at the truth; above all when it is a question of divine doctrines. Orth.-Tell me now; the mystic symbols which are offered to God by them who perform priestly rites, of what are they symbols? Eran.-Of the body and blood of the Lord. Orth.-Of the real body or not? Eran.-The real. Orth.-Good. For there must be the archetype of the image. So painters imitate nature and paint the images of visible objects. Eran.-True. Orth.-If, then, the divine mysteries are antitypes of the real body, therefore even now the body of the Lord is a body, not changed into nature of Godhead, but filled with divine glory. Eran.-You have opportunely introduced the subject of the divine mysteries for from it I shall be able to show you the change of the Lord's body into another nature. Answer now to my questions.

71 Orth.-I will answer. Eran.-What do you call the gift which is offered before the priestly invocation? Orth.-It were wrong to say openly; perhaps some uninitiated are present. Eran.-Let your answer be put enigmatically. Orth.-Food of grain of such a sort. Eran.-And how name we the other symbol? Orth.-This name too is common, signifying species of drink. Eran.-And after the consecration how do you name these? Orth.-Christ's body and Christ's blood. Eran.-And do yon believe that you partake of Christ's body and blood? Orth.-I do. Eran.-As, then, the symbols of the Lord's body and blood are one thing before the priestly invocation, and after the invocation are changed and become another thing; so the Lord's body after the assumption is changed into the divine substance. Orth.-You are caught in the net you have woven yourself. For even after the consecration the mystic symbols

are not deprived of their own nature; they remain in their former substance figure and form; they are visible and tangible as they were before. But they are regarded as what they are become, and believed so to be, and are worshipped as being what they are believed to be. Compare then the image with the archetype, and you will see the likeness, for the type must be like the reality. For that body preserves its former form, figure, and limitation and in a word the substance of the body; but after the resurrection it has become immortal and superior to corruption; it has become worthy of a seat on the righthand; it is adored by every creature as being called the natural body of the Lord.

72 Eran.-Yes; and the mystic symbol changes its former appellation; it is no longer called by the name it went by before, but is styled body. So must the reality be called God, and not body. Orth.-You seem to me to be ignorant-for He is called not only body but even bread of life. So the Lord Himself used this name' and that very body we call divine body, and giver of life, and of the Master and of the Lord, teaching that it is not common to every man but belongs to our Lord Jesus Christ Who is God and Man. "For Jesus Christ" is "the same yesterday, to-day, and forever." Eran.-You have said a great deal about this, but I follow the saints who have shone of old in the Church; show me then, if you can, these in their writings dividing the natures after the union. Orth.-I will read you their works, and I am sure you will be astonished at the countless mentions of the distinction which in their struggle against impious heretics they have inserted in their writings. Hear now those whose testimony I have already adduced speaking openly and distinctly on these points.

73 Testimony of the holy Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, and martyr:- From the Epistle to the Smyrnaeans: "I acknowledge and believe Him after His resurrection to be existent in the flesh: and when He came to hem that were with Peter He said to them `Take; handle me and see, for I am not a bodiless daemon.' And straightway they took hold of him and believed." Of the same from the same epistle:- "And after His Resurrection He ate with them, and drank with them, as being of the flesh, although He was spiritually one with the Father." Testimony of Irenoeus, the ancient bishop of Lyons;- From the third Book of his work "Against Heresies." (Chap. XX.) "As we have said before, He united man to God. For had not a man vanquished man's adversary, the enemy would not have been vanquished aright; and again, had not God

granted the boon of salvation we should not have possessed it in security. And had not man been united to God, he could not have shared in the incorruption. For it behoved the mediator of God and men, by means of His close kinship to either, to bring them both into friendship and unanimity, and to set man close to God and to make God known to men."

74 Of the same from the third book of the same treatise (Chapter XVIII):- "So again in his Epistle he says `Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God,' recognising one and the same Jesus Christ to whom the gates of heaven were opened, on account of His assumption in the flesh. Who in the same flesh in which He also suffered shall come revealing the glory of the Father." Of the same from the fourth book (Chapter VII):- "As Isaiah saith `He shall cause them that come of Jacob to take root. Israel shall blossom and bud and fill the face of the world with fruit.' So his fruit being scattered through the whole world, they who erst brought forth good fruit (for of them was produced the Christ in the flesh and the apostles) were abandoned and removed. And now they are no longer fit for bringing forth fruit."

75 Of the same from the same book (Chapter LIX):- "And he judges also them of Ebion. How can they be saved unless it was God who wrought their salvation on earth, or how shall man come to God unless God came to man?" Of the same from the same book (Chapter LXIV):- "They who preach that Emmanuel was of the Virgin set forth the union of God the Word with His creature." Of the same from the same treatise (Book V. Chap. I.):- "Now these things came to pass not in seeming but in essential truth, for if He appeared to be man though He was not man then the Spirit of God did not continue to be what in truth It is; for the Spirit is invisible; nor was there any truth in Him, for He was not what He appeared to be. And we have said before that Abraham and the rest of the prophets beheld Him in prophecy prophesying what was destined to come to pass in actual sight. If then now too He appeared to be of such a character, though in reality He was not what He appeared, then a kind of prophetic vision would have been given to men, and we must still look for yet another advent in which He will really be what He is now seen to be in prophecy. Now we have demonstrated that there is no difference between the statements that He only appeared in seeming and that He took nothing from Mary, for He did not really even possess flesh and blood whereby He redeemed us, unless He renewed in Himself the old cre-

ation of Adam. The sect of Valentinus are therefore vain in teaching thus that they may cast out the life of the flesh."

76 Testimony of the holy Hippolytus, bishop and martyr, from his work on the distribution of the talents: - "Any one might say that these and those who uphold otherwise are neighbours, erring as they do in the same manner, for even they either confess that the Christ appeared in life as mere man, denying the talent of His Godhead, or else acknowledging Him as God, on the other hand they deny the man, representing that He deluded the sight of them that beheld Him by unreal appearances; and that He wore manhood not as a Man but was rather a mere imaginary semblance, as Marcion and Valentinus and the Gnostics teach, wrenching away the Word from the flesh, and rejecting the one talent, the incarnation." Of the same from his letter to a certain Queen: - "He calls Him `the first fruits of them that sleep,' as being `the first born from the dead,' and He, after His resurrection, wishing to show that that which was risen was the same as that which had undergone death, when the disciples were doubting, called Thomas to Him, and said, `Come hither handle me and see for a spirit hath not flesh and blood as ye see me have.'"

77 Of the same from his discourse on Elkanah and Hannah:- "Wherefore three seasons of the year typified the Saviour Himself that He might fulfil the mysteries predicted about Him. In the Passover, that He might shew Himself as the sheep doomed to be sacrificed and shew a true Passover as says the Apostle. `Christ, God, our Passover was sacrificed for us.' At Pentecost that He might announce the kingdom of heaven ascending Himself first into heaven and offering to God man as a gift." Of the same from his work on the great Psalm: - "He who drew from the nethermost hell man first formed of the earth When lost and held fast in bonds of death; He who came down from above and lifted up him that was down; He who became Evangelist of the dead, ransomer of souls and resurrection of them that were entombed; this was He who became succourer of vanquished man in Himself, like man firstborn Word; visiting the first formed Adam in the Virgin; the spiritual seeking the earthy in the womb; the ever-living him who by disobedience died; the heavenly calling the earthly to the world above, the highborn meaning to make the slave free by His own obedience; He who turned to adamant man crumbled into dust anti and serpents' meat; He who made

man hanging on a tree of wood Lord over him who had conquered Him and so by a tree of wood is proved victorious."

78 Of the same from the same book:- "They who do not now recognise the Son of God in the flesh will one day recognise Him when He comes as judge in glory, though now in an inglorious body suffering wrong." Of the same from the same book:- "Moreover the apostles when they had come to the sepulchre on the third day did not find the body of Jesus, just as the children of Israel went up on the mountain, and could not find the tomb of Moses." Of the same from his interpretation of Psalm II.:- "When He had come into the world He was manifested as God and Man. His manhood is easy of perception because He is ahungered and aweary, in toil He is athirst, in fear He flees, in prayer He grieves; He falls asleep upon a pillow, He prays that the cup of suffering may pass from Him, being in an agony He sweats, He is strengthened by an angel, betrayed by Judas, dishonoured by Caiaphas, set at nought by Herod, scourged by Pilate, mocked by soldiers, nailed to a cross by Jews, He commends His spirit to the Father with a cry, He leans His head as He breathes His last, He is pierced in the side with a spear and rolled in fine linen, is laid in a tomb, and on the third day He is raised by the Father. No less plainly may His divinity be seen when He is worshipped by angels, gazed on by shepherds, waited for by Simeon, testified to by Anna, sought out by Magi, pointed out by a Star, at the wedding feast makes water wine, rebukes the sea astir by force of winds, and on the same sea walks, makes a man blind from birth see, raises Lazarus who had been four days dead, works many and various wonders, remits sins and gives power to His disciples."

79 Of the same from his work on Psalm XXIV.:- "He comes to the heavenly gates, angels travel with Him and the gates of the heavens are shut. For He hath not yet ascended into heaven. Now first to the heavenly powers flesh appears ascending. The Word then goes forth to the powers from the angels that speed before the Lord and Saviour, `Lift the Gates ye princes and be ye lift up ye everlasting doors and the King of glory shall come in.'" Testimony of the holy Eustathius, bishop of Antioch and confessor. From his work on The Titles of the Psalms:- "He predicted that He would sit upon a holy throne, shewing that He has been set forth on the same throne as the divine Spirit on account of the God that dwells in Him continually." Of the same from his work upon the Soul:- "Before His passion in each case He predicted His bodily death, saying that He would be betrayed to the father of the High

Priest, and announcing the trophy of the Cross. And after the passion, when He had risen on the third day from the dead, His disciples being in doubt as to His resurrection, He appeared to them in His very body and confessed that He had complete flesh and bones, submitting to their sight His wounded side and shewing them the prints of the nails."

80 Of the same from his discourse on "The Lord formed me in the beginning of His ways": - "Paul did not say `conformed to the Son of God' but `conformed to the image of His Son' in order to point out a distinction between the Son and His image, for the Son, wearing the divine tokens of His Father's Excellence, is an image of His Father; for since like are generated of like, offspring appear as very images of their parents, but the manhood which He wore is an image of the Son, as images even of different colours are painted on wax, some being wrought by hand and some by nature and likeness. Moreover the very law of truth announces this, for the bodiless spirit of wisdom is not conformed to bodily men, but the express image made man by the spirit bearing the same number of members with all the rest, and clad in similar form."

81 Of the same from the same work:- "That he speaks of the body as conformed to those of men he teaches more clearly in his Epistle to the Philippians, `our conversation' he says `is in Heaven from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body.' And if by changing the form of the vile body of men He fashions it like unto His own body, then the false teaching of our opponents is shewn to be in every way worthless." Of the same from the same work:- 82 "But as being born of the Virgin He is said to have been made man of the woman, so He is described as being made under the law because of His sometimes walking by the precepts of the law, as for instance when His parents zealously urged His circumcision, when He was a child eight days old, as relates the evangelist Luke, afterwards `they brought Him to present Him to the Lord,' `bringing the offerings of purification' `to offer a sacrifice according to that which is said in the law of the Lord a pair of turtle doves or two young pigeons.' As then the gifts of purification were offered on His behalf according to the law, and He underwent circumcision on the eighth day, the Apostle very properly writes that He was thus brought under the law. Not indeed that the Word was subject to the law, (as our calumnious opponents suppose) being Himself the law, nor did God, who by

one breath can cleanse and hallow all things, need sacrifices of purification. But He took from the Virgin the members of a man and became subject to the law and was purified according to the rite of the firstborn, not because He submitted to this treatment from any need on His part of such observance, but in order that He might redeem from the slavery of the law them that were sold to the doom of the curse."

83 Testimony of the holy Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria. From his Second Discourse against heresies: - "We should not have been redeemed from sin and the curse had not the flesh which the Word wore been by nature that of man, for we should have had nothing in common with that which was not our own; just so man would not have been made God, had not the Word which was made flesh been by nature of the Father and verily and properly His. And the combination is of this character that to the natural God may be joined the natural man, and so his salvation and deification be secure. Therefore let them that deny Him to be naturally of the Father, and own Son of His substance, deny too that He took very flesh of man from the Virgin Mary." Of the same from his Epistle to Epictetus:- "If on account of the Saviour's Body being, and being described in the Scriptures as being, derived from Mary, and a human Body, they fancy that a quaternity is substituted for a Trinity, as though some addition were made by the body, they are quite wrong; they put the creature on a par with the Creator, and suppose that the Godhead is capable of being added to. They fail to see that the Word was not made flesh on account of any addition to Godhead, but that the flesh may rise. Not for the aggrandisement of the Word did He come forth from Mary, but that the human race may be redeemed. How can they think that the body ransomed and quickened by the Word can add anything in the way of Godhead to the Word that quickened it?"

84 Of the same from the same Epistle:- "Let them be told that if the Word had been a creature, the creature would not have assumed a body to quicken it. For what help can creatures get from a creature standing itself in need of salvation? But the Word, Himself Creator, was made maker of created things, and therefore in the fulness of the ages He attached the creature to Himself, that once more as a Creator He might renew it, and might be able to create it afresh." From the longer Discourse "De Fide":- "This also we add concerning the words `Sit thou on my right hand,' that they are said of the Lord's body. For if `the Lord saith, do not I fill heaven and earth,' as says

Jeremiah, and God contains all things, and is contained of none, on what kind of throne does He sit? It is therefore the body to which He says `Sit thou on my right hand,' of which too the devil with his wicked powers was foe, and Jews and Gentiles too. Through this body too He was made and was called High Priest and Apostle through the mystery whereof He gave to us, saying `This is my Body for you' and `my Blood of the New Testament' (not of the Old), shed for you." Now Godhead hath neither body nor blood; but the manhood which He bore of Mary was the cause of them, of whom the Apostles said `Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you.'"

85 Of the same from his book against the Arians:- "And when he says `Wherefore God hath also highly exalted Him and given Him a name which is above every name' he speaks of the temple of the body, not of the Godhead, for the Most High is not exalted, but the flesh of the Most High is exalted, and to the flesh of the Most High He gave a name which is above every name. Nor did the Word of God receive the designation of God as a favour, but His flesh was held divine as well as Himself." Of the same from the same work:- "And when he says `the Holy Ghost was not yet because that Jesus was not yet glorified,' he says that His flesh was not yet glorified, for the Lord of glory is not glorified, but the flesh itself receives glory of the glory of the Lord as it mounts with Him into Heaven; whence he says the spirit of adoption was not yet among men, because the first fruits taken from men had not yet ascended into heaven. Wherever then the Scripture says that the Son received and was glorified, it speaks because of His manhood, not His Godhead."

86 Of the same from the same work:- "So that He is very God both before His being made man and after His being made mediator of God and men, Jesus Christ united to the Father in spirit, and to us in flesh, who mediated between God and men, and who is not only man but also God." Testimony of the Holy Ambrosius, bishop of Milan. In his Exposition of the Faith:-

87 "We confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Only Begotten Son of God, was begotten before all ages, without beginning, of the Father, and that in these last days the same was made flesh of the holy Virgin Mary, assumed the manhood, in its perfection, of a reasonable soul and body, of one substance with the Father as touching His Godhead and of one substance with us as touching His manhood. For union of two perfect natures hath been after an ineffable manner. Wherefore we acknowledge one Christ, one Son, our Lord

Jesus Christ; knowing that being coeternal with His own Father as touching His Godhead, by virtue of which also He is creator of all, He deigned, after the assent of the Holy Virgin, when she said to the angel `Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word' to build after an ineffable fashion a temple out of her for Himself, and to unite this temple to Himself by her conception, not taking and uniting with Himself a body coeternal with His own substance, and brought from heaven, but of the matter of our substance, that is of the Virgin. God the Word was not turned into flesh; His appearance was not unreal; keeping ever His own substance immutably and invariably He took the first fruits of our nature, and united them to Himself.

88 God the Word did not take His beginning from the Virgin, but being coeternal with His own Father He of infinite kindness deigned to unite to Himself the first fruits of our nature, undergoing no mixture but in either substance appearing one and the same, as it is written `Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up.' For the divine Christ, as touching my substance which he took is destroyed, and the same Christ raises the destroyed temple as touching the divine substance in which also He is Creator of all things. Never at any time after the Union which He deigned to make with Himself from the moment of the conception did He depart from His own temple, nor indeed through His ineffable love for mankind could depart. 89 "The same Christ is both passible and impassible; as touching His manhood passible and as touching His Godhead impassible. `Behold behold me, it is I, I have undergone no change'-and when God the Word had raised His own temple and in it had wrought out the resurrection and renewal of our nature, He shewed this nature to His disciples and said `Handle me and see for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me,' not `be' but `have.' So He says, referring to both the possessor and the possessed in order that you may perceive that what had taken place was not mixture, not change, not variation, but union. On this account too He shewed the prints of the nails and the wound of the spear and ate before His disciples to convince them by every means that the resurrection of our nature had been renewed in Him; and further because in accordance with the blessed substance of His Godhead unchanged, impassible, immortal, He lived in need of nought, He by concession permitted all that can be felt to be brought to His own temple, and by

His own power raised it up, and by means of His own temple made perfect the renewal of our nature.

90 "Them therefore that assert that the Christ was mere man, that God the Word was passible, or changed into flesh, or that the body which He had was consubstantial, or that He brought it from Heaven, or that it was an unreality; or assert that God the Word being mortal needed to receive His resurrection from the Father, or that the body which He assumed was without a soul, or manhood without a mind, or that the two natures of the Christ became one nature by confusion and commixture; them that deny that our Lord Jesus Christ was two natures unconfounded, but one person, as He is one Christ and one Son, all these the catholic and apostolic Church condemns." Of the same: - "If then the flesh of all was in Christ or hath been in Christ snbject to wrongs, how can it be held to be of one essence with the Godhead? For if the Word and the flesh which derives its nature from earth are of one essence, then the Word and the soul which He took in its perfection are of one essence, for the Word is of one nature with God both according to the Word of the Father, and the confession of the Son Himself in the words, `I and my Father are one.' Thus the Father must be held to be of the same substance with the body. Why any longer are ye wroth with the Arians, who say that the Son is a creature of God, while you assert yourselves that the Father is of one substance with His creatures?"

91 Of the same from his letter to the Emperor Gratianus: - "Let us preserve a distinction between Godhead and flesh. One Son of God speaks in both, since in Him both natures exist. The same Christ speaks, yet not always in the same but sometimes in a different manner. Observe how at one time He expresses divine glory and at another human feeling. As God He utters the things of God, since He is the Word; as man He speaks with humility because He converses in my essence." On the same from the same book: - "As to the passage where we read that the Lord of glory was crucified, let us not suppose that He was crucified in His own glory. But since He is both God and man, as touching His Godhead God, and as touching the assumption of the flesh, a man, Jesus Christ, the Lord of Glory, is said to have been crucified. For He partakes of either nature-that is the human and the divine. In the nature of manhood He underwent the passion in order that He who suffered might be said to be without distinction both Lord of Glory and Son of Man. As it is written `He that came down from Heaven.'"

92 Similarly of the same: - "Let then vain questions about words be silent, as it is written, the kingdom of God is not in `enticing words' but in `demonstration of the spirit.' For there is one Son of God who speaks in both ways, since both natures exist in Him; but although He Himself speaks He does not speak always in the same way; for you see in Him at one time God's glory, at another time man's feeling. As God He utters divine things, being the Word; as man He utters human things, since in this nature He spoke." Of the same from his work on the Incarnation of the Lord against the Apollinarians: - "But while we are confuting these, another set spring up who assert the body of the Christ and His godhead to be of one nature. What hell hath vomited forth so terrible a blasphemy? Really Arians are more tolerable, whose infidelity, on account of these men, is strengthened, so that with greater opposition they deny Father, Son and Holy Ghost to be of one substance, for they did at least endeavour to maintain the Godhead of the Lord and His flesh to be of one nature."

93 Of the same (from the same chapter):- "He has frequently told me that he maintains the exposition of the Nicene Council, but in that examination our Fathers laid down that the Word of God, not the flesh, was of one substance with the Father, and they confessed that the Word came from the substance of the Father but that the flesh is of the Virgin. Why then do they hold out to us the name of the Nicene Council, while in reality they are introducing innovations of which our forefathers never entertained the thought?" Of the same against Apollinarius: - "Refuse thou to allow that the body is by nature on a par with the Godhead. Even though thou believe the body of the Christ to be real and bring it to the altar for transformation, and fail to distinguish the nature of the body and of the Godhead we shall say to thee, `If thou offer rightly and fail to distinguish rightly, thou sinnest; hold thy peace.' Distinguish what belongs naturally to us, and what is peculiar to the Word. For I had not what was naturally His, and He had not what was naturally mine, but He took what was naturally mine in order to make us partakers of what was His. And He received this not for confusion but for completion."

94 Of the same, a little further on: - "Let them who say that the nature of the Word has been changed into nature of the body say so no more, lest by the same interpretation the nature of the Word seem to have been changed into the corruption of sin. For there is a distinction between what took, and

what was taken. Power came over the Virgin, as in the words of the angel to her, `The power of the highest shall overshadow thee.' But what was born was of the body of the Virgin, and on this account the descent was divine but the conception human. Therefore the nature of the flesh and of the godhead could not be the same." The testimony of St. Basil, Bishop of Coesarea. From his homily on Thanksgiving:- "Wherefore when He wept over His friend He shewed His participation in human nature and set us free from two extremes, suffering us neither to grow over soft in suffering nor to be insensible to pain. As then the Lord suffered hunger after solid food had been digested, and thirst when the moisture in His body was exhausted; and was aweary when His nerves and sinews were strained by His journeying, it was not that His divinity was weighed down with toil, but that His body showed the wonted symptoms of its nature. Thus too when He allowed Himself to weep He permitted the flesh to take is natural course."

95 From the same against Eunomius:- "I say that being in the form of God has the same force as being in God's substance for as to have taken the form of a servant shews our Lord to have been of the substance of the manhood, so the statement that He was in the form of God attributes to Him the peculiar qualities of the divine substance." The testimony of the holy Gregorius, bishop of Nazianzus. From his discourse De nova dominica: - "Believe that He will come again at His glorious advent judging quick and dead, no longer flesh but not without a body." "In order that He may be seen by them that pierced Him and remain God without grossness." Of the same from his Epistle to Cledonius:- "God and man are two natures, as soul and body are two; but there are not two sons, nor yet are there here two men although Paul thus speaks of the outward man and the inward man. In a word the sources of the Saviour's being are of two kinds, since the visible is distinct from the invisible and the timeless from that which is of time, but He is not two beings. God forbid."

96 Of the same from the same Exposition to Cledonius:- "If any one says that the flesh has now been laid aside, and that the Godhead is bare of body, and that it is not and will not come with that which was assumed, let him be deprived of the vision of the glory of the advent! For where is the body now, save with Him that assumed it? For it assuredly has not been, as the Manichees fable, swallowed up by the Son, that it may be honoured through dishonour; it has not been poured out and dissolved in the air like a voice and

stream of perfume or flash of unsubstantial lightning. And where is the capacity of being handled after the resurrection, wherein one day it shall be seen by them that pierced Him? For Godhead of itself is in visible." Of the same from the second discourse about the Son:-

97 "As the Word He was neither obedient nor disobedient, for these qualities belong to them that are in subjection and to inferiors; the former of the more tractable and the latter of them that deserve condemnation. But in the form of a servant He accommodates Himself to his fellowservants and puts on a form that was not His own, bearing in Himself all of me with all that is mine, that in Himself He may waste and destroy the baser parts as wax is wasted by fire or the mist of the earth by the sun." Of the same from his discourse on the Theophany:- "Since He came forth from the Virgin with the assumption of two things mutually opposed to one another, flesh and spirit, whereof the one was taken into God and the other exhibited the grace of the Godhead." Of the same a little further on:- "He was sent, but as Man. For His nature was twofold, for without doubt He thenceforth was aweary and hungered and thirsted and suffered agony and shed tears after the custom of a human body."

98 Of the same from his second discourse about the Son:- "He would be called God not of the Word, but of the visible creation, for how could He be God of Him that is absolutely God? Just so He is called Father, not of the visible creation, but of the Word. For He was of two-fold nature. Wherefore the one belongs absolutely to both, but the other not absolutely. For He is absolutely our God, but not absolutely our Father. And it is this conjunction of names which gives rise to the error of heretics. A proof of this lies in the fact that when natures are distinguished in thought, there is a distinction in names. Listen to the words of Paul. `The God of our Lord Jesus Christ, The Father of Glory,' -of Christ He is God, of glory Father, and if both are one this is so not by nature but by conjunction. What can be plainer than this? Fifthly let it be said that He receives life, authority, inheritance of nations, power over all flesh, glory, disciples or what you will; all these belong to the manhood."

99 Of the same from the same work:- "`For there is one God and one Mediator between God and men the man Christ Jesus.' As man He still pleads for my salvation, because He keeps with Him the body which He took, till he made me God by the power of the incarnation-though He be no longer

known according to the flesh that is by affections of the flesh and though He be without sin." Of the same from the same work:- "Is it not plain to all that as God He knows, and is ignorant, He says, as man? If that is, any one distinguish the apparent from that which is an object of intellectual perception. For what gives rise to this opinion is the fact that the appellation of the Son is absolute without relation, it not being added of whom He is the Son; so to give the most pious sense to this ignorance we hold it to belong to the human, and not to the divine."

100 Testimony of the Holy Gregorius, bishop of Nyssa. From his catechetical discourse:- "And who says this that the infinity of the Godhead is comprehended by the limitation of the flesh, as by some vessel?" Of the same from the same work:- "But if man's soul by necessity of its nature commingled with the body, is everywhere in authority, what need is there of asserting that the Godhead is limited by the nature of the flesh?" Of the same from the same work:- "What hinders us then, while recognising a certain unity and approximation of a divine nature in relation to the human, from retaining the divine intelligence even in this approximation, believing that the divine even when it exists in men is beyond all limitation?" Of the same from his work against Eunomius:- "The Son of Mary converses with brothers, but the only begotten has no brothers, for how could the name of only begotten be preserved among brothers? And the same Christ that said `God is a spirit' says to His disciples `Handle me,' to shew that the human nature only can be handled and that the divine is intangible; and He that said `I go' indicates removal from place to place, while He that comprehends all things and `by Whom,' as says the Apostle, `all things were created and by Whom all things consist,' had among all existing things nothing without and beyond Himself which can stand to Him in the relation of motion or removal."

101 Of the same from the same work:- "`Being by the right hand of God exalted.' Who then was exalted? The lowly or the most high? And what is the lowly if it be not the human? And what is the most high save the divine? But God being most high needs no exaltation, and so the Apostle says that the human is exalted, exalted that is in being `made both Lord and Christ.' Therefore the Apostle does not mean by this term `He made' the everlasting existence of the Lord, but the change of the lowly to the exalted which took place on the right hand of God. By this word he declares the mystery of piety, for when he says `by the right hand of God exalted' he plainly reveals the in-

effable oeconomy of the mystery that the right hand of God which created all things, which is the Lord by whom all things were made and without whom nothing consists of things that were made, through the union lifted up to Its own exaltation the manhood united to It."

102 Testimony of St. Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium. From his discourse on "My Father is greater than I": - "Henceforth distinguish the natures; that of God and that of man. For He was not made man by falling away from God, nor God by increase and advance from man." Of the same from his discourse on "the Son can do nothing of Himself": - "For after the resurrection the Lord shews both-both that the body is not of this nature, and that the body rises, for remember the history. After the passion and the resurrection the disciples were gathered together, and when the doors were shut the Lord stood in the midst of them. Never at any time before the passion did He do this. Could not then the Christ have done this even long before? For all things are possible to God. But before the passion He did not do so lest you should suppose the incarnation an unreality or appearance, and think of the flesh of the Christ as spiritual, or that it came down from heaven and is of another substance than our flesh. Some have invented all these theories with the idea that thereby they reverence the Lord, forgetful that through their thanksgiving they blaspheme themselves, and accuse the truth of a lie: for I say nothing of the lie being altogether absurd. For if He took another body how does that affect mine, which stands in need of salvation? If He brought down flesh from heaven, how does this affect my flesh which was derived from earth?"

103 Of the same from the same work:- "Wherefore not before the passion, but after the passion, the Lord stood in the midst of the disciples when the doors were shut, that thou mayest know that thy natural body after being sown is `raised a spiritual body,' and that thou mayest not suppose the body that is raised to be a different body. When Thomas after the resurrection doubted, He shews him the prints of the nails, He shews him the marks of the spears. But had He not power to heal Himself after the resurrection too, when even before the resurrection He had healed all men? But by shewing the prints of the nails He shews that it is this very body; by coming in when the doors were shut He shews that it has not the same qualities; the same body to fulfil the work of the incarnation by raising that which had become

a corpse, but a changed body that it fall not again under corruption nor be subject again to death."

104 Testimony of the blessed Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria. From his work against Origen:- "Our likeness which He assumed is not changed into the nature of Godhead nor is His Godhead turned into our likeness. For He remains what He was from the beginning God, and He so remains preserving our subsistence in Himself." Of the same from the same treatise:-

105 "But you persist continually in your blasphemies attacking the Son of God, and using these words `as the Son and the Father are one, so also are the soul which the Son took and the Son Himself one.' You are ignorant that the Son and the Father are one on account of their one substance and the same Godhead; but the soul and the Son are each of a different substance and different nature. For if the soul of the Son and the Son Himself are one in the same sense in which the Father and the Son are one, then the Father and the Soul will be one and the soul of the Son shall one day say `He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father;' but this is not so; God forbid. For the Son and the Father are one because there is no distinction between their qualities, but the soul and the Son are distinguished alike in nature and substance, in that the soul which is naturally of one substance with us was made by Him. For if the soul and the Son are one in the same manner in which the Father anti the Son are one, as Origen would have it, then the soul equally with the Son will be `the brightness of God's glory and express image of His person.' But this is impossible; impossible that the Son and the soul should be one as He and the Father are one. And what will Origen do when again he attacks himself?

106 For he writes, never could the soul distressed and `exceeding sorrowful' be the `firstborn of every creature.' For God the Word, as being stronger than the soul, the Son Himself, says `I have power to lay it down and I have power to take it again.' If then the Son is stronger than His own soul, as is agreed, how can His soul be equal to God and in the form of God? For we say that `He emptied Himself and took upon Him the form of a servant.' In the extravagance of his impieties Origen surpasses all other heretics, as we have shewn, for if the Word exists in the form of God and is equal to God and if he supposes thus daring to write the soul of the Saviour to be in the form of God and equal with God, how can the equal be greater, when the inferior in nature testifies to the superiority of what is beyond it?"

107 Testimony of the Holy John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople. From the Discourse held in the Great Church:- "Thy Lord exalted man to heaven, and thou wilt not even give him a share of the agora. But why do I say `to heaven'? He seated man on a kingly throne. Thou expellest him from the city." Of the same, on the beginning of Ps. xlii.:- "Up to this day Paul does not cease to say `We are ambassadors for Christ as though God did beseech you by us; we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God.' Nor did He stand here, but taking the first fruits of thy nature He sat down `above all principality and power and might, and every name that is named not only in this world but in the world to come.' What could be equal to this honour? The first fruits of our race which has so much offended and is so dishonoured sits so high and enjoys honour so vast."

108 Of the same about the division of tongues:- "For bethink thee what it is to see our nature riding on the Cherubim and all the power of heaven mustered round about it. Consider too Paul's wisdom and how many terms he searches for that he may set forth the love of Christ to men, for he does not say simply the grace, nor yet simply the riches, but the `exceeding great riches of His grace in His kindness.'" Of the same from his Dogmatic Oration, on the theme that the word spoken and deeds done in humility by Christ were not so spoken and done on account of infirmity, but on account of differences of dispensation:- "And after His resurrection, when He saw His disciple disbelieving, He did not shrink from shewing him both wound and print of nails, and letting him lay his hand upon the scars, and said `Examine and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones.' The reason of His not assuming the manhood of full age from the beginning, and of His deigning to be conceived, to be born, to be suckled, and to live so long upon the earth, was that by the long period of the time and all the other circumstances, He might give a warranty for this very thing."

109 Of the same against those who assert that demons rule human affairs:- "Nothing was more worthless than man and than man nothing has become more precious. He was the last part of the reasonable creation, but the feet have been made the head, and through the firstfruits have been borne up to the kingly throne. Just as some man noble and bountiful, on seeing a wretch escaped from shipwreck who has saved nothing but his bare body from the waves, welcomes him with open hands, clothes him in a radiant robe, and exalts him to the highest honour, so too hath God done towards our nature.

Man had lost all that he had, his freedom, his intercourse with God, his abode in Paradise, his painless life, whence he came forth like a man all naked from a wreck, but God received him and straightway clothed him, and, taking him by the hand, led him onward step by step and brought him up to heaven."

110 Of the same from the same work:- "But God made the gain greater than the loss, and exalted our nature to the royal throne. So Paul exclaims `And have raised us up together and made us sit together in heavenly places' at His right hand." Of the same from his III oration against the Jews:- "He opened the heavens; of foes he made friends; He introduced them into heaven; He seated our nature on the right hand of the throne; He gave us countless other good things." Of the same from his discourse on the Ascension:- "To this distance and height did He exalt our nature. Look where low it lay, and where it mounted up. Lower it was impossible to descend than where man descended; higher it was impossible to rise than where He exalted him." Of the same from his interpretation of the Epistle to the Ephesians:- "According to His good pleasure, which He had proposed in himself, that is which He earnestly desired, He was as it were in labour to tell us the mystery. And what is this mystery? That He wishes to seat man on high; as in truth came to pass."

111 Of the same from the same interpretation:- "God of our Lord Jesus Christ speaks of this and not of God the Word." Of the same from the same interpretation:- "`And when we were dead in sins He quickened us together in Christ;' again Christ stands in the midst, and the work is wonderful. If the first fruits live we live also. He quickened both Him and us. Seest thou that all these things are spoken according to the flesh?" Of the same from the gospel according to St. John:- "Why does he add `and dwelt among us'? It is as though he said: Imagine nothing absurd from the phrase `was made.' For I have not mentioned any change in that unchangeable nature, but of tabernacling and of inhabiting. Now that which tabernacles is not identical with the tabernacle, but one thing tabernacles in another; otherwise there would be no tabernacling. Nothing inhabits itself. I spoke of a distinction of substance. For by the union and the conjunction God the Word and the flesh are one without confusion or destruction of the substances, but by ineffable and indescribable union."

112 Of the same from the gospel according to St. Matthew:- "Just as one standing in the space between two that are separated from one another, stretches out both his hands and joins them, so too did He, joining the old and the new, the divine nature and the human, His own with ours." Of the same from the Ascension of Christ:- "For so when two champions stand ready for the fight, some other intervening between them, at once stops the struggle, and puts an end to their ill will, so too did Christ. As God He was wroth, but we made light of His wrath, and turned away our faces from our loving Lord. Then Christ flung Himself in the midst, and restored both natures to mutual love, and Himself took on Him the weight of the punishment laid by the Father on us." Of the same from the same work:-

113 "Lo He brought the first fruits of our nature to the Father and the Father Himself approved the gift, alike on account of the high dignity of Him that bought it and of the faultlessness of the offering. He received it in His own hands, He made a chair of His own throne; nay more He seated it on His own right hand, let us then recognise who it was to whom it was said `Sit thou on my right hand' and what was that nature to which God said `Dust thou art and to dust thou shalt return.'" Of the same a little further on:- "What arguments to use, what words to utter I cannot tell; the nature which was rotten, worthless, declared lowest of all, vanquished everything and overcame the world. To-day it hath been thought worthy to be made higher than all, to-day it hath received what from old time angels havedesired; to-day it is possible for archangels to be made spectators of what has been for ages longed for, and they contemplate our nature, shining on the throne of the King in the glory of His immortality."

114 Testimony of St. Flavianus, bishop of Antioch. From the Gospel according to St. Luke:- "In all of us the Lord writes the express image of His holiness, and in various ways shows our nature the way of salvation. Many and clear proofs does He give us both of His bodily advent and of His Godhead working by a body's means. For He wished to give us assurance of both His natures." Of the same on the Theophany:- "`Who can express the noble acts of the Lord, or shew forth all His praise?' who could express in words the greatness of His goodness toward us? Human nature is joined to Godhead, while both natures remain independent." Testimony of Cyril, bishop Jerusalem. From his fourth catechetical oration concerning the ten dogmas. Of the birth from a virgin:- "Believe thou that this only begotten Son of God,

on account of our sins, came down from heaven to earth, having taken on Him this manhood of like passions with us, and being born of holy Virgin and of Holy Ghost. This incarnation was effected, not in seeming and unreality, but in reality. He did not only pass through the Virgin, as through a channel, but was verily made flesh of her. Like us He really ate, and of the Virgin was really suckled. For if the incarnation was an unreality, then our salvation is a delusion. The Christ was twofold-the visible man, the invisible God. He ate as man, verily like ourselves, for the flesh that He wore was of like passions with us; He fed the five thousand with five loaves as God. As man He really died. As God He raised the dead on the fourth day. As man He slept in the boat. As God He walked upon the waters."

115 Testimony of Antiochus, bishop of Ptolemais: - "Do not confound the natures and you will have a lively apprehension of the incarnation." Testimony of the holy Hilarius, bishop and confessor, in his ninth book, "de Fide": "He who knoweth not Jesus the Christ as very God and as very man, knoweth not in reality his own life, for we incur the same peril if we deny Christ Jesus or God the spirit, or the flesh of our own body. `Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men him will I confess also before my Father which is in Heaven, but whosoever shall deny me before men him will I also deny before my Father which is in Heaven.' These things spoke the Word made flesh; these things the man Christ Jesus, Lord of Glory, taught, being made Mediator for the salvation of the Church in the very mystery whereby He mediated between God and men. Both being made one out of the natures united for this very purpose, He was one and the same through either nature, but so that in both He fell short in neither, lest haply by being born as man He should cease to be God, or by remaining God should not be man. Therefore this is the blessedness of the true faith among men to preach both God and man, to confess both word and flesh, to recognise that God was also man, and not to be ignorant that the flesh is also Word."

116 Of the same from the same book: - 117 "So the only begotten God being born man of a Virgin and in the fulness of the time, being Himself ordained to work out the advance of man to God, observed this order of things, through all the words of the gospels, that He might teach belief in Himself, as Son of God, and keep us in mind to preach Him as Son of Man. As being man He always spoke and acted as is proper to man, but in such a manner as never to speak in this same mode of speech as touching both save

with the intention of signifying both God and Man. But hence the heretics derive a pretext for catching in their traps simple and ignorant men: what was spoken by our Lord in accordance with His manhood they falsely assert to have been uttered in the weakness of His divine nature, and since one and the same person spake all the words He used they urged that all He uttered He uttered about Himself. Now even we do not deny that all His extant words are of His own nature. But granted that the one Christ is man and God; granted that when man He was not then first God; granted that when man He was then also God, granted that after the assumption of the manhood in the Lord, the Word was man and the Word was God, it follows of necessity that there is one and the same mystery of His words as there is of His generation.

118 Whenever in Him, as occasion may require, you distinguish the manhood from the Godhead, then also endeavour to separate the words of God from the words of man. And whenever you confess God and man, then discern the words of God and man. And when the words are spoken of God and man, and again of man wholly and wholly of God, consider carefully the occasion. If anything was spoken to signify what was appropriate to a particular occasion, apply the words to the occasion. A distinction must be observed between God before the manhood, man and God, man wholly and God wholly after the union of the manhood and Godhead. Take heed therefore not to confuse the mystery of the incarnation in the words and acts. For it must needs be that according to the quality of the kinds of natures a distinction lies in the manner of speech, before the manhood was born, in accordance with the mystery when it was still approaching death, and again when it was everlasting. `For if in His birth and in His passion and in His death He acted in accordance with our nature He nevertheless effected all this by the power of His own nature.'"

119 Of the same in the same book:- "Do you then see that thus God and man are confessed, so that death is predicated of man, and the resurrection of the flesh, of God; for consider the nature of God and the power of the resurrections, and recognise in the death the oeconomy as touching man. And since both death and resurrection have been brought about in their own natures, bear in mind, I beg you, the one Christ Jesus, who was of both. I have shortly demonstrated these points to you to the end that we may remember both natures to have been in our Lord Jesus Christ `for being in the

form of God He took the form of a servant.'" Testimony of the very holy bishop Augustinus. From his letter to Volusianus. Epistle III: "But now He appeared as Mediator between God and man, so as in the unity of His person to conjoin both natures, by combining the wonted with the unwonted, and the unwonted with the wonted."

120 Of the same from his exposition of the Gospel according to John: - "What then, O heretic? Since Christ is also man, He speaks as man; and dost thou slander God? He in Himself lifts man's nature on high, and thou hast the hardihood to cheapen His divine nature." Of the same from his book on the Exposition at the Faith:- 121 "It is ours to believe, but His to know, and so let God the Word Himself, after receiving all that is proper to man, be man, and let man after His assumption and reception of all that is God, be no other than God. It must not be supposed because He is said to have been incarnate and mixed that therefore His substance was diminished. God knows that He mixes Himself without the natural corruption, and He is mixed in reality. He knows also that He so received in Himself as that no addition of increment accrues to Himself, as also He knows He infused His whole self so as to incur no diminution. Let us not then, in accordance with our weak intelligence, and forming conjectures on the teaching of experience and the senses, suppose that God and man are mixed after the manner of things created and equal mixed together, and that from such a confusion as this of the Word and of the flesh a body as it were was made. God forbid thatthis should be our belief, test we should suppose that after the manner of things which are confounded together two natures were brought into one hypostasis. For a mention of this kind implies destruction of both parts; but Christ Himself, containing butnot contained, who examines us but is Himself beyond examination, making full but not made full, everywhere at one and the same time being Himself whole and pervading the universe, through His pouring out His own power, as being moved with mercy, was mingled with the nature of man, though the nature of man was not mingled with the divine."

122 Testimony of Severianus, bishop of Gabala. From "the Nativity of Christ":- "O mystery truly heavenly and yet on earth-mystery seen and not apparent for so was the Christ after His birth; heavenly and yet on earth; holding and not held; seen and invisible; of Heaven as touching the nature of the Godhead, on earth as touching the nature of the manhood; seen in the flesh, invisible in the spirit; held as to the body not to be holden as to the

Word." Testimony of Atticus, bishop of Constantinople. From his letter to Eupsychius:- "How then did it behave the Most Wise to act? By mediation of the flesh assumed, and by union of God the Word with man born of Mary, He is made of either nature, so that the Christ made one of both, as constituted in Godhead, abides in the proper dignity of His impassible nature, but in flesh. being brought near to death, at one and the same time shews the kindred nature of the flesh how through death to despise death, and by His death confirms the righteousness of the new covenant."

123 Testimony of Cyril, bishop of Alexandria. From his letter to Nestorius: - "The natures which have been brought together in the true unity are distinct, and of both there is one God and Son, but the difference of the natures has not been removed in consequence of the union." Of the same from his letter against the Orientals: - "There is an union of two natures, wherefore we acknowledge one Christ, one Son, one Lord. In accordance with this perception of the unconfounded union we acknowledge the Holy Virgin as Mother of God because the Word of God was made flesh and was made man, and from the very conception united to Himself the temper taken from her." Of the same:- "There is one Lord Jesus Christ, even if the difference be recognised of the natures of which we assert the ineffable union to have been made." Of the same:-

124 "Therefore, as I said, while praising the manner of the incarnation, we see that two natures came together in inseparable union without confusion and without division, for the flesh is flesh and no kind of Godhead, although it was made flesh of God; in like manner the Word is God, and not flesh, although He made the flesh His own according to the oeconomy." Of the same from his interpretation of the Epistle to the Hebrews:- "For although the natures which came together in unity are regarded as different and unequal with one another, I mean of flesh and of God, nevertheless the Son, Who was made of both, is one." Of the same from his interpretation of the same Epistle:- "Yet though the only begotten Word of God is said to be united in hypostasis to flesh, we deny there was any confusion of the natures with one another, and declare each to remain what it is."

125 Of the same from his commentaries:- "The Father's Word, born of the Virgin, is named man, though being by nature God as partaking of flesh and blood like us for thus He was seen by men upon earth, without getting rid of His own nature, but assuming our Manhood perfect according to its own

reason." Of the same concerning the Incarnation (Schol. c. 13):- "Then before the incarnation there is one Very God, and in manhood He remains what He was and is and will be; the one Lord Jesus Christ then must not be separated into man apart and into God apart, but recognising the difference of the natures and preserving them unconfounded with one another, we assert that there is one and the same Christ Jesus." Of the same after other commentaries:- "There is plain perception of one thing dwelling in another, namely the divine nature in manhood, without undergoing commixture or any confusion, or any change into what it was not. For what is said to dwell in another does not become the same as that in which it dwells, but is rather regarded as one thing in another. But in the nature of the Word and of the manhood the difference points out to us a difference of natures alone, for of both is perceived one Christ. Therefore he says that the Word `Tabernacled among us,' carefully observing the freedom from confusion, for he recognises one only begotten Son who was made flesh and became man."

126 Now, my dear sir, you have heard the great lights of the world; you have seen the beams of their teaching, and you have received exact instruction how, not only after the nativity, but after the passion which wrought salvation, and the resurrection, and the ascension, they have shewn the union of the Godhead and of the manhood to be without confusion. Eran.-I did not suppose that they distinguished the natures after the union, but Ihave found an infinite amount of distinction. Orth.-It is mad and rash against those noble champions of the faith so much as to wag your tongue. But I will adduce for you the words of Apollinarius, in order that you may know that he too asserts the union to be without confusion. Now hear his words. Testimony of Apollinarius. From his summary:- "There is an union between what is of God and what is of the body. On the one side is the adorable Creator Who is wisdom and power eternal; these are of the Godhead. On the other hand is the Son of Mary, born at the last time, worshipping God, advancing in wisdom, strengthened in power; these are of the body. The suffering on behalf of sin and the curse came and will not pass away nor yet be changed into the incorporeal."

127 And again a little further on:- "Men are consubstantial with the unreasoning animals as far as the unreasoning body is concerned; they are of another substance in so far forth as they are reasonable. Just so God who is consubstantial with men according to the flesh is of another substance in so

far forth as He is Word and Man." And in another place he says:- "Of things which are mingled together the qualities are mixed and not destroyed. Thus it comes to pass that some are separate from the mixed parts as wine from water, nor yet is there mingling with a body, nor yet as of bodies with bodies, but the mingling preserves also the unmixed, so that, as each occasion may require, the energy of the Godhead either acts independently or in conjunction, as was the case when the Lord fasted, for the Godhead being in conjunction in proportion to its being above need, hunger was hindered, but when it no longer opposed to the craving its superiority to need, then hunger arose, to the undoing of the devil. But if the mixture of the bodies suffered no change, how much more that of the Godhead?"

128 And in another place he says:- "If the mixture with iron which makes the iron itself fire does not change its nature, so too the union of God with the body implies no change of the body, even though the body extend its divine energies to what is within its reach." To this he immediately adds:- "If a man has both soul and body, and these remain in unity, much more does the Christ, who has Godhead and body, keep both secure and unconfounded." And again a little further on:- "For human nature is partaker of the divine energy, as far as it is capable, but it is as distinct as the least from the greatest. Man is a servant of God, but God is not servant of man, nor even of Himself. Man is a creature of God, but God is not a creature of man, nor even of Himself."

129 And again:- "If any one takes in reference to Godhead and not in reference to flesh the passage the `Son doeth what He seeth the Father do,' wherein He Who was made flesh is distinct from the Father Who was not made flesh, divides two divine energies. But there is no division. So He does not speak in reference to Godhead." Again he says:- "As man is not an unreasoning being, on account of the contact of the reasoning and the unreasoning, just so the Saviour is not a creature on account of the contact of the creature with God uncreate." To this he also adds:- "The invisible which is united to a visible body and thereby is beheld, remains invisible, and it remains without composition because it is not circumscribed with the body, and the body, remaining in its own measure, accepts the union with God in accordance with its being quickened, nor is it that which is quickened which quickens."

130 And a little further on he says:- "If the mixture with soul and body, although from the beginning they coalesce, does not make the soul visible on account of the body, nor change it into the other properties of the body, so as to allow of its being cut or lessened, how much rather God, who is not of the same nature as the body, is united to the body without undergoing change, if the body of man remains in its own nature, and this when it is animated by a soul, then in the case of Christ the commingling does not so change the body as that it is not a body." And further on he says again:- "He who confesses that soul and body are constituted one by the Scripture, is inconsistent with himself when he asserts that this union of the Word with the body is a change, such change being not even beheld in the case of a soul."

131 Listen to him again exclaiming clearly:- "If they are impious who deny that the flesh of the Lord abides, much more are they who refuse wholly to accept His incarnation." And in his little book about the Incarnation he has written:- "The words `Sit thou on my right hand' He speaks as to man, for they are not spoken to Him that sits ever on the throne of glory, as God the Word after His ascension from earth, but they are said to Him who hath now been exalted to the heavenly glory as man, as the Apostles say `for David is not ascended into the heavens, but he saith himself the Lord said unto my Lord sit thou on my right hand.' The order is human, giving a beginning to the sitting; but it is a divine dignity to sit together with God `to whom thousand thousands minister and before whom ten thousand times ten thousand stand.'"

132 And again a little further on:- "He does not put His enemies under Himas God but as man, but so that the God who is seen and man are the same. Paul too teaches us that the words `until I make thy foes thy footstool' are spoken to men, describing the success as His own of course in accordance with His divinity `According to the working whereby He is able even to subdue all things unto Himself.' Behold Godhead and manhood existing inseparably in One Person." And again:- "`Glorify me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.' The word `glorify' He uses as man, but His having this glory before the ages He reveals as God." And again:- "But let us not be humiliated as thinking the worship of the Son of God humiliation, even in His human likeness, but as though honouring some king appearing in poor raiment with his royal glory, and above all seeing that the very garb in which He is clad is glorified, as became the body of

God and of the world's Saviour which is seed of eternal life, instrument of divine deeds destroyer of all wickedness, slayer of death and prince of resurrection; for though it had its nature from man it derived its life from God, and its power and divine virtue from heaven."

133 And again:- "Whence we worship the body as the Word; we partake of the body as of the spirit." Now it has been plainly shewn you that the author who was first to introduce the mixture of the natures openly uses the argument of a distinction between them; thus he has called the body garb, creature and instrument; he even went so far as to call it slave, which none of us has ever ventured to do. He also says that it was deemed worthy of the seat on the right hand, and uses many other expressions which are rejected by your vain heresy. Eran.-But why then did he who was the first to introduce the mixture insert so great a distinction in his arguments? Orth.-The power of truth forces even them that vehemently fight against her to agree with what she says, but, if you will, let us now begin a discussion about the impassibility of the Lord.

134 Eran.-You know that musicians are accustomed to give their strings rest, and they slacken them by turning the pegs; if then things altogether void of reason and soul stand in need of some recreation, we who partake of both shall do nothing absurd if we mete out our labour in proportion to our power. Let us then put it off till tomorrow. Orth.-The divine David charges us to give heed to the divine oracles by night and by day; but let it be as you say, and let us keep the investigation of the remainder of our subject till tomorrow.

DIALOGUE 3

1 Orthodoxus and Eranistes. Orth.-In our former discussions we have proved that God the Word is immutable, and became incarnate not by being changed into flesh, but by taking perfect human nature. The divine Scripture, and the teachers of the churches and luminaries of the world have clearly taught us that, after the union, He remained as He was, unmixed, impassible, unchanged, uncircumscribed; and that He preserved unimpaired the nature which He had taken. For the future then the subject before us is that of His passion, and it will be a very profitable one, for thence have been brought to us the waters of salvation. Eran.-I am also of opinion that this discourse will be beneficial. I shall not however consent to our former method, but I propose myself to ask questions. Orth.-And I will answer, without

making any objection to the change of method. He who has truth on his side, not only when he questions but also when he is questioned, is supported by the might of the truth. Ask then what you will.

2 Eran.-Who, according to your view, suffered the passion? Orth.-Our Lord Jesus Christ. Eran.-Then a than gave us our salvation. Orth.-No; for have we confessed that our Lord Jesus Christ was only man? Eran.-Now define what you believe Christ to be. Orth.-Incarnate Son of the living God. Eran.-And is the Son of God God? Orth.-God, having the same substance as the God Who begat Him. Eran.-Then God underwent the passion. Orth.-If He was nailed to the cross without a body, apply the passion to the Godhead; but if he was made man by taking flesh, why then do you exempt the passible from the passion and subject the impassible to it? Eran.-But the reason why He took flesh was that the impassible might undergo the passion by means of the passible. Orth.-You say impassible and apply passion to Him. Eran.-I said that He took flesh to suffer. Orth.-If He had had a nature capable or the Passion He would have suffered without flesh; so the flesh becomes superfluous.

3 Eran.-The divine nature is immortal, and the nature of the flesh mortal, so the immortal was united with the mortal, that through it He might taste of death. Orth.-That which is by nature immortal does not undergo death, even when conjoined with the mortal; this is easy to see. Eran.-Prove it; and remove the difficulty. Orth.-Do you assert that the humansoul was immortal, or mortal? Eran.-Immortal. Orth.-And is the body mortal or immortal? Eran.-Indubitably mortal. Orth.-And do we say that man consists of these natures? Eran.-Yes. Orth.-So the immortalis conjoinedwith the mortal? Eran.-True. Orth.-But when the connexion or union is at an end, the mortal submits to the law of death, while the soul remains immortal though sin has introduced death, or do you not hold death to be a penalty? Eran.-So divine Scripture teaches. For we learn that when God forbade Adam to partake of the tree of knowledge He added "on the day that ye eat thereof ye shall surely die."

4 Orth.-Then death is the punishment of them that have sinned? Eran.-Agreed. Orth.-Why then, when soul and body have both sinned together, does the body alone undergo the punishment of death? Eran.-It was the body that cast its evil eye upon the tree, and stretched forth its hands, and plucked the forbidden fruit. It was the mouth that bit it with the teeth, and ground

it small, and then the gullet committed it to the belly, and the belly digested it, and delivered it to the liver; and the liver turned what it had received into blood and passed it on to the hollow vein and the vein to the adjacent parts and they through the rest, and so the theft of the forbidden food pervaded the whole body. Very properly then the body alone underwent the punishment of sin. Orth.-You have given us a physiological disquisition on the nature of food, on all the parts that it goes through and on the modifications to which it is subject before it is assimilated with the body. But there is one point that you have refused to observe, and that is that the body goes through none of these processes which you have mentioned without the soul. When bereft of the soul which is its yoke mate the body lies breathless, voiceless, motionless; the eye sees neither wrong nor aright; no sound of voices reaches the ears, the hands cannot stir; the feet cannot walk; the body is like an instrument without music. How then can you say that only the body sinned when the body without the soul cannot even take a breath?

5 Eran.-The body does indeed receive life from the soul, and it furnishes the soul with the penal possession of sin. Orth.-How, and in what manner? Eran.-Through the eyes it makes it see amiss; through the ears it makes it hear unprofitable sounds; and through the tongue utter injurious words, and through all the other parts act ill. Orth.-Then I suppose we may say Blessed are the deaf; blessed are they that have lost their sight and have been deprived of their other faculties, for the souls of men so incapacitated have neither part nor lot in the wickedness of the body. And why, O most sagacious sir, have you mentioned those functions of the body which are culpable, and said nothing about the laudable? It is possible to look with eyes of love and of kindliness; it is possible to wipe away a tear of compunction, to hear oracles of God, to bend the ear to the poor, to praise the Creator with the tongue, to give good lessons to our neighbour, to move the hand in mercy, and in a word to use the parts of the body for complete acquisition of goodness.

6 Eran.-This is all true. Orth.-Therefore the observance and transgression of law is common to both soul and body. Eran.-Yes. Orth.-It seems to me that the soul takes the leading part in both, since it uses reasoning before the body acts. Eran.-In what sense do you say this? Orth.-First of all the mind makes, as it were, a sketch of virtue or of vice, and then gives to one or the other form with appropriate material and colour, using for its instruments

the parts of the body. Eran.-So it seems. Orth.-If then the soul sins with the body; nay rather takes the lead in the sin, for to it is entrusted the bridling and direction of the animal part, why, as it shares the sin, does it not also share the punishment? Eran.-But how were it possible for the immortal soul to share death? Orth.-Yet it were just that after sharing the transgression, it should share the chastisement.

7 Eran.-Yes, just. Orth.-But it did not do so. Eran.-Certainly not. Orth.-At least in the life to come it will be sent with the body to Gehenna. Eran.-So He said "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." Orth.-Therefore in this life it escapes death, as being immortal; in the life to come; it will be punished, not by undergoing death, but by suffering chastisement in life. Eran.-That is what the divine Scripture says. Orth.-It is then impossible for the immortal nature to undergo death. Eran.-So it appears. Orth.-How then do you say, God the Word tasted death? For if that which was created immortal is seen to be incapable of becoming mortal, how is it possible for him that is without creation and eternally immortal, Creator of mortal and immortal natures alike, to partake of death?

8 Eran.-We too know that His nature is immortal, but we say that He shared death in the flesh. Orth.-But we have plainly shewn that it is in no wise possible for that which is by nature immortal to share death, for even the soul created together with, and conjoined with, the body and sharing in its sin, does not share death with it, on account of the immortality of its nature alone. But let us look at this same position from another point of view. Eran.-There is every reason why we should leave no means untried to arrive at the truth. Orth.-Let us then examine the matter thus. Do we assert that of virtue and vice some are teachers and some are followers? Eran.-Yes. Orth.-And do we say that the teacher of virtue deserves greater recompense? Eran.-Certainly. Orth.-And similarly the teacher of vice deserves twofold and threefold punishment? Eran.-True. Orth.-And what part shall we assign to the devil, that of teacher or disciple?

9 Eran.-Teacher of teachers, for he himself is father and teacher of all iniquity. Orth.-And who of men became his first disciples? Eran.-Adam and Eve. Orth.-And who received the sentence of death? Eran.-Adam and all his race. Orth.-Then the disciples were punished for the bad lessons they had learnt, but the teacher, whom we have just declared to deserve two-fold and

three-fold chastisement, got off the punishment? Eran.-Apparently. Orth.-And though this so came about we both acknowledge and declare that the Judge is just. Eran.-Certainly. Orth.-But, being just, why did He not exact an account from him of his evil teaching? Eran.-He prepared for him the unquenchable flame of Gehenna, for, He says, "Depart from me ye cursed into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels." And the reason why he did not here share death with his disciples is because he has an immortal nature. Orth.-Then even the greatest transgressors cannot incur death if they have an immortal nature.

10 Eran.-Agreed. Orth.-If then even the very inventor and teacher of iniquity did not incur death on account of the immortality of his nature, do you not shudder at the thought of saying that the fount of immortality and righteousness shared death? Eran.-Had we said that he underwent the passion involuntarily, there would have been some just ground for the accusation which yon bring against us. But if the passion which is preached by us was spontaneous and the death voluntary, it becomes you, instead of accusing us, to praise the immensity of His love to man. For He suffered because He willed to suffer, and shared death because He wished it. Orth.-You seem to me to be quite ignorant of the divine nature, for the Lord God wishes nothing inconsistent with His nature, and is able to do all that He wishes, and what He wishes is appropriate and agreeable to His own nature.

11 Eran.-We have learnt that all things are possible with God. Orth.-In expressing yourself thus indefinitely you include even what belongs to the Devil, for to say absolutely all things is to name together not only good, but its opposite. Eran.-But did not the noble Job speak absolutely when he said "I know that thou canst do all things and with thee nothing is impossible"? Orth.-If you read what the justman said before, you will see the meaning of the one passage from the other, for he says "Remember, I beseech thee, that thou hast made me as the clay and wilt thou bring me into dust again? Hast thou not poured me out as milk and curdled me like cheese? Thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh and hast fenced me with bones and sinews, thou hast granted me life and favour." And then he adds:- "Having this in myself I know that thou canst do all things and that with thee nothing is impossible." Is it not therefore all that belongs to these things that he alleges to belong to the incorruptible nature, to the God of the universe?

12 Eran.-Nothing is impossible to Almighty God. Orth.-Then according to your definition sin is possible to Almighty God? Eran.-By no means. Orth.-Wherefore? Eran.-Because He does not wish it. Orth.-Wherefore does He not wish it? Eran.-Because sin is foreign to His nature. Orth.-Then there are many things which He cannot do, for there are many kinds of transgression. Eran.-Nothing of this kind can be wished or done by God. Orth.-Nor can those things which are contrary to the divine nature. Eran.-What are they? Orth.-As, for instance, we have learnt that God is intelligent and true Light. Eran.-True. Orth.-And we could not call Him darkness or say that He wished to become, or could become, darkness. Eran.-By no means. Orth.-Again, the Divine Scripture calls His nature invisible. Eran.-It does. Orth.-And we could never say that It is capable of being made visible. Eran.-No, surely. Orth.-Nor comprehensible. Eran.-No; for He is not so. Orth.-No; for He is incomprehensible, and altogether unapproachable.

13 Eran.-You are right. Orth.-And He that is could never become non-existent. Eran.-Away with the thought! Orth.-Nor yet could the Father become Son. Eran.-Impossible. Orth.-Nor yet could the unbegotten become begotten. Eran.-How could He. Orth.-And the Father could never become Son? Eran.-By no means. Orth.-Nor could the Holy Ghost ever become Son or Father. Eran.-All this is impossible. Orth.-And we shall find many other things of the same kind, which are similarly impossible, for the Eternal will not become of time, nor the Uncreate created and made, nor the infinite finite, and the like. Eran.-None of these is possible. Orth.-So we have found many things which are impossible to Almighty God. Eran.-True. Orth.-But not to be able in any of these respects is proof not of weakness, but of infinite power, and to be able would certainly be proof not of power but of impotence. Eran.-How do you say this? 14 Orth.-Because each one of these proclaims the unchangeable and invariable character of God. For the impossibility of good becoming evil signifies the immensity of the goodness; and that He that is just should never become unjust, nor He that is true a liar, exhibits the stability and the strength that there is in truth and righteousness. Thus the true light could never become darkness; He that is could never become nonexistent, for the existence is perpetual and the light is naturally invariable. And so, after examining all other examples, you will find that the not being able is declaratory of the highest power. That things of this kind are impossible in the case of God, the divine Apostle also both perceived and laid

down, for in his Epistle to the Hebrews he says, "that by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie we might have a strong consolation." He shews that this incapacity is not weakness, but very power, for he asserts Him to be so true that it is impossible for there to be even a lie in Him. So the power of truth is signified through its want of power. And writing to the blessed Timothy, the Apostle adds "It is a faithful saying, for if we be dead with Him we shall also live with Him, if we suffer we shall also reign with Him; if we deny Him He will also deny us, if we believe not yet He abideth faithful, He cannot deny Himself." Again then the phrase "He cannot" is indicative of infinite power, for even though all men deny Him He says God is Himself, and cannot exist otherwise than in His own nature, for His being is indestructible. This is what is meant by the words "He cannot deny Himself." Therefore the impossibility of change for the worse proves infinity of power.

15 Eran.-This is quite true and in harmony with the divine words. Orth.-Granted then that with God many things are impossible,-everything, that is, which is repugnant to the divine nature,-how comes it that while you omit all the other qualities which belong to the divine nature, goodness, righteousness, truth, invisibility, incomprehensibility, infinity, and eternity, and the rest of the attributes which we assert to be proper to God, you maintain that His immortality and impassibility alone are subject to change, and in them concede the possibility of variation and give to God a capacity indicative of weakness? Eran.-We have learnt this from the divine Scripture. The divine John exclaims "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son," and the divine Paul,"For if when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, much more being reconciled we shall be saved by His life."

16 Orth.-Of course all this is true, for these are divine oracles, but remember what we have often confessed. Eran.-What? Orth.-We have confessed that God the Word the Son of God did not appear without a body, but assumed perfect human nature. Eran.-Yes; this we have confessed. Orth.-And He was called Son of Man because He took a body and human soul. Eran.-True. Orth.-Therefore the Lord Jesus Christ is verily our God; for of these two natures the one was His from everlasting and the other He assumed. Eran.-Indubitably. Orth.-While, then, as man He underwent the passion, as God He remained incapable of suffering. Eran.-How then does the divine

Scripture say that the Son of God suffered? Orth.-Because the body which suffered was His body. But let us look at the matter thus; when we hear the divine Scripture saying "And it came to pass when Isaac was old his eyes were dim so that he could not see," whither is our mind carried and on what does it rest, on Isaac's soul or on his body?

17 Eran.-Of course on his body. Orth.-Do we then conjecture that his soul also shared in the affection of blindness? Eran.-Certainly not. Orth.-We assert that only his body was deprived of the sense of sight? Eran.-Yes. Orth.-And again when we hear Amaziah saying to the prophet Amos, "Oh thou seer go flee away into the land of Judah," and Saul enquiring: "Tell me I pray thee where the seer's house is," we understand nothing bodily. Eran.-Certainly not. Orth.-And yet the words used are significant of the health of the organ of sight. Eran.-True. Orth.-Yet we know that the power of the Spirit when given to purer souls inspires prophetic grace and causes them to see even hidden things, and, in consequence of their thus seeing, they are called seers and beholders. Eran.-What you say is true. Orth.-And let us consider this too. Eran.-What? Orth.-When we hear the story of the divine evangelists narrating how they brought to God a man sick of the palsy, laid upon a bed, do we say that this was paralysis of the parts of the soul or of the body?

18 Eran.-Plainly of the body. Orth.-And when while reading the Epistle to the Hebrews we light upon the passage where the Apostle says "Wherefore lift up the hands which hang down and the feeble knees and make straight paths for your feet lest that which is lame be turned out of the way, but let it rather be healed," do we say that the divine Apostle said these things about the parts of the body? Eran.-No. Orth.-Shall we say that he was for removing the feebleness and infirmity of the soul and stimulating the disciples to manliness? Eran.-Obviously. Orth.-But we do not find these things distinguished in the divine Scripture, for in describing the blindness of Isaac he made no reference to the body, but spoke of Isaac as absolutely blind, nor in describing the prophets as seers and beholders did he say that their souls saw and beheld what was hidden, but mentioned the persons themselves.

19 Eran.-Yes; this is so. Orth.-And he did not point out that the body of the paralytic was palsied, but called the man a paralytic. Eran.-True. Orth.-And even the divine Apostle made no special mention of the souls, though it was these that he purposed to strengthen and to rouse. Eran.-No; he did not. Orth.-But when we examine the meaning of the words, we understand

which belongs to the soul and which to the body. Eran.-And very naturally; for God made us reasonable beings. Orth.-Then let us make use of this reasoning faculty in the case of our Maker and Saviour, and let us recognise what belongs to His Godhead and what to His manhood. Eran.-But by doing this we shall destroy the supreme union. Orth.-In the case of Isaac, of the prophets, of the man sick of the palsy, and of the rest, we did so without destroying the natural union of the soul and of the body; we did not even separate the souls from their proper bodies, but by reason alone distinguished what belonged to the soul and what to the body. Is it not then monstrous that while we take this course in the case of souls and bodies, we should refuse to do so in the caseof our Saviour, and confound natures which differ not in the same proportion as soul from body, but in as vast a degree as the temporal from the eternal and the Creator from the created?

20 Eran.-The divine Scripture says that the Son of God underwent the passion. Orth.-We deny that it was suffered by any other, but none the less, taught by the divine Scripture, we know that the nature of the Godhead is impassible. We are told of impassibility and of passion, of manhood and of Godhead, and we therefore attribute the passion to the passible body, and confess that no passion was undergone by the nature that was impassible. Eran.-Then a body won our salvation for us. Orth.-Yes; but not a mere man's body, but that of our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God. If you regard this body as insignificant and of small account, how can you hold its type to be an object of worship and a means of salvation? and how can the archetype be contemptible and insignificant of that of which the type is adorable and honourable?

21 Eran.-I do not look on the body as of small account, but I object to dividing it from the Godhead. Orth.-We, my good sir, do not divide the union but we regard the peculiar properties of the natures, and I am sure that in a moment you will take the same view. Eran.-You talk like a prophet. Orth.-No; not like a prophet, but as knowing the power of truth. But now answer me this. When you hear the Lord saying "I and my Father are one," and "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father," do you say that this refers to the flesh or to the Godhead? Eran.-How can the flesh and the Father possibly be of one substance? Orth.-Then these passages indicate the Godhead? Eran.-True. Orth.-And so with the text, "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was God," and the like. Eran.-Agreed. Orth.-Again when the divine

Scripture says. "Jesus therefore being wearied with his journey sat thus on the well," of what is the weariness to be understood, of the Godhead or of the body?

22 Eran.-I cannot bear to divide what is united. Orth.-Then it seems you attribute the weariness to the divine nature? Eran.-I think so. Orth.-But then yon directly contradict the exclamation of the prophet "He fainteth not neither is weary; there is no searching of His understanding. He giveth power to the faint and to them that have no might he increaseth strength." And a little further on "But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles, they shall run and not be weary and they shall walk and not faint." Now how can He who bestows upon others the boon of freedom from weariness and want, possibly be himself subject to hunger and thirst? Eran.-I have said over and over again that God is impassible, and free from all want, but after the incarnation He became capable of suffering. Orth.-But did He do this by admitting the sufferings in His Godhead, or by permitting the passible nature to undergo its natural sufferings and by suffering proclaim that what was seen was no unreality, but was really assumed of human nature? But now let us look at the matter thus: we say that the divine nature was uncircumscribed.

23 Eran.-Aye. Orth.-And uncircumscribed nature is circumscribed by none. Eran.-Of course not. Orth.-It therefore needs no transition for it is everywhere. Eran.-True. Orth.-And that which needs no transition needs not to travel. Eran.-That is clear. Orth.-And that which does not travel does not grow weary. Eran.-No. Orth.-It follows then that the divine nature, which is uncircumscribed, and needs not to travel, was not weary. Eran.-But the divine Scripture says that Jesus was weary, and Jesus is God; "And our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things." Orth.-But the exact expression of the divine Scripture is that Jesus "was wearied" not "is wearied." We must consider how one and the other can be applied to the sameperson. Eran.-Well; try to point this out, for you are always for forcing on us the distinctionof terms. Orth.-I think that even a barbarian might easily make this distinction. The union of unlike natures being conceded, the person of Christ on account of the union receives both; to each nature its own properties are attributed; to the uncircumscribed immunity from weariness, to that which is capable of transition and travel weariness. For travelling is the function of the feet; of the muscles to be strained by over exercise.

24 Eran.-There is no controversy about these being bodily affections. Orth.-Well then; the prediction which I made, and you scoffed at, has come true; for look; you have shewn us what belongs to manhood, and what belongs to Godhead. Eran.-But I have not divided one son into two. Orth.-Nor do we, my friend; but giving heed to the difference of the natures, we consider what befits godhead, and what is proper to a body. Eran.-This distinction is not the teaching of the divine Scripture; it says that the Son of God died. So the Apostle;-"For if when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son." And he says that the Lord was raised from the dead for "God" he says "raised the Lord from the dead." Orth.-And when the divine Scripture says "And devout men carried Stephen to his burial and made great lamentation over him" would any one say that his soul was committed to the grave as well as his body?

25 Eran.-Of course not. Orth.-And when you hear the Patriarch Jacob saying "Bury me with my Fathers." do you suppose this refers to the body or to the soul? Eran.-To the body; without question. Orth.-Now read what follows. Eran.-"There they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife. There they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife and there I buried Leah." Orth.-Now, in the passages which you have just read, the divine Scripture makes no mention of the body, but as far as the words used go, signifies soul as well as body. We however make the proper distinction and say that the souls of the patriarchs were immortal, and that only their bodies were buried in the double cave. Eran.-True. Orth.-And when we read in the Acts how Herod slew James the brother of John with a sword, we are not likely to hold that his soul died. Eran.-No; how could we? We remember the Lord's warning "Fear not them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul."

26 Orth.-But does it not seem to you impious and monstrous in the case of mere men to avoid the invariable connexion of soul and body, and in the case of scriptural references to death and burial, to distinguish in thought the soul from the body and connect them only with the body, while in trust in the teaching of the Lord you hold the soul to be immortal, and then when you hear of the passion of the Son of God to follow quite a different course? Are you justified in making no mention of the body to which the passion belongs, and in representing the divine nature which is impassible, immutable and immortal as mortal and passible? While all the while you know that if the nature of God the Word is capable of suffering, the assump-

tion of the body was superfluous. Eran.-We have learnt from the Divine Scriptures that the Son of God suffered.

27 Orth.-But the divine apostle interprets the Passion, and shews what nature suffered. Eran.-Show me this at once and clear the matter up. Orth.-Are you not acquainted with the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews in which the divine Paul says "For which cause He is not ashamed to call them brethren saying `I will declare thy name unto my brethren, in the midst of the Church will I sing praise unto Thee.' And again, `Behold I and the children which God hath given me.'" Eran.-Yes, I know this, but this does not give us what you promised. Orth.-Yes: even these suggest what I promised to shew. The word brotherhood signifies kinship, and the kinship is due to the assumption of the nature, and the assumption openly proclaims the impassibility of the Godhead. But to understand this the more plainly read what follows. Eran.-"Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, He also Himself likewise took part of the same that through death He might destroy him that hath the power of death ...and deliver them who through fear of death were all their life subject to bondage."

28 Orth.-This, I think, needs no explanation; it teaches clearly the mystery of the oeconomy. Eran.-I see nothing here of what you promised to prove. Orth.-Yet the divine Apostle teaches plainly that the Creator, pitying this nature not only seized cruelly by death, but throughout all life made death's slave, effected the resurrection through a body for our bodies, and, by means of a mortal body, undid the dominion of death; for since His own nature was immortal He righteously wished to stay the sovereignty of death by taking the first fruits of them that were subject to death, and while He kept these first fruits (i.e. the body) blameless and free from sin, on the one hand He gave death license to lay hands on it and so satisfy its insatiability, while on the other, for the sake of the wrong done to this body, he put a stop to the unrighteous sovereignty usurped over all the rest of men. These first-fruits unrighteously engulfed He raised again and will make the race to follow them.

29 Set this explanation side by side with the words of the Apostle, and you will understand the impassibility of the Godhead. Eran.-In what has been read there is no proof of the divine impassibility. Orth.-Nay: does not the statement of the divine Apostle, that the reason of His making the children partakers of the flesh and blood was that through death He might destroy

him that hath the power of death, distinctly signify the impassibility of the Godhead, and the passibility of the flesh, and that because the divine nature could not suffer He assumed the nature that could and through it destroyed the power of the devil? Eran.-How did He destroy the power of the devil and the dominion of death through the flesh? Orth.-What arms did the devil use at the beginning when he enslaved the nature of men? Eran.-The means by which he took captive him who had been constituted citizen of Paradise, was sin.

30 Orth.-And what punishment did God assign for the transgression of the commandment? Eran.-Death. Orth.-Then sin is the mother of death, and the devil its father. Eran.-True. Orth.-War then was waged against human nature by sin. Sin seduced them that obeyed it to slavery, brought them to its vile father, and delivered them to its very bitter offspring. Eran.-That is plain. Orth.-So with reason the Creator, with the intention of destroying either power, assumed the nature against which war was being waged, and, by keeping it clear of all sin, both set it free from the sovereignty of the devil, and, by its means, destroyed the devil's dominion. For since death is the punishment of sinners, and death unrighteously and against the divine law seized the sinless body of the Lord, He first raised up that which was unlawfully detained, and then promised release to them that were with justice imprisoned.

31 Eran.-But how do you think it just that the resurrection of Him who was unlawfully detained should be shared by the bodies which had been righteously delivered to death? Orth.-And how do you think it just that, when it was Adam who transgressed the commandment, his race should follow their forefather? Eran.-Although the race had not participated in the famous transgression, yet it committed other sins, and for this cause incurred death. Orth.-Yet not sinners only but just men, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and men who have shone bright in many kinds of virtue have come into death's meshes. Eran.-Yes; for how could a family sprung of mortal parents remain immortal? Adam after the transgression and the divine sentence, and after coming under the power of death, knew his wife, and was called father; having himself become mortal he was made father of mortals; reasonably then all who have received mortal nature follow their forefather.

32 Orth.-You have shewn very well the reason of our being partakers of death. The same however must be granted about the resurrection, for the

remedy must be meet for the disease. When the head of the race was doomed, all the race was doomed with him, and so when the Saviour destroyed the curse, human nature won freedom; and just as they that shared Adam's nature followed him in his going down into Hades, so all the nature of men will share in newness of life with the Lord Christ in His resurrection. Eran.-The decrees of the Church must be given not only declaratorily but demonstratively. Tell me then how these doctrines are taught in the divine Scripture. 33 Orth.-Listen to the Apostle writing to the Romans, and through them teaching all mankind: "For if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many. And not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift; for the judgment was by one to condemnation, but the free gift is of many offences unto justification. For if by one man's offence death reigned by one; much more they which receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ" and again: "Therefore as by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous. And when introducing to the Corinthians his argument about the resurrection he shortly reveals to them the mystery of the oeconomy, and says: "But now is Christ risen from the dead and become the first fruits of them which slept. For since by man came death by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. So I have brought you proofs from the divine oracles.

34 Now look at what belongs to Adam compared with what belongs to Christ, the disease with the remedy, the wound with the salve, the sin with the wealth of righteousness, the ban with the blessing, the doom with the delivery, the transgression with the observance, the death with the life, hell with the kingdom, Adam with Christ, the man with the Man. And yet the Lord Christ is not only man but eternal God, but the divine Apostle names Him from the nature which He assumed, because it is in this nature that he compares Him with Adam. The justification, the struggle, the victory, the death, the resurrection are all of this human nature; it is this nature which we share with Him; in this nature they who have exercised themselves beforehand in the citizenship of the kingdom shall reign with Him. Of this

nature I spoke, not dividing the Godhead, but referring to what is proper to the manhood.

35 Eran.-You have gone through long discussions on this point, and have strengthened your argument by scriptural testimony, but if the passion was really of the flesh, how is it that when he praises the divine love to men, the Apostle exclaims, "He that spared not His own Son but delivered Him up for us all," what son does he say was delivered up? Orth.-Watch well your words. There is one Son of God, wherefore He is called only begotten. Eran.-If then there is one Son of God, the divine Apostle called him own Son. Orth.-True. Eran.-Then he says that He was delivered up. Orth.-Yes, but not without a body, as we have agreed again and again. Eran.-It has been agreed again and again that He took body and soul. Orth.-Therefore the Apostle spoke of what relates to the body. Eran.-The divide Apostle says distinctly "Who spared not his own Son."

36 Orth.-When then you hear God saying to Abraham "Because thou hast not withheld thy son thy only son," do you allege that Isaac was slain? Eran.-Of course not. Orth.-And yet God said "Thou hast not withheld," and the God of all is true. Eran.-The expression "thou hast not withheld" refers to the readiness of Abraham, for he was ready to sacrifice the lad, but God prevented it. Orth.-Well; in the story of Abraham you were not content with the letter, but unfolded it and made the meaning clear. In precisely the same manner examine the meaning of the words of the Apostle. Your will then see that it was by no means the divine nature which was not withheld, but the flesh nailed to the Cross. And it is easy to perceive the truth even in the type. Do you regard Abraham's sacrifice as a type of the oblation offered on behalf of the world?

37 Eran.-Not at all, nor yet can I make words spoken rhetorically in the churches a rule of faith. Orth.-You ought by all means to follow teachers of the Church, but, since you improperly oppose yourself to these, hear the Saviour Himself when addressing the Jews; "Your Father Abraham rejoiced to see my day and he saw it and was glad." Note that the Lord calls His passion "a day." Eran.-I accept the Lord's testimony and do not doubt the type. Orth.-Now compare the type with the reality and you will see the impassibility of the Godhead even in the type. Both in the former and in the latter there is a Father; both in the former and the latter a well beloved Son, each bearing the material for the sacrifice. The one bore the wood, the other the

cross upon his shoulders. It is said that the top of the hill was dignified by the sacrifice of both. There is a correspondence moreover between the number of days and nights and the resurrection which followed, for after Isaac had been slain by his father's willing heart, on the third day after the bountiful God had ordered the deed to be done, he rose to new life at the voice of Him who loves mankind. A lamb was seen caught in a thicket, furnishing an image of the cross, and slain instead of the lad. Now if this is a type of the reality, and in the type the only begotten Son did not undergo sacrifice, but a lamb was substituted and laid upon the altar and completed the mystery of the oblation, why then in the reality do you hesitate to assign the passion to the flesh, and to proclaim the impassibility of the Godhead?

38 Eran.-In your observations upon this type you represent Isaac as living again at the divine command. There is nothing therefore unseemly if, fitting the reality to the type, we declare that God the Word suffered and came to life again. Orth.-I have said again and again that it is quite impossible for the type to match the archetypal reality in every respect, and this may also be easily understood in the present instance. Isaac and the lamb, as touching the difference of their natures, suit the image, but as touching the separation of their divided persons they do so no longer. We preach so close an union of Godhead and of manhood as to understand one person undivided, and to acknowledge the same to be both God and man, visible and invisible, circumscribed and uncircumcscribed, and we apply to one of the persons all the attributes which are indicative alike of Godhead and of manhood. Now since the lamb, an unreasoning being, and not gifted with the divine image, could not possibly prefigure the restoration to life, the two divide between them the type of the mystery of the oeconomy, and while one furnishes the image of death, the other supplies that of the resurrection. We find precisely the same thing in the Mosaic sacrifices, for in them too may. be seen a type outlined in anticipation of the passion of salvation.

39 Eran.-What Mosaic sacrifice foreshadows the reality? Orth.-All the Old Testament, so to say, is a type of the New. It is for this reason that the divine Apostle plainly says-"the Law having a shadow of good things to come" and again "now all these things happened unto them for ensamples." The image of the archetype is very distinctly exhibited by the lamb slain in Egypt, and by the red heifer burned without the camp, and moreover referred to by the Apostle in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where he writes "Wherefore Jesus also

that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate." But of this no more for the present. I will however mention the sacrifice in which two goats were offered, the one being slain, and the other let go. In these two goats there is an anticipative image of the two natures of the Saviour;-in the one let go, of the impassible Godhead, in the one slain, of the passible manhood.

40 Eran.-Do you not think it irreverent to liken the Lord to goats? Orth.-Which do you think is a fitter object of avoidance and hate, a serpent or a goat? Eran.-A serpent is plainly hateful, for it injuries those who come within its reach, and often hurts people who do it no harm. A goat on the other hand comes, according to the Law, in the list of animals that are clean and may be eaten. Orth.-Now hear the Lord likening the passion of salvation to the brazen serpent. He says: "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness even so must the Son of man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life." If a brazen serpent was a type of the crucified Saviour, of what impropriety are we guilty in comparing the passion of salvation with the sacrifice of the goats?

41 Eran.-Because John called the Lord "a lamb," and Isaiah called Him "lamb" and "sheep." Orth.-But the blessed Paul calls Him "sin" and "curse." As curse therefore He satisfies the type of the accursed serpent; as sin He explains the figure of the sacrifice of the goats, for on behalf of sin, in the Law, a goat, and not a lamb, was offered. So the Lord in the Gospels likened the just to lambs, but sinners to kids; and since He was ordained to undergo the passion not only on behalf of just men, but also of sinners, He appropriately foreshadows His own offering through lambs and goats. Eran.-But the type of the two goats leads us to think of two persons. Orth.-The passibility of the manhood and the impassibility of the Godhead could not possibly be prefigured both at once by one goat. The one which was slain could not have shewn the living nature. So two were taken in order to explain the two natures. The same lesson may well be learnt from another sacrifice.

42 Eran.-From which? Orth.-From that in which the lawgiver bids two pure birds be offered-one to be slain, and the other, after having been dipped in the blood of the slain, to be let go. Here also we see a type of the Godhead and of the manhood-of the manhood slain and of the godhead appropriating the passion. Eran.-You have given us many types, but I object to enigmas. Orth.-Yet the divine Apostle says that the narratives are types. Hagar is called

a type of the old covenant; Sarah is likened to the heavenly Jerusalem; Ishmael is a type of Israel, and Isaac of the new people. So you must accuse the loud trumpet of the Spirit for giving its enigmas for us all. Eran.-Though you urge any number of arguments, you will never induce me to divide the passion. I have heard the voice of the angel saying to Mary and her companions, "Come, see the place where the Lord lay."

43 Orth.-This is quite in accordance with our common customs; we speak of the part by the name which belongs to all the parts. When we go into the churches where are buried the holy apostles or prophets or martyrs, we ask from time to time, "Who is it who lies in the shrine?" and those who are able to give us information say in reply, Thomas, it may be, the Apostle, or John the Baptist, or Stephen the protomartyr, or any other of the saints, mentioning them by name, though perhaps only a few scanty relics of them lie here. But no one who hears these names which are common to both body and soul will imagine that the souls also are shut up in the chests; everybody knows that the chests contain only the bodies or even small portions of the bodies. The holy angel spoke in precisely the same manner when he described the body by the name of the person.

44 Eran.-But how can you prove that the angel spoke to the women about the Lord's body? 45 Orth.-In the first place, the tomb itself suffices to settle the question, for to a tomb is committed neither soul nor Godhead whose nature is uncircumscribed; tombs are made for bodies. Furthermore this is plainly taught by the divine Scripture, for so the holy Matthew narrates the event, "When the even was come there came a rich man of Arimathaea named Joseph who also himself was Jesus' disciple: he went to Pilate and begged the body of Jesus. Then Pilate commanded the body to be delivered, and when Joseph had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock: and he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre and departed. See how often he mentions the body in order to stop the mouths of them who blaspheme the Godhead. The same course is pursued by the thrice blessed Mark, whose narrative I will also quote. "And now when the even was come, because it was the preparation, that is, the day before the Sabbath, Joseph of Arimathaea, an honourable counsellor, which also waited for the kingdom of God, came, and went in boldly unto Pilate, and craved the body of Jesus. And Pilate

marvelled if He were already dead; and calling unto him the centurion, he asked him whether He had been any while dead.

46 And when he knew it of the centurion, he gave the body to Joseph, and he brought fine linen, and took him down, and wrapped Him in the linen, and laid Him in a sepulchre," and so on. Observe with admiration, the harmony of terms, and how consistently and continuously the word body is introduced. The illustrious Luke, too, relates just in the same way how Joseph begged the body and after he had received it treated it with due rites. By the divine John we are told yet more, "Joseph of Arimathaea being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews, besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus; and Pilate gave him leave. He came therefore and took the body of Jesus. And there came also Nicodemus, which at the first came to Jesus by night, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes about a hundred pound weight. Then took they the body of Jesus and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury. Now in the place where He was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid. There laid they Jesus therefore because of the Jews' preparation day, for the sepulchre was nigh at band. Observe how often mention is made of the body;

47 how the Evangelist shows that it was the body which was nailed to the cross, the body begged by Joseph of Pilate, the body taken down from the tree, the body wrapped in linen clothes with the myrrh and aloes, and then the name of the person given to it; and Jesus said to have been laid in a tomb. Thus the angel said, "Come see the place where the Lord lay," naming the part by the name of the whole; and we constantly do just the same. In this place, we say, such an one was buried; not the body of such an one. Every one in his senses knows that we are speaking of the body, and such a mode of speech is customary in divine Scripture. Aaron, we read, died and they buried him on Mount Hor. Samuel died and they buried him at Ramah, and there are many similar instances. The same use is followed by the divine Apostle when speaking of the death of the Lord. "I delivered unto you first of all," he writes, "that which I also received how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that He was buried, and that He rose again the third day according to the Scriptures," and so on.

48 Eran.-In the passages we have just now read the Apostle does not mention a body, but Christ the Saviour of us all. You have brought evidence

against your own side, and wounded yourself with your own weapon. Orth.-You seem to have very quickly forgotten the long discourse in which I proved to you over and over again that the body is spoken of by the name of the person. This is what is now done by the divine Apostle, and it can easily be proved from this very passage. Now let us look at it. Why did the divine writer write thus to the Corinthians? Eran.-They had been deceived by some into believing that there is no resurrection. When the teacher of the world learnt this he furnished them with his arguments about the resurrection of the bodies. Orth.-Why then does he introduce the resurrection of the Lord, when he wishes to prove the resurrection of the bodies?

49 Eran.-As sufficient to prove the resurrection of us all. Orth.-In what is His death like the death of the rest; that by His resurrection may be proved the resurrection of all? Eran.-The reason of the incarnation, suffering, and death of the only begotten Son of God, was that He might destroy death. Thus, after rising, by His own resurrection He preaches the resurrection of all. Orth.-But who, hearing of a resurrection of God, would ever believe that the resurrection of all men would be exactly like it? The difference of the natures does not allow of our believing in the argument of the resurrection. He is God and they are men, and the difference between God and men is incalculable. They are mortal, and subject to death, like to the grass and to the flower. He is almighty. Eran.-But after His incarnation God the Word had a body, and through this He proved His likeness to men.

50 Orth.-Yes; and for this reason the suffering and the death and the resurrection are all of the body, and in proof of this the divine Apostle in another place promises renewal of life to all, and to them that believe in the resurrection of their Saviour, yet look upon the general resurrection of all as fable, he exclaims, "Now if Christ be preached that He rose from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead? But if there is no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen, and if Christ he not risen ...your faith is vain, you are yet ill your sins." And from the past he confirms the future, and from what is disbelieved he disproves what is believed, for he says, If the one seems impossible to you, then the other will be false; if the one seems real and true, then let the other in like manner seem true, for here too a resurrection of the body is preached, and this body is called the first fruits of those. The resurrection of this body after many arguments he affirms directly, "But now is Christ risen from the dead and be-

come the firstfruits of them that slept, for since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead, for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive," and he does not only confirm the argument of the resurrection, but also reveals the mystery of the oeconomy. He calls Christ man that he may prove the remedy to be appropriate to the disease.

51 Eran.-Then the Christ is only a man. Orth.-God forbid. On the contrary, we have again and again confessed that He is not only man but eternal God. But He suffered as man, not as God. And this the divine Apostle clearly teaches us when he says "For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead." And in his letter to the Thessalonians, he strengthens his argument concerning the general resurrection by that of our Saviour in the passage "For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him." Eran.-The Apostle proves the general resurrection by means of the Lord's resurrection, and it is clear that in this case also what died and rose was a body. For he would never have attempted to prove the general resurrection by its means unless there had been some relation between the substance of the one and the other. I shall never consent to apply the passion to the human nature alone. It seems agreeable to my view to say that God the Word died in the flesh.

52 Orth.-We have frequently shewn that what is naturally immortal can in no way die. If then He died He was not immortal; and what perils lie in the blasphemy of the words. Eran.-He is by nature immortal, but He became man and suffered. Orth.-Therefore He underwent change, for how otherwise could He being immortal submit to death? But we have agreed that the substance of the Trinity is immutable. Having therefore a nature superior to change, He by no means shared death. Eran.-The divine Peter says "Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh." Orth.-This agrees with what we have said, for we have learnt the rule of dogmas from the divine Scripture. Eran.-How then can you deny that God the Word suffered in the flesh? Orth.-Because we have not found this expression in the divine Scripture. Eran.-But I have just quoted you the utterance of the great Peter. Orth.-You seem to ignore the distinction of the terms.

53 Eran.-What terms? Do you not regard the Lord Christ as God the Word? Orth.-The term Christ in the case of our Lord and Saviour signifies the incarnate Word the Immanuel, God with us, both God and man, but the term "God the Word" so said signifies the simple nature before the world, su-

perior to time, and incorporeal. Wherefore the Holy Ghost that spake through the holy Apostles nowhere attributes passion or death to this name. Eran.-If the passion is attributed to the Christ, and God the Word after being made man was called Christ, I hold that he who states God the Word to have suffered in the flesh is in no way unreasonable. Orth.-Hazardous and rash in the extreme is such an attempt. But let us look at the question in this way. Does the divine Scripture state God the Word to be of God and of the Father?

54 Eran.-True. Orth.-And it describes the Holy Ghost as being in like manner of God? Eran.-Agreed. Orth.-But it calls God the Word only begotten Son. Eran.-It does. Orth.-It nowhere so names the Holy Ghost. Eran.-No. Orth.-Yet the Holy Ghost also has Its subsistence of the Father and God. Eran.-True. Orth.-We grant then that both the Son and the Holy Ghost are both of God the Father; but would you dare to call the Holy Ghost Son? Eran.-Certainly not. Orth.-Why? Eran.-Because I do not find this term in the divine Scripture. Orth.-Or begotten? Eran.-No. Orth.-Wherefore? Eran.-Because I no more learn this in the divine Scripture. Orth.-But what name can properly be given to that which is neither begotten nor created? Eran.-We style it uncreated and unbegotten. Orth.-And we say that the Holy Ghost is neither created nor begotten. Eran.-By no means. Orth.-Would you then dare to call the Holy Ghost unbegotten? Eran.-No.

55 Orth.-But why refuse to call that which is naturally uncreate, but not begotten, unbegotten? Eran.-Because I have not learnt so from the divine Scripture, and I am greatly afraid of saying, or using language which Scripture does not use. Orth.-Then, my good sir, I maintain the same caution in the case of the passion of salvation; do you too avoid all the divine names which Scripture has avoided in the case of the passion, and do not attribute the passion to them. Eran.-What names? Orth.-The passion is never connected with the name "God." Eran.-But even I do not affirm that God the Word suffered apart from a body, but say that He suffered in flesh. Orth.-You affirm then a mode of passion, not impassibility. No one would ever say this even in the case of a human body. For who not altogether out of his senses would say that the soul of Paul died in flesh? This could never be said even in the case of a great villain; for the souls even of the wicked are immortal. We say that such or such a murderer has been slain, but no one would ever say that his soul had been killed in the flesh. But if we describe the souls of murderers

and violators of sepulchres as free from death, far more right is it to acknowledge as immortal the soul of our Saviour, in that it never tasted sin. If the souls of them who have most greatly erred have escaped death on account of their nature, how could that soul, whose nature was immortal and who never received the least taint of sin, have taken death's hook?

56 Eran.-It is quite useless for you to give me all these long arguments. We are agreed that the soul of the Saviour is immortal. Orth.-But of what punishment are you not deserving, you who say that the soul, which is by nature created, is immortal, and are for making the divine substance mortal for the Word; you who deny that the soul of the Saviour tasted death in the flesh, and dare to maintain that God the Word, Creator of all things, underwent the passion? Eran.-We say that lie underwent the passion impassibly. Orth.-And what man in his senses would ever put up with such ridiculous riddles? Who ever heard of an impassible passion, or of an immortal mortality? The impassible has never undergone passion, and what has undergone passion could not possibly be impassible. But we hear the exclamation of the divine Paul: "Who only hath immortality dwelling in the light which no than can approach unto."

57 Eran.-Why then do we say that the invisible powers too and the souls of men, aye and the very devils, are immortal? Orth.-We do say so; that God is absolutely immortal. He is immortal not by partaking of substance, but in substance; He does not possess an immortality which He has received of another. It is He Himself who has bestowed their immortality on the angels and on them that thou hast just now mentioned. How, moreover, when the divine Paul styles Him immortal and says that He only hath immortality, can you attribute to Him the passion of death? Eran.-We say that He tasted death after the incarnation. Orth.-But over and over again we have confessed Him immutable. If being previously immortal He afterwards underwent death through the flesh, a change having preceded His undergoing death; if His life left Him for three days and three nights, how do such statements fall short of the most extreme impiety? For I think that not even they that are struggling against impiety can venture to let such words fall from their lips without peril.

58 Eran.-Cease from charging us with impiety. Even we say that not the divine nature suffered but the human; but we do say that the divine shared with the body in suffering. Orth.-What can you mean by sharing in suffer-

ing? Do you mean that when the nails were driven into the body the divine nature felt the sense of pain? Eran.-I do. Orth.-Both now and in our former investigations we have shewn that the soul does not share all the faculties of the body but that the body while it receives vital force has the sense of suffering through the soul. And even supposing us to grant that the soul shares in pain with the body we shall none the less find the divine nature to be impassible, for it was not united to the body instead of a soul. Or do you not acknowledge that He assumed a soul? Eran.-I have often acknowledged it.

59 Orth.-And that He assumed a reasonable Soul? Eran.-Yes. Orth.-If then together with the body He assumed the soul, and we grant that the soul shared in suffering with the body, then the soul, not the Godhead, shared the passion with the body; it shared the passion, receiving pangs by means of the body. But possibly somebody might agree to the soul sharing suffering with the body, but might deny its sharing death, because of its having an immortal nature. On this account the Lord said "Fear not them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul." If then we deny that the soul of the Saviour shared death with the body, how could any one accept the blasphemy you and your friends presumptuously promulgate when you dare to say that the divine nature participated in death? This is the more inexcusable when the Lord points out at one time that the body was being offered, at another that the soul was being troubled.

60 Eran.-And where doth the Lord shew that the body was being offered? Or are you going to bring me once more that well worn passage "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up"? Or with your conceited self-sufficiency are you going to quote me the words of the Evangelist? "But He spake of the temple of his body. When therefore He was risen from the dead His disciples remembered that He had said this unto them and they believed the Scripture and the words which He had said." Orth.-If you have such a detestation of the divine words which preach the mystery of the incarnation, why, like Marcion and Valentinus and Manes, do you not destroy texts of this kind? For this is what they have done. But if this seems to you rash and impious, do not turn the Lord's words into ridicule, but rather follow the Apostles in their belief after the resurrection that the Godhead raised again the temple which the Jews had destroyed.

61 Eran.-If you have any good evidence to adduce, give over gibing and fulfil your promise. Orth.-Remember specially those words of the gospels in

which the Lord made a comparison between manna and the true bread. Eran.-I remember. Orth.-In that passage after speaking at some length about the bread of life, he added, "The bread that I will give is my flesh which I will give for the life of the world." In these words may be understood alike the bounty of the Godhead and the boon of the flesh. Eran.-One quotation is not enough to settle the question. Orth.-The Ethiopian eunuch had not read much of the Bible, but when he had found one witness from the prophets he was guided by it to salvation. But not all Apostles and prophets and all the preachers of the truth who have lived since then are enough to convince you. Nevertheless I will bring you some further testimony about the Lord's body. You cannot but know that passage in the Gospel history where, after eating the passover with His disciples, our Lord pointed to the death of the typical lamb and taught what body corresponded with that shadow.

62 Eran.-Yes I know it. Orth.-Remember then what it was which our Lord took and broke, and what He called it when He had taken it. Eran.-I will answer in mystic language for the sake of the uninitiated. After taking and breaking it and giving it to His disciples He said, "This is my body which was given for you" or according to the apostle "broken" and again, "This is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many." Orth.-Then when exhibiting the type of the passion He did not mention the Godhead? Eran.-No. Orth.-But He did mention the body and blood. Eran.-Yes. Orth.-And the body was nailed to the Cross? Eran.-Even so. Orth.-Come, then; look at this. When after the resurrection the doors were shut and the Lord came to the holy disciples and beheld them affrighted, what means did He use to destroy their fear and instead of fear to infuse faith?

63 Eran.-He said to them "Behold my hands and my feet that it is I myself; handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have." Orth.-So when they disbelieved He shewed them the body? Eran.-He did. Orth.-Therefore the body rose? Eran.-Clearly. Orth.-And I suppose what rose was what had died? Eran.-Even so. Orth.-And what had died was what was nailed to the cross? Eran.-Of necessity. Orth.-Then according to your own argument the body suffered? Eran.-Your series of arguments forces us to this conclusion. Orth.-Consider this too. Now I will be questioner, and do you answer as becomes a lover of the truth. Eran.-I will answer. Orth.-When the Holy Ghost came down upon the Apostles, and that wonderful sight and

sound collected thousands to the house, what did the chief of the apostles in the speech he then made say concerning the Lord's resurrection?

64 Eran.-He quoted the divine David, and said that he had received promises from God that the Lord Christ should be born of the fruit of his loins and that in trust in these promises he prophetically foresaw His resurrection, and plainly said that His soul was not left in Hades and that His flesh did not see corruption. Orth.-His resurrection therefore is of these. Eran.-How can any one in his senses say that there is a resurrection of the soul which never died? Orth.-How comes it that you who attribute the passion, the death and the resurrection to the immutable and uncircumscribed Godhead have suddenly appeared before us in your right mind and now object to connecting the word resurrection with the soul? Eran.-Because the word resurrection is applicable to what has fallen. Orth.-But the body does not obtain resurrection apart from a soul, but being renewed by the divine will, and conjoined with its yokefellow, it receives life. Was it not thus that the Lord raised Lazarus?

65 Eran.-It is plain that not the body alone rises. Orth.-This is more distinctly taught by the divine Ezekiel, for he points out how the Lord commanded the bones to come together, and how all of them were duly fitted together, and how He made sinews and veins and arteries grow with all the flesh pertaining to them and the skin that clothes them all, and then ordered the souls to come back to their own bodies. Eran.-This is true. Orth.-But the Lord's body did not undergo this corruption, but remained unimpaired, and on the third day recovered its own soul. Eran.-Agreed. Orth.-Then the death was of what had suffered? Eran.-Without question. Orth.-And when the great Peter mentioned the resurrection, and the divine David too, they said that His soul was not left in Hell, but that His body did not undergo corruption? Eran.-They did. Orth.-Then it was not the Godhead which underwent death, but the body by severance from the soul?

66 Eran.-I cannot brook these absurdities. Orth.-But you are fighting against your own arguments; it is your own words which you are calling absurd. Eran.-You slander me; not one of these words is mine. Orth.-Suppose any one to ask what is the animal which is at once reasonable and mortal, and suppose some one else to answer-man; which of the two would you call interpreter of the saying? The questioner or the answerer? Eran.-The answerer. Orth.-Then I was quite right in calling the arguments yours? For you, I

ween, in your answers, by rejecting some points and accepting others, confirmed them. Eran.-Then I will not answer any longer; do you answer. Orth.-I will answer. Eran.-What do you say to those words of the Apostle "Had they known it they would not have crucified the Lord of glory"? in this passage he mentions neither body nor soul. Orth.-Therefore you must not put the words "in the flesh" in it,-for this is your ingenious invention for decrying the Godhead of the Word-but must attribute the passion to the bare Godhead of the Word.

67 Eran.-No; no. He suffered in the flesh, but His incorporeal nature was not capable of suffering by itself. Orth.-Ah! but nothing must be added to the Apostle's words. Eran.-When we know the Apostle's meaning there is nothing absurd in adding what is left out. Orth.-But to add anything to the divine words is wild and rash. To explain what is written and reveal the hidden meaning is holy and pious. Eran.-Quite right. Orth.-We two then shall do nothing unreasonable and unholy in examining the mind of the Scriptures. Eran.-No. Orth.-Let us then look together into what seems to be hidden. Eran.-By all means. Orth.-Did the great Paul call the divine James the Lord's brother? Eran.-He did. Orth.-But in what sense are we to regard him as brother? By relationship of His godhead or of His manhood? Eran.-I will not consent to divide the united natures. Orth.-But you have often divided them in our previous investigations, and yon shall do the same thing now. Tell me; do you say that God the Word was only begotten Son?

68 Eran.-I do. Orth.-And only begotten means only Son. Eran.-Certainly. Orth.-And the only begotten cannot have a brother? Eran.-Of course not, for if He had had a brother He would not be called the only begotten. Orth.-Then they were wrong in calling James the brother of the Lord. For the Lord was only begotten, and the only begotten cannot have a brother. Eran.-No, but the Lord is not incorporeal and the proclaimers of the truth are referring only to what touches the godhead. Orth.-How then would you prove the word of the apostle true? Eran.-By saying that James was of kin with the Lord according to the flesh. Orth.-See how you have brought in again that division which you object to. Eran.-It was not possible to explain the kinship in any other way. Orth.-Then do not find fault with those who cannot explain similar difficulties in any other way. Eran.-Now you are getting the argument off the track because you want to shirk the question.

69 Orth.-Not at all, my friend. That will be settled too by the points we have investigated. Now look; when you were reminded of James the brother of the Lord, you said that the relationship referred not to the Godhead but to the flesh. Eran.-I did. Orth.-Well, now that you are told of the passion of the cross, refer this too to the flesh. Eran.-The Apostle called the crucified "Lord of Glory," and the same Apostle called the Lord "brother of James." Orth.-And it is the same Lord in both cases. If then you are right in referring the relationship to the flesh you must also refer the passion to the flesh, for it is perfectly ridiculous to regard the relationship without distinction and to refer the passion to Christ without distinction. Eran.-I follow the Apostle who calls the crucified "Lord of glory." Orth.-I follow too, and believe that He was "Lord of glory." For the body which was nailed to the wood was not that of any common man but of the Lord of glory. But we must acknowledge that the union makes the names common. Once more: do you say that the flesh of the Lord came down from heaven?

70 Eran.-Of course not. Orth.-But was formed in the Virgin's womb? Eran.-Yes. Orth.-How, then, does the Lord say "If ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where He was before," and again "No man hath ascended up to heaven but He that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven?" Eran.-He is speaking not of the flesh, but of the Godhead. Orth.-Yes; but the Godhead is of the God and Father. How then does He call him Son of man? Eran.-The peculiar properties of the natures are shared by the person, for on account of the union the same being is both Son of man and Son of God, everlasting and of time, Son of David and Lord of David, and so on with the rest. Orth.-Very right. But it is also important to recognise the fact that no confusion of natures results from both having one name. Wherefore we are endeavouring to distinguish how the same being is Son of God and also Son of man, and how He is "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever," and by the reverent distinction of terms we find that the contradictions are in agreement.

71 Eran.-You are right. Orth.-You say that the divine nature came down from heaven and that in consequence of the union it was called the Son of man. Thus it behoves us to say that the flesh was nailed to the tree, but to hold that the divine nature even on the cross and in the tomb was inseparable from this flesh, though from it it derived no sense of suffering, since the divine nature is naturally incapable of undergoing both suffering and death

and its substance is immortal and impassible. It is in this sense that the crucified is styled Lord of Glory, by attribution of the title of the impassible nature to the passible, since, as we know, a body is described as belonging to this latter. Now let us examine the matter thus. The words of the divine Apostle are "Had they known it they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory." They crucified the nature which they knew, not that of which they were wholly ignorant: had they known that of which they were ignorant they would not have crucified that which they knew: they crucified the human because they were ignorant of the divine. Have you forgotten their own words. "For a good work we stone thee not but for blasphemy, and because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God." These words are a plain proof that they recognised the nature they saw, while of the invisible they were wholly ignorant: had they known that nature they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.

72 Eran.-That is very probable, but the exposition of the faith laid down by the Fathers in council at Nicae says that the only begotten Himself, very God, of one substance with the Father, suffered and was crucified. Orth.-You seem to forget what we have agreed on again and again. Eran.-What do you mean? Orth.-I mean that after the union the holy Scripture applies to one person terms both of exaltation and of humiliation. But possibly you are also ignorant that the illustrious Fathers first mentioned His taking flesh and being made man, and then afterwards added that He suffered and was crucified, and thus spoke of the passion after they had set forth the nature capable of passion. Eran.-The Fathers said that the Son of God, Light of Light, of the substance of the Father, suffered and was crucified. 73 Orth.-I have observed more than once that both the Divine and the human are ascribed to the one Person. It is in accordance with this position that the thrice blessed Fathers, after teaching how we should believe in the Father, and then passing on to the person of the Son, did not immediately add "and in the Son of God," although it would have very naturally followed that after defining what touches God the Father they should straightway bare introduced the name of Son. But their object was to give us at one and the same time instruction on the theology and on the oeconomy, lest there should be supposed to be any distinction between the Person of the Godhead and the Person of the Manhood. On this account they added to their statement concerning the Father that we must believe also in our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God. Now after

the incarnation God the Word is called Christ, for this name includes alike all that is proper to the Godhead and to the manhood. We recognise nevertheless that some properties belong to the one nature and some to the others, and this may at once be understood from the actual terms of the Creed. For tell me: to what do you apply the phrase "of the substance of the Father"? to the Godhead, or to the nature that was fashioned of the seed of David?

74 Eran.-To the Godhead, as is plain. Orth.-And the clause "Very God of very God"; to which do you hold this belongs, to the Godhead or to the manhood? Eran.-To the Godhead. Orth.-Therefore neither the flesh nor the soul is of one substance with the Father, for they are created, but the Godhead which formed all things. Eran.-True. Orth.-Very well, then. And when we are told of passion and of the cross we must recognise the nature which submitted to the passion; we must avoid attributing it to the impassible, and must attribute it to that nature which was assumed for the distinct purpose of suffering. The acknowledgment on the part of the most excellent Fathers that the divine nature was impassible; and their attribution of the passion to the flesh is proved by the conclusion of the creed, which runs "But they who state there was a time when He was not, and before He was begotten He was not, and He was made out of the non-existent, or who allege that the Son of God was of another essence or substance mutable or variable, these the holy catholic and apostolic Church anathematizes." See then what penalties are denounced against them that attribute the passion to the divine nature.

75 Eran.-They are speaking in this place of mutation and variation. Orth.-But what is the passion but mutation and variation? For if, being impassible before His incarnation, He suffered after His incarnation, He assuredly suffered by undergoing mutation; and if being immortal before He became man, He tasted death, as you say, after being made man, He underwent a complete alteration by being made mortal after being immortal. But expressions of this kind, and their authors with them, have all been expelled by the illustrious Fathers from the bounds of the Church, and cut off like rotten limbs from the sound body. We therefore exhort you to fear the punishment and abhor the blasphemy. Now I will show you that in their own writings the holy Fathers have held the opinions we have expressed. Of the witnesses I shall bring forward some took part in that great Council; some flourished in the Church after their time; some illuminated the world long before. But their harmony is broken neither by difference of periods nor by

diversity of language; like the harp their strings are several and separate but like the harp they make one harmonious music.

76 Eran.-I was anxious for and shall be delighted at such citations. Instruction of this kind cannot be gainsaid, and is most useful. Orth.-Now; open your ears and receive the streams that flow from the spiritual springs. Testimony of the holy Ignatius, bishop ofAntioch, and martyr. From his Epistle to the Smyrnaeans:- "They do not admit Eucharists and oblations, because they do not confess the Eucharist to be flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ which suffered for our sins and which of His goodness the Father raised." Testimony of lrenaeus, bishop of Lyons. From his third book against heresies (Chap. XX.):- "It is clear then that Paul knew no other Christ save Him that suffered and was buried and rose and was born, whom he calls man, for after saying, `If Christ be preached that He rose from the dead,' he adds, giving the reason of His incarnation, `For since by man came death by man came also the resurrection of the dead,' and on all occasions in reference to the passion, the manhood and the dissolution of the Lord, he uses the name of Christ as in the text, `Destroy not him with thy meat for whom Christ died,' and again, `But now in Christ ye who sometimes were far off are made nigh in the blood of Christ,' and again, `Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree.'"

77 Of the same from the same work. (Chapter xxi.):- "For as He was Man that He might be tempted, so was He Word that He might be glorified. In His temptation, His crucifixion and His dying, the Word was inoperative; but in His victory, His patience, His goodness, His resurrection and His assumption it was co-operative with the manhood." Of the same from the fifth book of the same work:- "When with His own blood the Lord had ransomed us, and given His soul on behalf of our souls, and His flesh instead of our flesh." The testimony of the holy Hippolytus, bishop and martyr. From his letter to a certain Queen:- "So he calls Him `The firstfruits of them that slept,' and `The first born of the dead.' When He had risen and was wishful to show that what had risen was the same body which died, when the Apostles doubted, He called to Him Thomas and said `Handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have.'"

78 Of the same from the same letter:- "By calling Him firstfruits He bore witness to what we have said, that the Saviour, after taking the flesh of the

same material, raised it, making it firstfruits of the flesh of the just, in order that all we that believe might have expectation of our resurrection through trust in Him that is risen." Of the same from his discourse on the two thieves:- "The body of the Lord gave both to the world,-the holy blood and the sacred water." Of the same from the same discourse:- "And the body being, humanly speaking, a corpse, has in itself great power of life, for there flowed from it what does not flow from dead bodies-blood and water,-that we might know what vital force lies in the indwelling power in the body, so that it is a corpse evidently unlike others, and is able to pour forth for us causes of life."

79 Of the same from the same discourse:- "Not a bone of the holy Lamb is broken. The type shews that the passion cannot touch the power, for the bones are the power of the body." Testimony of the holy Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, and confessor. From his book on the soul:- "Their impious calumny can be refuted in a few words; they may be right, unless He voluntarily gave up His own body to the destruction of death for the sake of the salvation of men. First of all they attribute to Him extraordinary infirmity in not being able to repel His enemies assault." Of the same from the same book:- "Why do they, in the concoction of their earth-born deceits, make much of proving that the Christ assumed a body without a soul? In order that if they could seduce any to lay down that this is the case, then, by attributing to the divine Spirit variations of affection, they might easily persuade them that the mutable is not begotten of the immutable nature."

80 Of the same from his discourse on "the Lord created me in the beginning of His ways": - "The man Who died rose on the third day, and, when Mary was eager to lay hold of His holy limbs, He objected and cried `Touch me not. For I am not yet ascended to my Father; but go to my brethren and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father and to my God and your God.' Now the words `I am not yet ascended to my Father,' were not spoken by the Word and God, who came down from heaven, and was in the bosom of the Father, nor by the Wisdom which contains all created things, but were uttered by the man who was compacted of various limbs, who had risen from the dead, who had not yet after His death gone back to the Father, and was reserving for Himself the first fruits of His progress."

81 Of the same from the same work:- "As he writes he expressly describes the man who was crucified as Lord of Glory, declaring Him to be Lord and

Christ, just as the Apostles with one voice when speaking to Israel in the flesh say `Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly that God hath made that same Jesus, Whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ.' He so made Jesus Christ who suffered. He did not so make the Wisdom nor yet the Word who has the might of dominion from the beginning, but Him who was lifted up on high and stretched out His hands upon the Cross." Of the same from the same work:- "For if He is incorporeal and not subject to manual contact, nor apprehended by eyes of flesh, He undergoes no wound, He is not nailed by nails, He has no part in death, He is not hidden in the ground, He is not shut in a grave, He does not rise from a tomb."

82 Of the same from the same book:- "`No man taketh it from me. ...I have power to lay it down and I have power to take it again.' If as God He had the double power, He yet yielded to them who were striving of evil counsel to destroy the temple, but by His resurrection He restored it in greater splendour. It is proved by incontrovertible evidence that He of Himself rose and renewed His own house, and the great work of the Son is to be ascribed to the divine Father; for the Son does not work without the Father, as is declared in the unimpeachable utterances of the holy Scriptures. Wherefore at one time the divine Parent is described as having raised the Christ from the dead, at another time the Son promises to raise His own temple. If then from what has previously been laid down the divine spirit of the Christ is proved to be impassible, in vain do the accursed assail the apostolic definitions. If Paul says that the Lord of Glory was crucified, clearly referring to the manhood, we must not on this account refer suffering to the divine. Why then do they put these two things together, saying that the Christ was crucified from infirmity?"

83 Of the same from the same work:- "But had it been becoming to attribute to Him any kind of infirmity, any one might have said that it was natural to attach these qualities to the manhood, though not to the fulness of the Godhead, or to the dignity of the highest wisdom, or to Him who according to Paul is described as God over all." Of the same from the same book:- "This then is the manner of the infirmity according to which He is described by Paul as coming to death, for the man lives by God's power when plainly associated with God's spirit, since from the preceding statements He who is believed to be in Him is proved to be also the power of the Most High." Of the same from the same:- "As by entering the Virgin's womb He

did not lessen His power, so neither by the fastening of His body to the wood of the cross is His spirit defiled. For when the body was crucified on high the divine Spirit of wisdom dwelt even within the body, trod in heavenly places, filled all the earth, reigned over the depths, visited and judged the soul of every man, and continued to do all that God continually does, for the wisdom that is on high is not prisoned and contained within bodily matter, just as moist and dry material are contained within their vessels and are contained by but do not contain them. But this wisdom, being a divine and ineffable power, embraces and confirms alike all that is within and all that is without the temple, and thence proceeding beyond comprehends and sways at once all matter."

84 Of the same from the same work:- "But if the sun being a visible body, apprehended by the senses, endures everywhere such adverse influences without changing its order, or feeling any blow, be it small or great; can we suppose the incorporeal Wisdom to be defiled and to change its nature because its temple is nailed to the cross or destroyed or wounded or corrupted? The temple suffers, but the substance abides without spot, and preserves its entire dignity without defilement." Of the same from his work on the titles of the Psalms of Degrees:- "The Father who is perfect, infinite, incomprehensible. and is incapable alike of adornment or disfigurement, receives no acquired glory; nor yet does His Word, who is God begotten of Him, through whom are angels and heaven and earth's boundless bulk and all the form and matter of created things; but the man Christ raised from the dead is exalted and glorified to the open discomfiture of His foes."

85 Of the same from the same work:- "They however who have lifted up hatred against Him, though they be fenced round with the forces of His foes, are scattered abroad, while the God and Word gloriously raised His own temple." Of the same from his interpretation of the 92nd Psalm:- "Moreover the prophet Isaiah following the tracks of His sufferings, among other utterances exclaims with a mighty voice `And we saw Him and He had no form nor beauty. His form was dishonoured and rejected among the sons of men,' thus distinctly showing that the marks of indignity and the sufferings must be applied to the human but not to the divine. And immediately afterwards be adds `Being a man under stroke, and able to bear infirmity.' He it is who after suffering outrage was seen to have no form or comeliness, then again was changed and clothed with beauty, for the God dwelling in Him was not

led like a lamb to death and slaughtered like a sheep, for His nature is invisible."

86 Testimony of the Holy Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, and confessor. From his letter to Epictetus:- "Whoever reached such a pitch of impiety as to think and say that the Godhead itself of one substance with the Father was circumcised, and from perfect became imperfect; and to deny that what was crucified on the tree was the body, asserting it on the contrary to be the very creative substance of wisdom?" Of the same from the same treatise:- "The Word associated with Himself and brought upon Himself what the humanity of the Word suffered, that we might be able to share in the Godhead of the Word. And marvellous it was that the sufferer and He who did not suffer were the same; sufferer in that His own body suffered and He was in it while suffering, but not suffering because the Word, being by nature God, was impassible. And He Himself the incorporeal was in the passible body, and the body contained in itself the impassible Word, destroying the infirmities of His body."

87 Of the same from the same letter:- "For being God and Lord of Glory, He was in the body ingloriously crucified; but the body suffered when smitten on the tree, and water and blood flowed from its side; but being temple of the Word, it was full of the Godhead. Wherefore when the sun saw its Creator suffering in His outraged body, it drew in its rays, and darkened the earth. And that very body with a mortal nature rose superior to its own nature, on account of the Word within it, and is no longer touched by its natural corruption, but clothed with the superhuman Word, became incorruptible." Of the same from his greater discourse on the Faith:- "Was what rose from the dead, man or God? Peter, the Apostle, who knows better than we, interprets and say, `and when they had fulfilled all that was written of Him they took Him down from the tree and laid Him in a sepulchre, but God raised Him from the dead.' Now the dead body of Jesus which was taken down from the tree, which had been laid in a sepulchre, and entombed by Joseph of Arimathaea, is the very body which the Word raised, saying, `Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.' It is He who quickens all the dead, and quickened the man Christ Jesus, born of Mary, whom He assumed. For if while on the cross He raised corpses of the saints that had previously undergone dissolution, much more can God the everliving Word

raise the body, which He wore, as says Paul, `For the word of God is quick and powerful.'"

88 Of the same from the same work:- "Life then does not die, but quickens the dead; for as the light is not injured in a dark place, so life cannot suffer when it has visited a mortal nature, for the Godhead of the Word is immutable and invariable as the Lord says in the prophecy about Himself `I am the Lord I change not.'" Of the same from the same work:- "Living He cannot die but on the contrary quickens the dead. He is therefore, by the Godhead derived from the Father, a fount of light; but He that died, or rather rose from the dead, our intercessor, who was born of the Virgin Mary, whom the Godhead of the Word assumed for our sake, is man." Of the same from the same work:- "It came to pass that Lazarus fell sick and died; but the divine Man did not fall sick nor against His own will did He die, but of His own accord came to the dispensation of death, being strengthened by God the Word who dwelt within Him, and who said `No man taketh it from me but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down and I have power to take it again.' The Godhead then which lays down and takes the life of man which He wore is of the Son, for in its completeness He assumed the manhood, in order that in its completeness He might quicken it, and, with it, the dead."

89 Of the same from his discourse against the Arians:- "When therefore the blessed Paul says the Father `raised' the Son `from the dead' John tells us that Jesus said `Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up ...but He spake' of His own `body.' So it is clear to them that take heed that at the raising of the body the Son is said by Paul to have been raised from the dead, for he refers what concerns the body to the Son's person, and just so when he says `the Father gave life to the Son' it must be understood that the life was given to the Flesh. For if He Himself is life bow can the life receive life?" Of the same from his work on the incarnation:- 90 "For when the Word was conscious that in no other way could tile ruin of men be undone save by death to the uttermost, and it was impossible that the Word who is immortal and Son of the Father should die, to effect His end He assumes a body capable of death, that this body, being united to the Word, who is over all, might, in the stead of all, become subject to death, and because of the indwelling Word might remain incorruptible, and so by the grace of the resurrection corruption for the future might lose its power over men. Thus offer-

ing to death, as a sacrifice and victim free from every spot, the body which He had assumed, by His corresponding offering He straightway destroyed death's power over all His kind; for being the Word of God above and beyond all men, He rightly offered and paid His own temple and bodily instrument, as a ransom for all souls due to death. And thus by means of the like (body) being associated with all men, the incorruptible Son of God rightly clothed all men with incorruption by the promise of the resurrection, for the corruption inherent in death no longer has any place with men, for the sake of the Word who dwelt in them by the means of the one body."

91 Of the same from the same work:- "Wherefore, after His divine manifestations in His works, now also on behalf of all He offered sacrifice, yielding to death His own temple instead of all, that He might make all men irresponsible and free from the ancient transgression, and, exhibiting His own body as incorruptible firstfruits of the resurrection of mankind, might shew Himself stronger than death. For the body, as having a common substance-for it was a human body, although by a new miracle its constitution was of the Virgin alone-being mortal, died after the example of its like; but by the descent of the Word into it no longer suffered corruption, according to its own nature, but, on account of God the Word who dwelt within it, was delivered fromcorruption." Of the same from the same work:- "Whence, as I have said, since it was not possible for the Word being immortal to die, He took upon Himself a body capable of death, in order that He might offer this same body for all, and He Himself in His suffering on behalf of all through His descent into this body might `destroy Him that hath the power of death.'"

92 Ofthe same from the same work: - "For the body in its passion, as is the nature of bodies, died, but it had the promise of incorruption through the Word that dwelt within it. For when the body died the Word was not injured; but He was Himself impassible, incorruptible, and immortal, as being God's Word, and being associated with the body He kept from it the natural corruption of bodies, as says the Spirit to Him `thou wilt not suffer thy Holy One to see corruption.'" The testimony of the holy Damasus, bishop of Rome: - "If any one say that, in the passion of the Cross, God the Son of God suffered pain, and not the flesh with the soul, which the form of the servant put on and assumed, as the Scripture saith, Let him be anathema." Testimony

of the holy Ambrosius, bishop of Milan. From his book on the Catholic faith:-

93 "There are some men who have reached such a pitch of impiety as to think that the Godhead of the Lord was circumcised, and from perfect was made imperfect; and that the divine substance, Creator of all things, and not the flesh, was on the tree." Of the same from the same work:- "The flesh suffered; but the Godhead is free from death. He yielded His body to suffer according to the law of human nature. For how can God die, when the soul cannot die? `Fear not,' He says, `them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul.' If then the soul cannot be slain how can the Godhead be made subject to death?" Testimony of the holy Basilius, bishop of Caearea:- "It is perfectly well known to every one who has the least acquaintance with the meaning of the words of the Apostle that he is not delivering to us a mode of theology but is explaining the reasons of the oeconomy, for he says `God hath made that same Jesus whom ye have crucified both Lord aim Christ.' Thus he is plainly directing his argument to His human and visible nature."

94 Testimony of the holy Gregorius, bishop of Nazianzus. From his letter to the blessed Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople:- "The saddest thing in what has befallen the churches is the boldness of the utterances of Apollinarius and his party. I cannot understand how your Holiness has allowed them to arrogate to themselves the power of assembling on the same terms with us." And a little further on:- "I will no longer call this serious; it is indeed saddest of all that the only begotten God Himself, Judge of all who exist, the Prince of Life, the Destroyer of Death, is made by him mortal and alleged to receive suffering in His own Godhead. He represents the Godhead to have shared with the body in the dissolution of that three days death of the body, and so after the death to have been again raised by the Father." Of the same from his former exposition to Cledonius:-

95 "It is the contention of the Arians that the manhood was without a soul, that they may refer the passion to the Godhead and represent the same power as both moving the body and suffering." Of the same from his discourse about the Son:- "It remained for us to treat of what was commanded Him and of His keeping the commandments and doing all things pleasing to Him; and further of His perfection, exaltation, and learning obedience by all that He suffered, His priesthood, His offering, His betrayal, His entreaty to Him that hath power to save Him from death, His agony, His bloody

sweat, His prayer and similar manifestations, were it not clear to all that all these expressions in connexion with His Passion in no way signify the nature which was immutable and above suffering." Of the same from his Easter Discourse (Or. ii.):- "`Who is this that cometh from Edom?' and from the earth, and how can the garments of the bloodless and bodiless be red as of one that treadeth in the wine-fat? Urge in reply the beauty of the garment of the body which suffered and was made beautiful in suffering, and was made splendid by the Godhead, than which nothing is lovelier nor more fair."

96 Testimony of Gregory, bishop of Nyssa. From his catechetical oration:- "And this is the mystery of the dispensation of God concerning the manhood and of the resurrection from the dead, not to prevent the soul from being separated from the body by death according to the necessary law ofhuman nature, and to bring them together again through the resurrection." Of the same from the same work:- "The flesh which received the Godhead, and which through the resurrection was exalted with the Godhead, is not formed of another material, but of ours; so, just as in the case of our own body, the operation of one of the senses moves to general sensation the whole man united to that part, in like manner just as though all nature were one single animal, the resurrection of the part pervades the whole, being conveyed from the part to the whole by what is continuous and united in nature. What then do we find extraordinary in the mystery that the upright stoops to the fallen to raise up him that lies low?"

97 Of the same from the same work:- "It would be natural also in this part not to heed the one and neglect the other; but in the immortal to behold the human, and to be curiously exact about the diviner quality in the manhood." Of the same from his work against Eunomius:- "'Tis not the human nature which raises Lazarus to life. 'Tis not the impassible power which sheds tears over the dead. The tear belongs to the man; the life comes from the very life. The thousands are not fed by human poverty; omnipotence does not hasten to the fig tree. Who was weary in the way, and who by His word sustains all the world without being weary? What is the brightness of His glory, what was pierced by the nails? What form is smitten in the passion, what is glorified for everlasting? The answer is plain and needs no interpretation."

98 Of the same from the same treatise:- "He blames them that refer the passion to the human nature. He wishes himself wholly to subject the God-

head itself to the passion, for the proposition being twofold and doubtful, whether the divinity or the humanity was concerned in the passion, the denial of the one becomes the positive condemnation of the other. While therefore they blame them who see the passion in the humanity, they will bestow unqualified praise on them that maintain the Divinity of the Son of God to be passible. But the point established by these means becomes a confirmation of their own absurdity of doctrine; for if, as they allege, the Godhead of the Son suffers while that of the Father in accordance with its substance is conserved in complete impassibility, it follows that the impassible nature is at variance with the nature which sustains suffering." The testimony of the holy Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium.

99 From his discourse on the text "Verily, verily I say unto you, he that heareth my word and believeth on Him that sent me hath everlasting life": - "Whose then are the sufferings? Of the flesh. Therefore if you give to the flesh the suffering, give it also the lowly words; and ascribe the exalted words to Him to Whom you assign the miracles. For the God when He is in the act of working wonders naturally speaks in high and lofty language worthy of His works and the man when He is suffering fitly utters lowly words corresponding with His sufferings." Of the same from his discourse on "My Father is greater than I": - "But when you give the sufferings to the flesh and the miracles to God, you must of necessity, though unwillingly, give the lowly words to the man born of Mary, and the high and lofty words becoming God, to the Word who existed in the beginning. The reason why I utter sometimes lofty words and sometimes lowly is that by the lofty I may show the nobility of the indwelling Word, and by the lowly make known the infirmity of the lowly flesh. So at one time I call myself equal to the Father and at another I call the Father greater; and in this I am not inconsistent with myself, but I shew that I am God and man; God by the lofty and man by the lowly. And if you wish to know in what sense my Father is greater than I, I spoke in the flesh and not in the person of the Godhead."

100 Of the same from his discourse on "If it be possible let this cup pass from me": - "Ascribe not then the sufferings of the flesh to the impassible God, for I, O heretic, am God, and man; God, as the miracles prove man as is shewn by the sufferings. Since then I am God and man, tell me, who was it who suffered? If God suffered, you have spoken blasphemy; but if the flesh suffered, why do you not attribute the passion to Him to whom you ascribe

the dread? For while one is suffering another feels on dread; while man is being crucified God is not troubled." Of the same from his discourse against the Arians:- "And not to prolong what I am saying, I will shortly ask you, O heretic, did He who was begotten of God before the ages suffer, or Jesus who was born of David in the last days? If the Godhead suffered, thou hast spoken blasphemy; if, as the truth is, the manhood suffered, for what reason do you hesitate to attribute the passion to man?"

101 Of the same from his discourse concerning the Son:- "Peter said, `God hath made this Jesus both Lord and Christ' and said too, `this Jesus whom ye crucified God hath raised up.' Now it was the manhood, not the Godhead, which became a corpse, and He who raised it was the Word, the power of God, who said in the Gospel, `Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up.' So when it is said that God hath made Him who became a corpse and rose from the dead both Lord and Christ, what is meant is the flesh, and not the Godhead of the Son." Of the same from his discourse on "The Son can do nothing of Himself": - "For He had not such a nature as that His life could be held by corruption, since His Godhead was not forcibly reduced to suffering. For how could it? But the manhood was renewed in incorruption. So he says `For this mortal must put on immortality and this corruptible must put on incorruption.' You observe the accuracy; he points distinctly to `this mortal' that you may not entertain the idea of the resurrection of any other flesh."

102 Testimony of the holy Flavianus, bishop of Antioch. On Easter Day:- "Wherefore also the cross is boldly preached by us, and the Lord's death confessed among us, though in nothing did the Godhead suffer, for the divine is impassible, but the dispensation was fulfilled by the body." Of the same on Judas the traitor:- "When therefore you hear of the Lord being betrayed, do not degrade the divine dignity to insignificance, nor attribute to divine power the sufferings of the body. For the divine is impassible and invariable. For if through His love to mankind He took on Him the form of a servant, He underwent no change in nature. But being what He ever was, he yielded the divine body to experience death." Testimony of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria. From his Heortastic Volume:- "Of unreasoning beings the souls are not taken and replaced: they share in the corruption of the bodies, and are dissolved into dust. But after the Saviour at the time of the cross had taken the soul from His own body, He restored it to the body again when He

rose from the dead. To assure us of this He uttered the words of the psalmist, the predictive exclamation, `Thou wilt not leave my soul in Hell nor suffer thine Holy One to see corruption.'"

103 Testimony of the blessed Gelasius, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine:- "He was bound, He was wounded, He was crucified, He was handled, He was marked with scars, He received a lance's wound, and all these indignities were undergone by the body born of Mary, while that which was begotten from the Father before the ages none was able to harm, for the Word had no such nature. For how can any one constrain Godhead? How wound it? How make red with blood the incorporeal nature? How surround it with grave bands? Grant now what you cannot contravene and, constrained by invincible reason, honour Godhead." Testimony of the holy John, bishop of Constantinople. From his discourse on the words "My Father worketh hitherto and I work": - "`What sign shewest Thou unto us seeing that Thou doest these things?' What then does He reply Himself? `Destroy this temple,' He says, `and in three days I will raise it up,' speaking of His own body, but they did not understand Him."

104 And a little further on:- "Why does not the evangelist pass this by? Why did he add the correction, `But He spake of the temple of his body'? for He did not say destroy this `body,' but `temple' that He might shew the indwelling God. Destroy this temple which is far more excellent than that of the Jews. The Jewish temple contained the Law; this temple contains the Lawgiver; the former the letter that killeth; the latter the spirit that giveth life." Of the same from the discourse "That what was spoken and done in humility was not so done and spoken on account of infirmity of power but different dispensations":- "How then does He say `If it be possible'? He is pointing out to us the infirmity of the human nature, which did not choose to be torn away from this present life, but stepped back and shrank on account of the love implanted in it by God in the beginning for the present life. If then when the Lord Himself so often spoke in such terms, some have dared to say that He did not take flesh, what would they have said if none of these words had been spoken by Him?"

105 Of the same from the same work:- "Observe how they spoke of His former age. Ask the heretic the question Does God dread? Does He draw back? Does He shrink? Does He sorrow? and if he says yes, stand off from him for the future, rank him down below with the devil, aye lower even than the

devil, for even the devil will not dare to say this. But, should he say that each of these things is unworthy of God, reply-neither does God pray; for apart from these it will be yet another absurdity should the words be the words of God, for the words indicate not only an agony, but also two wills; one of the Son and another of the Father, opposed to one another. For the words `Not as I will, but as Thou wilt,' are the words of one indicating this." Of the same from the same work:-

106 "For if this be spoken of the Godhead there arises a certain contradiction, and many absurdities are thereby produced. If on the contrary it be spoken of the flesh, the expressions are reasonable, and no fault can be found with them. For the unwillingness of the flesh to die incurs no condemnation; such is the nature of the flesh and He exhibits all the properties of the flesh except sin, and indeed in full abundance, so as to stop the mouths of the heretics. When therefore He says `If it be possible let this cup pass from me' and `not as I will but as Thou wilt,' He only shews that He is really clothed with the flesh which fears death, for it is the nature of the flesh to fear death, to draw back and to suffer agony. Now He leaves it abandoned and stripped of its own activity, that by shewing its weakness He may convince us also of its nature. Sometimes however He conceals it, because He was not mere man."

107 Testimony of Severianus, bishop of Gabala. From his discourse on the seals:- "The Jews withstand the apparent, ignorant of the non-apparent; they crucify the flesh; they do not destroy the Godhead. For if my words are not destroyed together with the letter which is the clothing of speech, how could God the Word, the fount of life, die together with the flesh? The passion belongs to the body, but impassibility to the dignity." See then how they whose husbandry is in the East and in the West, as well as in the South and in the North, have all been shewn by us to condemn your vain heresy, and all openly to proclaim the impassibility of the divine Nature. See how both tongues, I mean both Greek and Latin, make one harmonious confession about the things of God. Eran.-I am myself astonished at their harmony, but I observe a considerable difference in the terms they use.

108 Orth.-Do not be angry. The very force of their fight against their adversaries is the cause of their seeming immoderate. The same thing is to be observed in the case of planters; when they see a plant bent one way or another, they are not satisfied with bringing it to a straight line, but bend it

still further in the opposite direction, that by its being bent still further from the straight it may attain its upright stature. But that you may know that the very promoters and supporters of this manifold heresy strive to surpass even the heretics of old by the greatness of their blasphemies, listen once more to the writings of Apollinarius which proclaim the impassibility of the divine nature, and confess the passion to be of the body. Testimony of Apollinarius. From his summary:- "John spoke of the temple which was destroyed, namely the body of Him that raised it, and the body is entirely united to Him and He is not another among them. And if the body of the Lord was one with the Lord, the properties of the body were constituted His properties on account of the body."

109 And again:- "And the truth is that His conjunction with the body does not take place by circumscription of the Word, so that He has nothing beyond His incorporation. Wherefore even in death immortality abides with Him; for if He transcends this composition, so does He also the dissolution. Now death is dissolution. But He was not comprehended in the composition; had He been so, the universe would have been made void; nor in the dissolution did He, like the soul, suffer the deprivation which succeeds dissolution." And again:- "As the Saviour says that the dead bodies go forth from their tombs, though their souls do not go forth thence, just so He says that He Himself will rise from the dead, although it is only His body that rises." In another similar work he writes:- "Of man is the rising from the dead; of God is the raising. Now Christ both rose and raised, for He was God and man. Had the Christ been only man He would not have quickened the dead, and if He had been only God, He would not on His own account apart from the Father have quickened any of the dead. But Christ did both; the same being is both God and man. If the Christ had been only man He would not have saved the world; if He had been only God He would not have saved it through suffering, but Christ did both, so He is God and man. If the Christ had been only man or if only God He could not have been a Mediator between men and God."

110 And a little further on:- "Now flesh is an instrument of life fitted to the capacity for suffering in accordance with the divine will. Words are not proper to the Flesh, nor are deeds. Being made subject to the capacity for suffering, as is natural to the flesh, it prevails over the suffering because it is the flesh of God." And again a little further on:- "The Son took flesh of the Vir-

gin and travelled to the world. This flesh He filled with the Holy Ghost to the sanctification of us all. So He delivered death to death and destroyed death through the resurrection to the raising of us all." From his tract concerning the faith:- "Since the passions are concerned with the flesh His power possessed its own impassibility, so to refer the passion to the power is an impious error." And in his tract about the incarnation he further writes:-

111 "Here then He shews that it was the same man who rose from the dead and God who reigns over all creation." You see now that one of the professors of vain heresy plainly preaches the impassibility of the Godhead, calls the body a temple, and persists in maintaining that this body was raised by God the Word. Eran.-I have heard and I am astonished; and I am really ashamed that our doctrines should appear less tenable than the innovation of Apollinarius. Orth.-But I will bring you a witness from yet another heretical herd distinctly preaching the impassibility of the Godhead of the only begotten. Eran.-Whom do you mean? Orth.-You have probably heard of Eusebius the Phoenician, who was bishop of Emesa by Lebanon. Eran.-I have met with some of his writings, and found him to be a supporter of the doctrines of Arius. Orth.-Yes; he did belong to that sect, but in his endeavour to prove that the Father was greater than the only begotten he declares the Godhead of the depreciated Son to be im- passible and for this opinion he contended with long and extraordinary perseverance.

112 Eran.-I should be very much obliged if you would quote his words too. Orth.-To comply with your wish I will adduce somewhat longer evidence. Now listen to what he says, and fancy that the man himself is addressing us. Testimony of Eusebius of Emesa:- "Wherefore does he fear death? Lest he suffer anything from death? For what was death to Him? Was it not the severance of the power from the flesh? Did the power receive a nail that it should fear? If our soul suffers not the body's infirmities when united with it, but the eye grows blind and yet the mind retains its force; and a foot is cut off and yet the reasoning power does not halt-and this nature evidences, and the Lord sets His seal on, in the words `Fear not them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul' (and if they cannot kill the soul, it is not because they do not wish, but because they are not able, though they would like to make the soul share the suffering of the body yoked with it)-shall He who created the soul and formed the body suffer as the body suffers, although He

does take upon Himself the body's sufferings? But Christ suffered for us, and we lie not. `And the bread that I will give is my flesh.' This He gave for us.

113 "That which can be mastered was mastered; that which can be crucified was crucified, but He that had power alike to dwell in it and to leave it said `Father into thy hands I commend my Spirit,' not into the hands of them who were trying to hasten His death. I am not fond of controversy; I rather avoid it; with all gentleness I wish to enquire into the points at issue between us as between brothers. Do not I say truly that the power could not be subject to the sufferings of the flesh? I say nothing; let him who will say what the power suffered. Did it fail? See the danger. Was it extinct? See the blasphemy. Did it no longer exist? This is the death of power. Tell me what can so master it that it suffered and I withdraw. But, if you cannot tell me, why do you object to my not telling you? What you cannot tell me, that it did not receive. Drive a nail into a soul and I will admit that it can be driven into power. But it was in sympathy. Tell me what you mean by `in sympathy.' As a nail went into the flesh, so pain into the power. Let us understand `was in sympathy' in this sense. Then pain was felt by the power which was not smitten. For pain always follows on suffering.

114 But if a body often despises pain while the mind is sound, on account of the vigour of its thought, then in this case let some one explain impartially what suffered and what suffered with or was in sympathy. What then? Did not Christ die for us? How did He die? `Father, into thy hands I commend my Spirit.' The Spirit departed; the body remained; the body remained without breath. Did He not die then? He died for us. The Shepherd offered the sheep, the Priest offered the sacrifice, He gave Himself for us. `He that spared not His own Son but delivered Him up for us all.' I do not reject the words, but I want the meaning of the words. The Lord says that the bread of God came down from Heaven, and though I cannot express it more clearly on account of the mysteries, He says in explanation `It is my flesh.' Did the flesh of the Son come down from heaven? No. How then does He say, and that in explanation, the bread of God lives and came down from Heaven? He refers the properties of the power to the flesh, because the power which assumed the flesh came down from heaven. Change the terms then; He refers to the power what the flesh suffers. How did Christ suffer for us? He was spat upon, He was smitten on the cheek, they put a crown about His brow, His hands and feet were pierced.

115 All these sufferings were of the body, but they are referred to Him that dwelt therein. Throw a stone at the Emperor's statue. What is the cry? `You have insulted the Emperor.' Tear the Emperor's robe. What is the cry? `You have rebelled against the Emperor.' Crucify Christ's body. What is the cry? `Christ died for us.' But what need of me and thee? Let us go to the Evangelists. How have you received from the Lord how the Lord died? They read `Father into thy hands I commend my Spirit.' The Spirit on high, the body on the Cross for us. So far as His body is attributed to Himself He offered the sheep." 116 Of the same from the same book:- 117 "He came to save our nature; not to destroy His own. If I consent to say that a camel flies, you directly count it strange, because it does not fit in with its nature; and you are quite right. And if I say that men live in the sea you will not accept it; you are quite right. It is contrary to nature. As then if I say strange things about these natures you count it strange; if I say that the Power which was before the ages, by nature incorporeal, in dignity impassible, which exists with the Father and by the Father's side, on His right hand and in glory, if I say that this incorporeal nature suffers, will you not stop your ears? If you will not stop your ears when you hear this, I shall stop my heart. Can we do anything to an angel? Smite him with a sword? Or cut him in pieces? Why do I say to an angel? Can we to a soul? Does a soul receive a nail? A soul is neither cut nor burnt. Do you ask why? Because it was so created. Are His works impassible and He Himself passible? I do not reject the oeconomy; on the contrary, I welcome the ill-treatment. Christ died for us and was crucified. So it is written; so the nature admitted. I do not blot out the words nor do I blaspheme the nature. But this is not true. Very well, then let something truer be said.

118 The teacher is a benefactor, never harsh, never an enemy, unless the pupil be headstrong. Have you anything good to say? My ears are gratefully open. Does any one want to quarrel? Let him quarrel at his leisure. Could the Jews crucify the Son of God and make the power itself a dead body? Can the living die? The death of this power is its failure. Even when we die, our body is left. But if we make that power a dead body we reduce it to non-existence. I am afraid you cannot hear. If the body die, the soul is separated from it and remains; but if the soul die, since it has no body, it altogether ceases to exist. A soul by dying altogether ceases to be. For the death of the immortals is a contradiction of their existence. Consider the alternative; for I do not dare

even to mention it. We say these things as we understand them, but if any one is contentions, we lay down no law. But I know one thing, that every man must reap the fruit of his opinions. Each man comes to God and brings before Him what he has said and thought about Him. Do not suppose that God reads books, or is troubled by having to recollect what you said or who heard you: all is made manifest. The judge is on the throne. Paulus is brought before Him. `Thou saidst I was a man; thou hast no life with Me. Thou knewest not Me;

119 I know not thee.' Up comes another. `Thou saidst I was one of the things that are created. Thou knewest not My dignity; I know not thee.' Up comes another. `Thou saidst that I did not assume a body. Thou madest light of My grace. Thou shalt not share My immortality.' Up comes another. `Thou saidst that I was not born of a Virgin to save the body of the Virgin; thou shalt not be saved.' Each one reaps the fruit of his opinions about the faith."

120 You see the other sect of your teachers, in which you supposed that you had learnt the suffering of the Godhead of the only Begotten, abhors this blasphemy, preaches the impassibility of the Godhead, and quits the ranks of them who dare to attribute the passion to it. Eran.-Yes;I am astonished at the conflict, and I admire the man's sense and opinions. Orth.-Then, my good Sir, imitate the bees. As you flit in mental flight about the meads of the divine Scripture, among the fair flowers of these illustrious Fathers, build us in your heart the honey-comb of the faith. If haply you find anywhere herbage bitter and not fit to eat, like these fellows Apollinarius and Eusebius, but still not quite without something that may be meet for making honey, it is reasonable that you should sip the sweet and leave the poisonous behind, like bees who lighting often on baneful bushes leave all the deadly bane behind and gather all the good. We give you this advice, dear friend, in brotherly kindness. Receive it and you will do well. And if you hearken not we will say to you in the word of the apostle "We are pure." We have spoken, as the prophet says, what we have been commanded.

Counter-Statements

Theodoret of Cyrus

c. AD 393–458

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COUNTER-STATEMENTS OF THEODORET

1 (Opp. Ed. Schulze. V. I. seq. Migne, Lat. 76. col. 391.) 2 Against I.-But all we who follow the words of the evangelists state that God the Word was not made flesh by nature, nor yet was changed into flesh; for the Divine is immutable and invariable. Wherefore also the prophet David says, "Thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail. And this the great Paul, the herald of the truth, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, states to have been spoken of the Son. And in another place God says through the Prophet, "I am the Lord: I change not. If then the Divine is immutable and invariable, it is incapable of change or alteration. And if the immutable cannot be changed, then God the Word was not made flesh by mutation, but took flesh and tabernacled in us, according to the word of the evangelist. This the divine Paul expresses clearly in his Epistle to the Philippians in the words, "Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus: who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but made Himself of no reputation and took upon Him the form of a servant. Now it is plain from these words that the form of God was not changed into the form of a servant, but, remaining what it was, took the form of the servant. So God the Word was not made flesh, but assumed living and reasonable flesh. He Himself is not naturally conceived of the Virgin, fashioned, formed, and deriving beginning of existence from her;

3 He who is before the ages, God, and with God, being with the Father and with the Father both known and worshipped; but He fashioned for Himself a temple in the Virgin's womb, and was with that which was formed and begotten. Wherefore also we style that holy Virgin qeotokoj, not because

she gave birth in natural manner to God, but to man united to the God that had fashioned Him. Moreover if He that was fashioned in the Virgin's womb was not man but God the Word Who is before the ages, then God the Word is a creature of the Holy Ghost. For that which was conceived in her, says Gabriel, is of the Holy Ghost. But if the only begotten Word of God is uncreate and of one substance and co-eternal with the Father it is no longer a formation or creation of the Spirit. And if the Holy Ghost did not fashion God the Word in the Virgin's womb, it follows that we understand the form of the servant to have been fashioned, formed, conceived, and generated. But since the form was not stripped of the form of God, but was a Temple containing God the Word dwelling in it, according to the words of Paul "For it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell" "bodily," we call the Virgin not mother of man (anqrwpotokoj) but mother of God (qeotokoj), applying the former title to the fashioning and conception, but the latter to the union.

4 For this cause the child who was born is called Emmanuel, neither God separated from human nature nor man stripped of Godhead. For Emmanuel is interpreted to mean "God with us", according to the words of the Gospels; and the expression "God with us" at once manifests Him Who for our sakes was assumed out of us, and proclaims God the Word Who assumed. Therefore the child is called Emmanuel on account of God Who assumed, and the Virgin qeotokoj on account of the union of the form of God with the conceived form of a servant. For God the Word was not changed into flesh, but the form of God took the form of a servant. 5 Against II.-We, in obedience to the divine teaching of the apostles, confess one Christ; and, on account of the union, we name the same both God and man. But we are wholly ignorant of the union according to hypostasis as being strange and foreign to the divine Scriptures and the Fathers who have interpreted them. And if the author of these statements means by the union according to hypostasis that there was a mixture of flesh and Godhead, we shall oppose his statement with all our might, and shall confute his blasphemy, for the mixture is of necessity followed by confusion; and the admission of confusion destroys the individuality of each nature. Things that are undergoing mixture do not remain what they were, and to assert this in the case of God the Word and of the seed of David would be most absurd. We must obey the Lord when He exhibits the two natures and says to the Jews, "Destroy this temple and in three

days I will raise it up." But if there had been mixture then God had not remained God, neither was the temple recog-nised as a temple; then the temple was God and God was temple. This is involved in the theory of the mixture. And it was quite superfluous for the Lord to say to the Jews, "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up." He ought to have said, Destroy me and in three days I shall be raised, if there had really been any mixture and confusion. As it is, He exhibits the temple undergoing destruction and God raising it up. Therefore the union according to hypostasis, which in my opinion they put before us instead of mixture, is superfluous. It is quite sufficient to mention the union, which both exhibits the properties of the natures and teaches us to worship the one Christ.

6 Against III.-The sense of the terms used is misty and obscure. Who needs to be told that there is no difference between conjunction and concurrence? The concurrence is a concurrence of the separated parts; and the conjunction is a conjunction of the distinguished parts. The very clever author of the phrases has laid down things that agree as though they disagreed. It is wrong, he says, to conjoin the hypostases by conjunction; they ought to be conjoined by concurrence, and that a natural concurrence. Possibly he states this not knowing what he says; if he knows, he blasphemes. Nature has a compulsory force and is involuntary; as for instance, if I say we are naturally hungry, we do not feel hunger of free-will but of necessity; and assuredly paupers would have left off begging if the power of ceasing to be hungry had lain in their own will; we are naturally thirsty; we naturally sleep; we naturally breathe; and all these actions, I repeat, belong to the category of the involuntary, and he who is no longer capable of them necessarily ceases to exist. If then the concurrence in union of the form of God and the form of a servant was natural, then God the Word was trotted to the form of the servant under the compulsion of necessity, and not because He put in force His loving kindness, and the Lawgiver of the Universe will be found to be a follower of the laws of necessity. Not thus have we been taught by the blessed Paul;

7 on the contrary, we have been taught that He took the form of a servant and "emptied Himself; and the expression "emptied Himself" indicates the voluntary act. If then He was united by purpose and will to the nature assumed from us, the addition of the term natural is superfluous. It suffices to confess the union, and union is understood of things distinguished, for if

there were no division an union could never be apprehended. The apprehension then of the union implies previous apprehension of the division. How then can he say that the hypostases or natures ought not to be divided? He knows all the while that the hypostasis of God the Word was perfect before the ages; and that the form of the servant which was assumed by It was perfect; and this is the reason why he said hypostases and not hypostasis. If therefore either nature is perfect, and both came together, it is obvious that after the form of God had taken the form of a servant, piety compels us to confess one son and Christ; while to speak of the trotted hypos-tases or natures as two, so far from being absurd, follows the necessity of the case. For if in the case of the one man we divide the natures, and call the mortal nature body, but the immortal nature soul, and both man, much more consonant is it with right reason to re-cognise the properties alike of the God who took and of the man who was taken.

8 We find the blessed Paul dividing the one man into two where he says in one passage, "Though our outward man perish yet the inward man is renewed," and in another "For I delight in the law of God after the inward man. And again "that Christ may dwell in the inner man. Now if the apostle divides the natural conjunction of the synchronous natures, with what reason can the man who describes the mixture to us by means of other terms indite us as impious when we divide the properties of the natures of the everlasting God and of the man assumed at the end of days? 9 Against IV.-These statements, too, are akin to the preceding. On the assumption that there has been a mixture, he means that there is a distinction of terms as used both in the holy Gospels and in the apostolic writings. And he uses this language while glorifying himself that he is at war at once with Arius and Eunomius and the rest of the heresiarchs. Let then this exact professor of theology tells us how he would confute the blasphemy of the heretics, while applying to God the Word what is uttered humbly and appropriately by the form of the servant. They indeed while thus doing lay down that the Son of God is inferior, a creature, made, and a servant. To whom then are we, holding as we do the opposite opinion to theirs, and confessing the Son to be of one substance and co-eternal with God the Father, Creator of the Universe, Maker, Beautifier, Ruler, and Governor, All-wise, Almighty, or rather Himself, Power, Life and Wisdom, to refer the words "My God, my God why hast thou forsaken me; or "Father if it be possible let this cup pass from me; or

"Father save me from this hour; or "That hour no man knoweth, not even the Son of Man; and all the other passages spoken and written in lowliness by Him and by the holy apostles about Him? To whom shall we apply the weariness and the sleep? To whom the ignorance and the fear? Who was it who stood in need of angelic succour?

10 If these belong to God the Word, how was wisdom ignorant? How could it be called wisdom when affected by the sense of ignorance? How could He speak the truth in saying that He had all that the Father hath, when not having the knowledge of the Father? For He says, "The Father alone knoweth that day. How could He be the unchanged image of Him that begat Him if He has not all that the Begetter hath? If then He speaks the truth when saying that He is ignorant, any one might suppose this of Him. But if He knoweth the day, but says that He is ignorant with the wish to hide it, you see in what a blasphemy the conclusion issues. For the truth lies and could not properly be called truth if it has any quality opposed to truth. But if the truth does not lie, neither is God the Word ignorant of the day which He Himself made, and which He Himself fixed, wherein He purposes to judge the world, but has the knowledge of the Father as being unchanged image. Not then to God the Word does the ignorance belong, but to the form of the servant who at that time knew as much as the indwelling Godhead revealed. The same position may be maintained about other similar cases.

11 How for instance could it be reasonable for God the Word to say to the Father, "Father if it be possible let this cup pass from me, nevertheless not as I will but as Thou wilt"? The absurdities which necessarily thence follow are not a few. First it follows that the Father and the Son are not of the same mind, and that the Father wishes one thing and the Son another, for He said, "Nevertheless not as I will but as Thou wilt. Secondly we shall have to contemplate great ignorance in the Son, for He will be found ignorant whether the cup can or cannot pass from Him; but to say this of God the Word is utter impiety and blasphemy. For exactly did He know the end of the mystery of the oeconomy Who for this very reason came among us, Who of His own accord took our nature, Who emptied Himself. For this cause too He foretold to the Holy Apostles, "Behold we go up to Jerusalem; and the Son of Man shall be betrayed ...into the hands of the Gentiles to mock and to scourge and to crucify Him, and the third day He shall rise again. How then

can He Who foretold these things, and, when Peter deprecated their coming to pass, rebuked him, Himself deprecate their coming to pass, when He clearly knows all that is to be?

12 Is it not absurd that Abraham many generations ago should have seen His day and have been glad, and that Isaiah in like manner, and Jeremiah, and Daniel, and Zechariah, and all the fellowship of the prophets, should have foretold His saving passion, and He Himself be ignorant, and beg release from and deprecate it, though it was destined to come to pass for the salvation of the world? Therefore these words are not the words of God the Word, but of the form of the servant, afraid of death because death was not yet destroyed. Surely God the Word permitted the utterance of these expressions allowing room for fear, that the nature of Him that had to be born may be plain, and to prevent our supposing the Son of Abraham and David to be an unreality or appearance. The crew of the impious heretics has given birth to this blasphemy through entertaining these sentiments. We shall therefore apply what is divinely spoken and acted to God the Word; on the other hand what is said and done in humility we shall connect with the form of a servant, lest we be tainted with the blasphemy of Arius and Eunomius.

13 Against V.-We assert that God the Word shared like ourselves in flesh and blood, and in immortal soul, on account of the union relating to them; but that God the Word was made flesh by any change we not only refuse to say, but accuse of impiety those who do, and it may be seen that this is contrary to the very terms laid down. For if the Word was changed into flesh He did not share with us in flesh and blood: but if He shared in flesh and blood He shared as being another besides them: and if the flesh is anything other besides Him, then He was not changed into flesh. While therefore we use the term sharing we worship both Him that took and that which was taken as one Son. But we reckon the distinction of the natures. We do not object to the term man bearing God, as employed by many of the holy Fathers, one of whom is the great Basil, who uses this term in his argument to Amphilochius about the Holy Ghost, and in his interpretation of the fifty-ninth psalm. But we call Him man bearing God, not because He received some particular divine grace, but as possessing all the Godhead of the Son united. For thus says the blessed Paul in his interpretation, "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the

rudiments of the world, and not after Christ. For in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily."

14 Against VI.–The blessed Paul calls that which was assumed by God the Word "form of a servant," but since the assumption was prior to the union, and the blessed Paul was discoursing about the assumption when be called the nature which was assumed "form of a servant," after the making of the union the name of "servitude" has no longer place. For seeing that the Apostle when writing to them that believed in Him said, "So thou art not a servant but a son" and the Lord said to His disciples, "Henceforth I will not call you servants but friends;" much more the first fruits of our nature, through whom even we were guerdoned with the boon of adoption, would be released from the title of servant. We therefore confess even "the form of the servant" to be God on account of the form of God united to it; and we bow to the authority of the prophet when he calls the babe also Emmanuel, and the child which was born, "Angel of great counsel, wonderful Counsellor, mighty God, powerful, Prince of peace, and Father of the age to come." Yet the same prophet, even after the union, when proclaiming the nature of that which was assumed, calls him who is of the seed of Abraham "servant" in the words "Thou art my servant O Israel and in thee will I be glorified;" and again, "Thus says the Lord that formed me from the womb to be his servant;" and a little further on, "Lo I have given thee for a covenant of the people, for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth." But what was formed from the womb was not God the Word but the form of the servant. For God the Word was not made flesh by being changed, but He assumed flesh with a rational soul.

15 Against VII.–If the nature of man is mortal, and God the Word is life and giver of life, and raised up the temple which had been destroyed by the Jews, and carried it into heaven, how is not the form of the servant glorified through the form of God? For if being originally and by nature mortal it was made immortal through its union with God the Word, it therefore received what it had not; and after receiving what it had not, and being glorified, it is glorified by Him who gave. Wherefore also the Apostle exclaims, "According to the working of His mighty power which he wrought in Christ when He raised Him from the dead." Against VIII.–As I have often said, the doxology which we offer to the Lord Christ is one, and we confess the same to be at once God and man, as the method of the union has taught us; but we shall

not shrink from speaking of the properties of the natures. For God the Word did not undergo change into flesh, nor yet again did the man lose what he was and undergo transmutation into the nature of God. Therefore we worship the Lord Christ, while we maintain the properties of either nature.

16 Against IX.-Here he has plainly had the hardihood to anathematize not only those who at the present time hold pious opinions, but also those who were in former days heralds of truth; aye even the writers of the divine gospels, the band of the holy Apostles, and, in addition to these, Gabriel the archangel. For he indeed it was who first, even before the conception, announced the birth of the Christ according to the flesh; saying in reply to Mary when she asked, "How shall this be, seeing I know not a man? "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing that shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God. And to Joseph he said, "Fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife, for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost. And the Evangelist says, "When as his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph...she was found with child of the Holy Ghost. And the Lord Himself when He had come into the synagogue of the Jews and had taken the prophet Isaiah, after reading the passage in which he says, "The spirit of the Lord is upon me because He hath anointed me" and so on, added, "This day is this scripture ful-filled in your ears. And the blessed Peter in his sermon to the Jews said, "God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost.

17 And Isaiah many ages before had predicted, "There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots; and the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord; and again, "Behold my servant whom I uphold, my beloved in whom my soul delighteth. I will put my spirit upon him: he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. This testimony the Evangelist too has inserted in his own writings. And the Lord Himself in the Gospels says to the Jews, "If I with the spirit of God cast out devils, no doubt the kingdom of God is come ripen you. And John says, "He that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining on Him, the same is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost. So this exact examiner of the divine decrees has not only anathematized prophets, apostles, and even the archangel Gabriel, but has suffered his blasphemy to

reach even the Saviour of the world Himself. For we have shewn that the Lord Himself after reading the passage "The spirit of the Lord is upon me because He hath anointed me," said to the Jews, "This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears.

18 And to those who said that He was casting out devils by Beelzebub He replied that He was casting them out by the Spirit of God. But we maintain that it was not God the Word, of one substance and co-eternal with the Father, that was formed by the Holy Ghost and anointed, but the human nature which was assumed by Him at the end of days. We shall confess that the Spirit of the Son was His own if he spoke of it as of the same nature and proceeding from the Father, and shall accept the expression as consistent with true piety. But if he speaks of the Spirit as being of the Son, or as having its origin through the Son we shall reject this statement as blasphemous and impious. For we believe the Lord when He says, "The spirit which proceedeth from the Father; and likewise the very divine Paul saying, "We have received not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God."

19 Against X.-The unchangeable nature was not changed into nature of flesh, but assumed human nature and set it over the common high priests, as the blessed Paul teaches in the words, "For every high priest taken from among men is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins: who can have compassion on the ignorant and on them that are out of the way; for that he himself also is encompassed with infirmity. And by reason hereof he ought, as for the people so also for himself. And a little further on interpreting this he says, "As was Aaron so also was the Christ." , Then pointing out the infirmity of the assumed nature he says, "Who in the days of His flesh, when He had offered up prayers and supplication with strong crying and tears unto Him that was able to save Him from death, and was heard for His godly fear, though He was a son yet learned obedience by the things that He suffered: and having been made perfect He became unto all that obey Him the author of eternal salvation; named of God a high priest of the order of Melchisedec. Who then is He who was perfected by toils of virtue and who was not perfect by nature? Who is He who learnt obedience by experience, and before his experience was ignorant of it?

20 Who is it that lived with godly fear and offered supplication with strong crying and tears,not able to save Himself but appealing to Him that is

able to save Him and asking for release from death? Not God the Word, the impassible, the immortal, the incorporeal, whose memory is joy and release from tears, "For he has wiped away tears from off all faces," and again the prophet says, "I remembered God and was glad," Who crowneth them that live in godly fear, "Who knoweth all things before they be," "Who hath all things that the Father hath; Who is the unchangeable image of the Father," "Who sheweth the Father in himself. It is on the contrary that which was assumed by Him of the seed of David, mortal, passible, and afraid of death; although this itself afterwards destroyed the power of death throughunion with the God who had assumed it; which walked through all righteousness and said to John, "Suffer it to be so now for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. This took the name of the priesthood of Melchisedec, for it put on infirmity of nature;-not the Almighty God the Word. Wherefore also, a little before, the blessed Paul said, "We have not a high priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all points tempted like as we are yet without sin. It was the nature taken from us for our sakes which experienced our feelings without sin, not He that on account of our salvation assumed it.

21 And in the beginning of this part of his subject he teaches us in the words "Consider the apostle and high priest of our profession, Jesus, who was faithful to Him that appointed Him as also Moses was faithful in all His house. But no one holding the right faith would call the unmade the uncreate, God the Word coeternal with the Father, a creature; but on the contrary, Him of David's seed Who being free from all sin was made our high priest and victim, after Himself offering Himself on our behalf to God having in Himself the Word, God of God, united to Himself and inseparably conjoined. 22 Against XI.-In my opinion he appears to give heed to the truth, in order that, by concealing his unsound views by it, he may not be detected in asserting the same dogmas as the heretics. But nothing is stronger than truth, which by its own rays uncovers the darkness of falsehood. By the aid of its illumination we shall make his heterodox belief plain. In the first place he has nowhere made mention of intelligent flesh, nor confessed that the assumed man was perfect, but everywhere in accordance with the teaching of Apollinarius he speaks of flesh. Secondly, after introducing the conception of the mixture under other terms, he brings it into his arguments; for there he clearly states the flesh of the Lord to be soulless. For, he says, if any one states

that the flesh of the Lord is not proper flesh of the very Word who is of God the Father, but that it is of another beside Him, let him be anathema. Hence it is plain that he does not confess God the Word to have assumed a soul, but only flesh, and that He Himself stands to the flesh in place of soul. We on the contrary assert that the flesh of the Lord having in it life was life-giving and reasonable, on account of the life-giving Godhead united to it. And he himself unwillingly confesses the difference between the two natures, speaking of flesh, and "God the Word" and calling it "His own flesh." Therefore God the Word was not changed into nature of flesh, but has His own flesh, the assumed nature, and has made it life-giving by the union.

23 Against XII.-Passion is proper to the passible; the impassible is above passions. It was then the form of the servant that suffered, the form of God of course dwelling with it, and permitting it to suffer on account of the salvation brought forth of the sufferings, and making the sufferings its own on account of the union. Therefore it was not the Christ who suffered, but the man assumed of us by God. Wherefore also the blessed Isaiah exclaims in his prophecy, "A man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." And the Lord Christ Himself said to the Jews, "Why seek ye to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth?" But what is threatened with death is not the very life, but he that hath a mortal nature. And giving this lesson in another place the Lord said to the Jews, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." Therefore what was destroyed was the (temple descended) from David, and, after its destruction, it was raised up by the only begotten Word of God impassibly begotten of the Father before the ages.

Demonstrations by Syllogisms

THEODORET OF CYRUS

c. AD 393–458

Bishop of Cyrus; theologian, historian and exegete.

DEMONSTRATIONS BY SYLLOGISMS

That God the Word is Immutable

1. We have confessed one substance of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and have agreed that it is immutable. If then there is one substance of the Trinity, and it is immutable, then the only begotten Son, who is one person of the Trinity, is immutable. And, if He is immutable, He was not made flesh by mutation, but is said to have been made flesh after taking flesh. 2. If God the Word was made flesh by undergoing mutation into flesh, then He is not immutable. For no one in his senses would call that which undergoes alteration immutable. And if He is mutable He is not of one substance with Him that begat Him. How indeed is it possible for one part of an uncompounded substance to be mutable and the other immutable? If we grant this we shall fall headlong into the blasphemy of Arius and Eunomius, who assert that the Son is of another substance.

3. If the Lord is consubstantial with the Father, and the Son was made flesh by undergoing change into flesh, then the substance is at once mutable and immutable, which blasphemy if any one has the hardihood to maintain, he will no doubt make it worse by his blasphemy against the Father, for inasmuch as the Father shares the same substance, he will assuredly call Him mutable. 4. It is written in the divine Scriptures that God the Word took flesh, and also a soul. And the most divine Evangelist says the Word was made flesh. We must therefore perforce do one of two things: either we must admit the mutation of the Word into flesh, and reject all divine Scripture, both Old and New, as teaching lies, or in obedience to the divine Scripture, we must confess the assumption of the flesh, banishing mutation from our

thoughts, and piously regarding the word of the Evangelist. This latter we must do inasmuch as we confess the nature of God the Word to be immutable, and have countless testimonies to the assumption of the flesh.

5. That which inhabits a tabernacle is distinct from the tabernacle which is inhabited. The Evangelist calls the flesh a tabernacle, and says that God the Word tabernacled therein. "The Word," he says, "was made flesh and dwelt among us." Now if He was made flesh by mutation, He did not dwell in flesh. But we have been taught that He dwelt in flesh; for the same Evangelist in another place calls His body a temple. We must therefore believe the Evangelist's explanation and interpretation of what to some seemed ambiguous. 6. If when the Evangelist wrote "the Word was made flesh" he had added nothing which could remove the ambiguity, perhaps the controversy about the passage might have had some reasonable excuse, from the obscurity of the terms used. But since he immediately went on to say "and dwelt in us," the combatants contend to no purpose. The former clause is explained by the latter.7. The immutability of God the Word is plainly proclaimed by the most wise Evangelist, for after saying "the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us," he immediately adds, "And we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." But if, according to the foolish, He had undergone mutation into flesh, He would not have remained what He was, but if even when enveloped in the flesh He emitted the rays of His Father's nobility, it follows that the nature which He has is immutable, and it shines even in the body and sends abroad the brightness of the nature which is unseen. For that light nothing can dim. "For the light shineth in the darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not," as saith the very divine John.

8. The illustrious Evangelist was desirous of explaining the glory of the only-begotten, but was unable to carry out his purpose. He therefore shews it by His fellowship with the Father. For he says He is of that nature; just as though any one to persons beholding Joseph sunk in a slavery inconsistent with his rank, and unaware of the splendour of his descent, were to point out that Jacob was his father, and his forefather Abraham. So in this sense the Evangelist said that when He dwelt among us He did not dim the glory of His nature, "For we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father." So if even when He was made flesh it was plain who He was, then He remained who he was, and did not undergo the mutation into flesh. 9. We

have confessed that God the Word took not a body only but also a soul. Why then did the divine Evangelist omit in this place mention of the soul and mention the flesh alone? Is it not plain that he exhibited the visible nature and by its means signified the nature united to it? For the mention of the soul is understood of course in that of the flesh. For when we hear the prophet saying "Let all flesh bless His holy name," we do not understand the prophet to be exhorting bodies of flesh without souls, but believe the whole to be summoned to give praise in the summoning of a part.

10. The words "the Word was made flesh" are plainly indicative not of mutation, but of His unspeakable loving-kindness. For after the illustrious Evangelist had said "in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God," and had declared Him to be Creator of the visible and invisible, and had called Him life and true light, adding other similar expressions, and had spoken concerning the Godhead in such terms as human reason can take in and the language at its command can express, he went on "And the Word was made flesh," as though smitten with amazement and astounded at the boundless loving-kindness. His existence is eternal; He is God; He made all things; He is source of eternal life and of true light; and on account of the salvation of men He put about Him the tabernacle of flesh. And He was supposed to be only that which He appeared. So for this reason he did not even mention a soul but only the perishable and mortal flesh. Of the soul as being immortal he said nothing in order to exhibit the boundlessness of the kindness.

11. The divine Apostle calls the Lord Christ seed of Abraham. But if this is true, as true it is, then God the Word was not changed into flesh, but took on Him the seed of Abraham, according to the teaching of the Apostle himself. 12. God swore to David that of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, He would raise up the Christ, as the prophet said and as the great Peter interpreted. But if God the Word was called Christ after mutation into flesh, we shall nowhere find the truth in the oaths. Yet we have been taught that God cannot lie; nay rather is Himself the truth. Therefore God the Word did not undergo change into flesh, but in accordance with the promise, took firstfruits of David's seed.

Proofs that the Union Was Without Confusion.

1. Those who believe that after the union there was one nature both of Godhead and of manhood, destroy by this reasoning the peculiarities of the

natures; and their destruction involves denial of either nature. For the confusion of the united natures prevents us from recognising either that flesh is flesh or that God is God. But if even after the union the difference of the united natures is clear, it follows that there is no confusion and that the union is without confusion. And if this is confessed then the Master Christ is not one nature, but one Son shewing either nature unimpaired. 2. We too assert the union, and ourselves confess that it took place at the conception; if then by the union the natures were mixed and confounded, how was the flesh after the birth not seen to possess any new quality, but exhibited the human character, preserved the dimensions of the babe, was wrapped in swaddling clothes, and sucked a mother's breast? And if all this did not come to pass in mere phantasy and seeming, then they admit of neither phantasy nor seeming; then what was seen was truly a body. And if this be granted then the natures were not confounded by the union, but each remained unimpaired.

3. The authors of this patchwork and incongruous heresy at one time assert that God the Word was made flesh, and at another declare that the flesh underwent a change into nature of Godhead. Either statement is futile and vain and full of falsehood, for if God the Word, as they argue, was made flesh, why then do they call Him God, and this alone, and refuse to name Him man as well, and find great fault with us who in addition to confessing Him as God also call Him man? But if the flesh was changed into the nature of Godhead, wherefore do they substitute the antitypes of the body? For the type is superfluous when the reality is destroyed. 4. An incorporeal nature is not corporeally circumcised, but the word corporeally is added on account of the spiritual circumcision of the heart; so then the circumcision is of a body; but the Master Christ is circumcised after the union. And if this is granted then the argument of the confusion is confuted.

5. We have learnt that the Saviour Christ hungered and thirsted, and we have believed that this was so really and not in seeming, but such conditions belong not to a bodiless nature but to a body. The Master Christ then had a body which before the resurrection was affected according to its nature. And to this the divine Apostle bears testimony when he says "For we have not an High Priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities but was in all points tempted like as we are yet without sin." For the sin is not of the nature but of the evil will. 6. Of the divine nature the prophet David says,

"Behold He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep." But the narrative of the Evangelist describes the Master Christ as sleeping in the boat. Now not sleeping and being asleep are two contrary ideas, so the prophet contradicts the Gospels if, as they argue, the Master Christ was God alone. There is no contradiction, for both prophecies and gospels flow from one and the same spirit. The Master Christ therefore had a body, akin to all other bodies, affected by the need of sleep. So the argument for the confusion is proved a fable.

7. Of the divine nature the prophet Isaiah said, "He shall neither be hungry nor weary" and so on. But the Evangelist says "Jesus being weary with his journey sat thus on the well;" and "shall not be weary" is contrary to "being weary." Therefore the prophecy is contrary to the narrative of the gospels. But they are not contrary, for both are of one God. Not being weary is of the uncircumscribed nature which fills all things. But moving from place to place is of the circumscribed nature; and when that which moves is constrained to travel it is subject to the weariness of the wayfarer. Therefore what walked and was weary was a body, for the union did not confound the natures. 8. To the divine Paul when shut up in prison the Master Christ said "Be not afraid Paul" and so on. But the same Christ, who drove away Paul's fear, Himself so feared, as testifies the blessed Luke that He sweated from all His body drops of blood, and with them sprinkled all the ground about His body, and was strengthened by angelic succour, and these statements are opposed to one another, for how can fearing be other than contrary to driving away fear? Yet they are not contrary. For the same Christ is by nature God and man; as God He strengthens them that need consolation; as man He receives consolation through an angel. And although the Godhead and the Spirit were present as an anointing, the body and the soul were not then supported either by the Godhead united to them or by the Holy Ghost, but this service was entrusted to an angel in order to exhibit the infirmity both of the soul and of the body and that through the infirmity might be seen the natures of the infirm. Now these things plainly happened by the permission of the divine nature, that, among them that were to live in future times, believers in the assumption of the soul and of the body might be vindicated by these demonstrations, and their opponents by plain proof convicted. If then the union was effected by the conception, and, as they argue, made both natures one, how could the properties of the natures continue unimpaired,

the soul agonize, and the body sweat so as to sweat bloody drops from excess of fear? But if the one is natural to the body and the other to the soul, then the union did not effect one nature of flesh and Godhead, but one Son appeared shewing forth in Himself both the human and the divine.

9. Should they say that after the resurrection the body underwent mutation into Godhead they may properly be answered thus. Even after the resurrection the body was seen circumscribed with hands and feet and all the body's parts; it was tangible and visible; it had wounds and scars, as it had before the resurrection. One then of two alternatives must be maintained. Either these parts must be attributed to the divine nature, if the body when changed into the divine nature had these parts; or on the other hand it must be confessed that the body remained within the bounds of its own nature. Now the divine nature is simple and incomposite, but the body is composite and divided into many parts; therefore it was not changed into the nature of Godhead, but even after the resurrection though immortal, incorruptible and full of divine glory, it remains a body with its own circumscription.

10. To the unbelieving apostles the Lord after His resurrection shewed His hands, His feet, and the prints of the nails; then further to teach them that what they saw was not a vision He added "a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have." Therefore the body was not changed into spirit it was flesh and bones and hands and feet. Consequently even after the resurrection the body remained a body. 11. The divine nature is invisible, but the thrice blessed Stephen said that he saw the Lord, so even after the resurrection the Lord's body is a body, and it was seen by the victorious Stephen, since the divine nature cannot be seen. 12. If all mankind shall see the Son of man coming on the clouds of heaven, according to the Lord's own words, and He said to Moses "No man shall see me and live," and both are true, then He will come with the body with which He ascended into heaven. For that body is visible, and of this the angel spoke to the Apostles "This same Jesus which is taken up from you into Heaven shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him go into Heaven." If this is true, as true it is, then there is not one nature of flesh and Godhead, but the union is without confusion.

Proof that the Divinity of the Saviour is Impassible.

1. Alike by the divine Scripture and by the holy Fathers assembled at Nicaae we have been taught to confess that the Son is of one substance with God the Father. The impassibility of the Father is also taught by the nature and pro-

claimed by the divine Scripture. We shall then further confess the Son to be impassible, for this definition is enforced by the identity of substance. Whenever then we hear the divine Scripture proclaiming the cross and the death of the Master Christ we attribute the passion to the flesh, for in no wise is the Godhead, being by nature impassible, capable of suffering. 2. "All things that the Father hath are mine" says the Master Christ, and one out of all is impassibility. If therefore as God He is impassible, He suffered as man. For the divine nature does not undergo suffering. 3. The Lord said "the bread which I will give is my flesh which I will give for the life of the world," and again "I am the good shepherd and know my sheep and am known of mine ...and I lay down my life for the sheep." So body and soul are both given by the good shepherd for the sheep who have soul and body.

4. The nature of men is compounded of body and soul. But it sinned and stood in need of a sacrifice free from every spot. So the Creator took a body and a soul, and keeping them clean from the stains of sin for men's bodies gave His body and for their souls His soul. If this is true, and true it is, for these are words of truth itself, then wild and blasphemous are they who ascribe passion to the divine nature. 5. The blessed Paul called the Christ "the first born of the dead;" and I suppose the first born has the same nature as they of whom He is called first born. As man then He is first born of the dead, for He first destroyed the pangs of death and gave to all the sweet hope of another life. As He rose so He suffered. As man then He suffered but as awful God He remained impassible.

6. The divine Apostle calls our Saviour Christ "the firstfruits of them that slept," but the firstfruits are related to the whole whereof they are firstfruits. He is not therefore called firstfruits as God, for what relationship is there between Godhead and manhood? The former is an immortal nature, the latter mortal. Such is the nature of them that sleep, of whom Christ is called firstfruits. To this nature belong death and resurrection, and in its resurrection we have a proof of the general resurrection. 7. When the Master Christ wished to persuade the doubting Apostles that He had destroyed death and risen, He shewed them parts of His body, His side, His hands, His feet and the marks of the passion preserved therein. This body then rose, and this, I ween, was shown to the disbelievers. What rose is what was buried, and what was buried is what had died, and what had died is of course what was nailed to the cross. So the divine nature united to the body remained impassible.

8. They who describe the flesh of the Lord as giver of life make life itself mortal by their words. They ought to have seen that it was giver of life through the life united to it. But if according to their argument the life is mortal, how could the flesh being itself by nature mortal, and made life-giving through the life, remain life-giving? 9. God the Word is by nature immortal, and the flesh by nature mortal, but after the passion by union with the Word the flesh itself became immortal. How then is it not absurd to say that the giver of such immortality shared death? 10. They who maintain that God the Word suffered in the flesh should be asked the meaning of what they say, and should they have the hardihood to reply that when the body was pierced with nails the divine nature was sensible of pain, let them learn that the divine nature did not fill the part of a soul. God the Word had assumed a soul with the body. Should they reject this argument as blasphemous, and should they assert that the flesh suffered by nature, and that God the Word made the passion His own as of His own flesh, let them not propound puzzling and murky phrases, but let them clearly propound the meaning of the ill sounding phrase. They will have all those who wish to follow the divine Scripture as their supporters in this interpretation.

11. The divine Peter in his Catholic Epistle says that Christ suffered in the flesh. But he who hears that Christ suffered does not understand God the Word incorporeal, but incarnate. The name of Christ indicates both natures; but the word "flesh" connected with the passion signifies not that both, but that one of the two, suffered. For he that hears that Christ suffered in the flesh thinks of Him as impassible in that He was God, and attributes the passion to the flesh alone. For just as when we hear him saying that God had sworn to David of the fruit of his loins according to the flesh to raise up the Christ, we do not say that God the Word derived His origin from David, but that the flesh which God the Word took was akin to David, so must he who hears that Christ suffered in the flesh, recognise that the passion belongs to the flesh, and confess the impassibility of the Godhead.

12. When on the cross the Lord Christ said, "Father into Thy hands I commend my spirit," this spirit is said by the Arians and the Eunomians to be the Godhead of the only-begotten, for they hold that the body which He took was without a soul, but the heralds of the truth say that the soul was so called and they base their opinion on the following passages. The right wise Evangelist immediately adds "And having said thus He gave up the ghost." So

says Luke, and the blessed Mark similarly adds "He gave up the ghost." The divine Matthew writes, "yielded up the Ghost," and the divine John, "gave up the Ghost." All speak according to the usage of men, for we are accustomed to use all these expressions about those who die; none of them conveys any meaning of Godhead, but they all signify the soul, and if any one were to receive the Arian sense of the passage none the less even thus will it shew the immortality of the divine nature. For Christ commended it to the Father. He did not yield it to death. If then they that deny the assumption of the soul, and maintain God the Word to be a creature, and assert that He was in the body in place of a soul, deny that He was delivered to death, how can they obtain pardon who while they confess one substance of the Trinity, and leave the soul in its own immortality, impudently dare to say that God the Word of one substance with the Father tasted death?

13. If Christ is both God and man, as the divine Scripture teaches, and the illustrious Fathers persistently preached, then He suffered as man, but as God remained impassible. 14. If they acknowledge the assumption of the flesh, and declare it to be passible before the resurrection, and preach that the nature of the Godhead is impassible, why, leaving the passible nature, do they attribute the passion to the impassible? 15. If our Lord and Saviour nailed the handwriting to the cross, as says the divine Apostle, He then nailed the body, for on his body every man like letters marks the prints of his sins, wherefore on behalf of sinners He gave up the body that was free from all sin. 16. When we say that the body or the flesh or the manhood suffered, we do not separate the divine nature, for as it was united to one hungering, thirsting, aweary, even asleep, and undergoing the passion, itself affected by none of these but permitting the human nature to be affected in its own way, so it was conjoined to it even when crucified, and permitted the completion of the passion, that by the passion it might destroy death; not indeed receiving pain from the passion, but making the passion its own, as of its own temple, and of the flesh united to it, on account of which flesh also the faithful are called members of Christ, and He Himself is styled the head of them that believed.

The Anathemas of Cyril

Theodoret of Cyrus

c. AD 393–458

Bishop of Cyrus; theologian, historian and exegete.

THE ANATHEMAS OF CYRIL IN OPPOSITION TO NESTORIUS

1 (Mansi T. IV. p. 1067-1082, Migne Cat. 76, col. 391. The anathemas of Nestorius against Cyril are to be found in Hardouin i. 1297.) i. If any one refuses to confess that the Emmanuel is in truth God, and therefore that the holy Virgin is Mother of God (qeotokoj), for she gave birth after a fleshly manner to the Word of God made flesh; let him be anathema. ii. If any one refuses to confess that the Word of God the Father is united in hypostasis to flesh, and is one Christ with His own flesh, the same being at once both God and man, let him be anathema. iii. If any one in the case of the one Christ divides the hypostases after the union, conjoining them by the conjunction alone which is according to dignity, independence, or prerogative, and not rather by the concurrence which is according to natural union, let him be anathema.

2 iv. If any one divides between two persons or hypostases the expressions used in the writings of evangelists and apostles, whether spoken by the saints of Christ or by Him about Himself, and applies the one as to a man considered properly apart from the Word of God, and the others as appropriate to the divine and the Word of God the Father alone, let him be anathema. v. If any one dares to maintain that the Christ is man bearing God, and not rather that He is God in truth, and one Son, and by nature, according as the Word was made flesh, and shared blood and flesh in like manner with ourselves, let him be anathema. vi. If any one dares to maintain that the Word of God the Father was God or Lord of the Christ, and does not rather confess that the same was at once both God and man, the Word being made flesh according to the Scriptures, let him be anathema.

3 vii. If any one says that Jesus was energized as man by God the Word, and that He was invested with the glory of the only begotten as being another beside Him, let him be anathema. viii. If any one dares to maintain that the ascended man ought to be worshipped together with the divine Word, and be glorified with Him, and with Him be called God as one with another (in that the continual rise of the preposition "with" in composition makes this sense compulsory), and does not rather in one act of worship honour the Emmanuel and praise Him in one doxology, in that He is the Word made flesh, let him be anathema. ix. If any one says that the one Lord Jesus Christ is glorified by the Spirit, using the power that works through Him as a foreign power, and receiving from Him the ability to operate against unclean spirits, and to complete His miracles among men; and does not rather say that the Spirit is His own, whereby also He wrought His miracles, let him be anathema.

4 x. Holy Scripture states that Christ is High Priest and Apostle of our confession, and offered Himself on our behalf for a sweet-smelling savour to God and our Father. If, then, any one says that He, the Word of God, was not made our High Priest and Apostle when He was made flesh and man after our manner; but as being another, other than Himself, properly man made of a woman; or if any one says that He offered the offering on His own behalf, and not rather on our behaIf alone; for He that knew no sin would not have needed an offering, let him be anathema. xi. If any one confesses not that the Lord's flesh is giver of life, and proper to the Word of God Himself, but (states) that it is of another than Him, united indeed to Him in dignity, yet as only possessing a divine indwelling; and not rather, as we said, giver of life, because it is proper to the Word of Him who hath might to engender all things alive, let him be anathema.

5 xii. If any one confesses not that the Word of God suffered in flesh, and was crucified in flesh, and tasted death in flesh, and was made firstborn of the dead, in so far as He is life and giver of life, as God; let him be anathema.

PART THREE

Letters

The letters of Theodoret, to bishops, monks, officials and the emperor.

Letters of Theodoret

Theodoret of Cyrus

c. AD 393–458

Bishop of Cyrus; theologian, historian and exegete.

letter 1: to an unknown correspondent

In the words of the prophet we find the wise hearer mentioned with the excellent councillor. I, however, send the book I have written on the divine Apostle, not as much to a wise hearer as to a just and clever judge. When goldsmiths wish to find out if their gold is refined and unalloyed, they apply it to the touchstone; and just so I sent my book to your reverence, for I wish to know whether it is what it should be, or needs some fining down. You have read it and returned it, but have said nothing to me on this point. Your silence leads me to conjecture that the judge has given sentence of condemnation, but is unwilling to hurt my feelings by telling me so. Pray dismiss any such idea, and do not hesitate to tell me your opinion about the book.

letter 2: to the same

When men love warmly, I doubt whether in the case of the children of those whom they love, they can be impartial judges. Justice is carried away by affection. Fathers fancy that their ugly boys are beautiful, and sons do not see the uncomeliness of their fathers. Brother looks at brother in the light of affection rather than of nature. It is thus that I am afraid your holiness has judged what I have written, and that the sentence has been delivered by warmth of feeling. For truly the power of love is very great, and not seldom it keeps out of sight considerable errors in our friends. It is because you have so much of it, my dear friend, that you have wreathed what I have written with your kindly praises. All I can do is to ask your piety to beseech the good Lord to ratify your eulogy, and make the man you have praised something like the picture painted in the words of his admirers.

Comparisons of this kind are forbidden by the divine Apostle. In his Epistle to the Romans he writes "Therefore judge nothing before the time until the Lord come who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness and will make manifest the counsels of the heart: and then shall every man have praise of God." And he is quite right; for we can see only outward deeds, but the God of all knows also the intention of the doers, and when He delivers his sentence judges not so much the work as the will. So He will crown the divine Apostle who became to the Jews as a Jew, to them that were under the law as under the law, and to them that were without law as without law for his object in thus assuming an actor's mask was that he might do good to mankind. His was no time-server's career. The gain he got was loss, but he secured the good of them whom he taught. As I said, then, the divine Paul bids us wait for the judgment of God. But we are venturing on high themes; we are handling a theology passing understanding and words; not, like the unholy heretics, seeking blasphemous positions, but endeavouring to confute their impiety, and as far as in us lies to give praise to the Creator; we shall therefore do nothing unreasonable in attempting to reply to your enquiry.

You have suggested the case of an impious judge giving to two athletes of piety the alternative of sacrificing to demons, or flinging themselves into the sea. You describe the one as choosing the latter and plunging without hesitation into the deep, while the other, refusing both, shews quite as much abhorrence of the worship of idols as his companion, but declines to commit himself to the waves, and waits for this fate to be violently forced upon him. You have suggested these circumstances, and you ask which of these two took the better course. I think that you will agree with me that the latter was the more praiseworthy. No one ought to withdraw himself from life unbidden, but should await either a natural or a violent death. Our Lord gave us this lesson when He bade those that are persecuted in one city flee to another and again commanded them to quit even this and depart to another. In obedience to this teaching the divine Apostle escaped the violence of the governor of the city, and had no hesitation in speaking of the manner of his flight, but spoke of the basket, the wall, and the window, and boasted and glorified in the act. For what looks discreditable is made honourable by the divine command. In the same manner the Apostle called himself at one time a

Pharisee and at another a Roman, not because he was afraid of death, but acting quite fairly in fight.

In the same way when he had learnt the Jews' plot against him he appealed to Caesar and sent his sister's son to the chief captain to report the designs hatched against him, not because he clung to this present life, but in obedience to the divine law. For assuredly our Lord does not wish us to throw ourselves into obvious peril; and this is taught us by deed as well as by word, for more than once He avoided the murderous violence of the Jews. And the great Peter, first of the Apostles, when he was loosed from his chains and had escaped from the hands of Herod, came to the house of John, who was surnamed Mark, and after removing the anxiety of his friends by his visit and bidding them maintain silence, betook himself to another house in the endeavour to conceal himself more effectually by the removal. And we shall find just the same kind of wisdom in the old Testament, for the famous Moses, after playing the man in his struggle with the Egyptian and finding out the next day that the homicide had become known, ran away, travelled a long journey, and arrived at the land of Midian. In like manner the great Elias when he had learnt Jezebel's threats did not give himself up to them which wished to kill him, but left the world and hurried to the desert.

And if it is right and agreeable to God to escape the violence of our enemies, surely it is much more right to refuse to obey them when they order a man to become his own murderer. Our Lord did not give in to the devil when he bade Him throw Himself down, and when he had armed against Him the hands of the Jews by means of the scourge and the thorns and the nails, and the creature was urging Him to bring wholesale destruction on His wicked foes, the Lord Himself forbade, because He knew that His Passion was bringing salvation to the world, and it was for this reason that just before His Passion He said to His Apostles "Pray that ye enter not into temptation," and taught us to pray "Lead us not into temptation. Now let us shift our ground a little, and we shall see our way more clearly. Let us eliminate the sea from the argument, and suppose the judge to have given each of the martyrs a sword, and ordered the one who refused to sacrifice to cut off his own head; who in his senses would have endured to redden his hand with his own blood, become his own headsman, lift his hand against himself, in obedience to the judge's order?

Clearly your second martyr deserves the higher praise. The former indeed deserves credit for his zeal, bat the latter is adorned by right judgment as well. I have answered you according to the measure of the wisdom given me; He who knows thoughts as well as acts, will shew which of the two was right in the day of His appearing. IV. Festal. The Creator of our souls and bodies has given His bounty to both, and at one and the same time has overwhelmed us with good things that both heart and senses can feel. At the time of the sacred feast He has given us the rain we so much longed for, that our celebration might be clear of sadness. We have praised our bountiful Lord, and now as we are wont write a festal letter and address your piety with the request that you will aid us with your prayers.

LETTER 5: FESTAL

The God who made us gives us care and sorrow after our sin. But He has furnished us with divine occasions of consolation by appointing divine feasts. The thoughts they suggest both remind us of God's gifts to us, and promise complete freedom from all our troubles. Enjoying these good things and filled with cheerfulness, we address your magnificence, and, according to the custom of the festival, pay friendship's debt. VI. Festal. Our loving Lord has allowed us, with the zeal of folks who love the Christ, to celebrate the divine feast of salvation and enjoy the fruit of the spiritual blessing that flows from it. Since we know the disposition of your Piety toward us, we write to tell yon this. For they who have friendly thoughts to others are always pleased to hear cheering intelligence of them. VII. To Theonilla. Had I heard of the death of your dignity's most honourable husband I should have written long ago, and now my object in writing is not to lull your great sorrow to sleep by consolatory words. They are unnecessary. They who have learnt the wisdom of philosophers and consider what this life is, find reason strong enough to meet and break grief's rising surge. And even while you are remembering your long companionship, reason recognises the divine decrees, and to meet the forces of the tears of sorrow marshals at once the course of nature, the law of God, and the hope of the resurrection. Knowing this as I do, there is no necessity to use many words. I only beseech you to avail yourself of good sense in the hour of need. Think of the death of him who is gone as no more than a long journey, and wait for the promise of our God and Saviour. For He who promised the resurrection cannot lie, and is the fount of truth.

LETTER 8: TO EUGRAPHIA

It is needless for me to bring once more to bear upon your grief the spells of the spirit. The mere mention of the sufferings that wrought our salvation is enough to quench distress, even at its worst. Those sufferings were all undergone for humanity. Our Lord did not destroy death to make one body victorious over death, hut through that one body to effect our common resurrection, and make our hope of it a sure and certain hope. And if even while our holy celebrations are bringing you manifold refreshment of soul, you cannot overcome your sense of sorrow, let me beg you, my honoured friend, to read the very words of the marriage contract which follow on the mention of the dowry, and to see how the wedding is preceded by the reminder of death. Knowing as we do that men are mortal, and bethinking us of the peace of survivors, it is customary to lay down what are called conditions, and for no hesitation to be shewn at the mention of death before the joining together in marriage. These are the plain words "If the husband should die first it is agreed that so and so be done; if this lot should first fall to the wife, so and so." We knew all this before the wedding; we are waiting for it so to say everyday. Why then take it amiss? The union must needs be broken either by the death of the husband or the departure of the wife. Such is the course of life. You know, my excellent friend, alike God's will and human nature; dispel then your despondency and wait for the fulfilment of the common hope of the just.

LETTER 9: TO AN ANONYMOUS CORRESPONDENT

Your piety is annoyed and distressed at the sentence passed on me unjustly and without a trial. I am comforted that you are so feeling. Had I been justly condemned I should have been sorry at having given my judges reasonable grounds for what they have done, but, as it is, my conscience is quite clear, and I feel joyful and exultant and look forward to the remission of other sins on account of this injustice. Naboth lives in men's memories only because he suffered that unjust death. Only pray that we be not abandoned of God and let the enemy continue to do his worst. God's good will is enough to make me very cheerful and if He is on my side I despise all my troubles as trifles. X. To the Learned Elias. Legislators have made laws in aid of the oppressed, and advocates have practised the orator's arts to help them that stand in need of fair defence. You, my friend, have studied eloquence and the law. Now put

your art in practice, and by it put down the oppressors, help them that are put down by them, and defend them with the law as with a shield. Let no guilty client enjoy the benefit of your advocacy, even though he be your friend.

Now one of these guilty men is that villain Abraham. After being settled for a considerable time on an estate belonging to the church, he then took several partners in his rascality, and has had no hesitation in owning his proceedings. I have sent him to you with an account of his doings, the parties he has wronged, and the reverend sub-deacon Gerontius. I do not want you to deliver the guilty man to the authorities, but in the hope that when his victims have told you all they have had to put up with, and have made you, my learned friend, feel sympathy for their case, you may be induced to compel the wicked fellow to restore what he has stolen. XI. To Flavianus Bishop of Constantinople. The Creator and Guide of the Universe has made you a luminary of the world, and changed the deep moonless night into clear noon. Just as by the haven's side, the beacon light shews sailors in the night time the harbour mouth, so shines the bright ray of your holiness to give great comfort to all that are attacked for true religion's sake, and shews them the safe port of the Apostles' faith. They that know it already are filled with comfort, and they that knew it not are saved from being dashed upon the rocks. I indeed am especially bound to praise the giver of all good, because I have found a noble champion who drives away fear of men by the power of the fear of God, fights heartily in the front rank for the doctrines of the Gospel, and gladly bears the brunt of the apostolic war. So to-day every tongue is moved in eulogy of your holiness, for it is not only the nurslings of true religion who admire the purity of your faith, but the praises of your courage are sung even by the enemies of the truth. Falsehood vanishes at truth's lightning flash.

I write thus knowing that the very reverend and pious Hypatius the reader, both readily obeys the bidding of your holiness, and constantly, my Lord, mentions your laudable deeds. I salute you as holy and right dear to God. I exhort you to support us with your prayers that we may lead the rest of our lives according to God's laws. XII. To the Bishop Irenaeus. Job, that famous tower of adamant and noble champion of goodness, was not shaken even by blows of continuous troubles of every sort and kind, but stood impregnable and firm. At the end however of all his trials the righteous Law-giver ex-

plained the reason of them in the words, "Dost thou think that I answered thee for any other reason than that thou mightest appear just? I think that these words are known to your piety which is able to support the many and various attacks of troubles and anxieties, and so far from shrinking from them, exhibits the strength and stability of your administration. So the bountiful Lord, seeing the bravery and holiness of your soul, has refused to keep a worthy champion in concealment, and has brought him forth to the contest to adorn your venerable head with a crown of victory, and give your struggles as a high example of good service to the rest. So, my dear friend, conquer in this battle too, and bear bravely the death of your son-in-law, my own dear friend. Conquer in your wisdom the claims of kinsmanship and the memory of a noble and generous character, a memory which must always recall something beyond painter's art or rhetorician's skill. Repel the assault of sorrow by the thought of Him who wisely administers all the affairs of men, with perfect knowledge of the future and right guidance of it for our good. Let us join in the joy of him who has been delivered from this life's storms.

Let us rather give thanks because, wafted by kindly winds, he has cast anchor in the windless haven and has escaped the grievous shipwrecks whereof this life is full. But need I say all this to one who is a tried gladiator of goodness? Need I, as it were, anoint for endurance one who is a trainer of other athletes? Still I write. It is a comfort to myself to write as I do. I am really and truly grieved when I remember an intimacy that I esteemed so highly. Once more I praise the great Guide of all, Who both knows what would be good for us and guides our life accordingly. I have dictated this after writing my former communication, on one of my friends in Antioch telling me that the end had come.

LETTER 13: TO CYRUS

I had heard of the island of Lesbos, and its cities Mitylene, Methymna, and the rest; but I was ignorant of the fruit of the vine cultivated in it. Now, thanks to your diligence, I have become acquainted with it, and I admire both its whiteness and the delicacy of its flavour. Perhaps time may even improve it, unless it turns it sour; for wine, like the body, and plants, and buildings, and other things made by hand, is damaged by time. If, as you say, it makes the drinker longlived, I am afraid it will be of little use to me, for I have no desire to live a long life, when life's storms are so many and so hard.

I was however much pleased to hear of the health of the monk. Really my anxiety about him was quite distressing, and I wrongly blamed the doctors, for his complaint required the treatment they gave. I have sent you a little pot of honey which the Cilician bees make from storax flowers.

LETTER 14: TO ALEXANDRA

Had I only considered the character of the loss which you have sustained, I should have wanted consolation myself, not only because I count that what concerns you concerns me, be it agreeable or otherwise, but because I did so dearly love that admirable and truly excellent man. But the divine decree has removed him from us and translated him to the better life. I therefore scatter the cloud of sorrow from my soul, and urge you, my worthy friend, to vanquish the pain of your sorrow by the power of reason, and to bring your soul in this hour of need under the spell of God's word. Why from our very cradles do we suck the instruction of the divine Scriptures, like milk from the breast, but that, when trouble falls upon us, we may be able to apply the teaching of the Spirit as a salve for our pain? I know how sad, how very grievous it is, when one has experienced the worth of some loved object, suddenly to be deprived of it, and to fall in a moment from happiness to misery. But to them that are gifted with good sense, and use their powers of right reason, no human contingency comes quite unforeseen; nothing human is stable; nothing lasting; nor beauty, nor wealth, nor health, nor dignity; nor any of all those things that most men rank so high. Some men fall from a summit of opulence to lowest poverty; some lose their health and struggle with various forms of disease;

some who are proud of the splendour of their lineage drag the crushing yoke of slavery. Beauty is spoilt by sickness and marred by old age, and very wisely has the supreme Ruler suffered none of these things to continue nor abide, with the intent that their possessors, in fear of change, may lower their proud looks, and, knowing how all such possessions ebb and flow, may cease to put their confidence in what is short lived and fleeting, and may fix their hopes upon the Giver of all good. I am aware, my excellent friend, that you know all this, and I beg you to reflect on human nature; you will find that it is mortal, and received the doom of death from the beginning. It was to Adam that God said "Dust thou art and to dust thou shalt return. The giver of the law is He that never lies, and experience witnesses to His truth. Divine Scripture tells us "all men have one entrance into life and the like go-

ing out," and every one that is born awaits the grave. And all do not live a like length of time; some men come to an end all too soon; some in the vigour of manhood, and some after they have experienced the trials of old age. Thus, too, they who have taken on them the marriage yoke are loosed from it, and it must needs be that either husband first depart or wife reach this life's end before him.

Some have but just entered the bridal chamber when their lot is weeping and lamentation; some live together a little while. Enough to remember that the grief is common to give reason ground for overcoming grief. Besides all this, even they who are mastered by bitterest sorrow may be comforted by the thought that the departed was the father of sons; that he left them grown up; that he had attained a very high position, and in it, so far from giving any cause for envy, made men love him the more, and left behind him a reputation for liberality, for hatred of all that is bad, for gentleness and indeed for every kind of moral virtue. But what excuse for despondency will be left us if we take to heart God's own promises and the hopes of Christians; the resurrection, I mean, eternal life, continuance in the kingdom, and all that "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him"? Does not the Apostle say emphatically, "I would not have you to be ignorant brethren concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not even as others which have no hope"? I have known many men who even without hope have got the better of their grief by the force of reason alone, and it would indeed be extraordinary if they who are supported by such a hope should prove weaker than they who have no hope at all. Let us then, I implore you, look at the end as a long journey. When he went on a journey we used indeed to be sorry, but we waited his return. Now let the separation sadden us indeed in some degree, for I am not exhorting what is contrary to human nature, but do not let us wail as over a corpse; let us rather congratulate him on his setting forth and his departure hence, because he is now free from a world of uncertainties, and fears no further change of soul or body or of corporeal conditions. The strife now ended, he waits for his reward. Grieve not overmuch for orphanhood and widowhood.

We have a greater Guardian whose law it is that all should take good care of orphans and widows and about whom the divine David says "The Lord relieveth the fatherless and widow, but the way of the wicked He turneth up-

side down. Only let us put the rudders of our lives in His hands, and we shall meet with an unfailing Providence. His guardianship will be surer than can be that of any man, for His are the words "Can a woman forget her sucking child that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yet will I not forget thee. He is nearer to us than father and mother for He is our Maker and Creator. It is not marriage that makes fathers, but fathers are made fathers at His will. I am now compelled thus to write because my bonds do not suffer me to hasten to you, but your most God-loving and most holy bishop is able unaided to give all consolation to your very faithful soul by word and by deed, by sight and by communication of thought and by that spiritual and God-given wisdom of his whereby I trust the tempest of your grief will be lulled to sleep. XV. To Silvanus the Primate

I know that in my words of consolation I am somewhat late, but it is not without reason that I have delayed to send them, for I have thought it worth while to let the violence of your grief take its course. The cleverest physicians will never apply their remedies when a fever is at its height, but wait for a favourable opportunity for using the appliances of their skill. So after reckoning how sharp your anguish must be, I have let these few days go by, for if I myself was so distressed and filled with such sorrow by the news, what must not have been the sufferings of a husband and yoke-fellow, made, as the Scripture says, one flesh, at the violent sundering of the union cemented both by time and love? Such pangs are only natural; but let reason devise consolation by reminding you that humanity is frail and sorrow universal, and also of the hope of the resurrection and the will of Him who orders our lives wisely. We must needs accept the decrees of inestimable wisdom, and own them to be for our good; for they who reflect thus piously shall reap piety's rewards, and so delivered from immoderate lamentations shall pass their lives in peace. On the other hand they whom sorrow makes its slaves will gain nothing by their wailing, but will at once live weary lives and grieve the Guardian of us all. Receive then, my most honoured friend, a fatherly exhortation "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away. He hath done whatsoever pleased Him. Blessed be the name of the Lord."

LETTER 16: TO BISHOP IRENAEUS

There is nothing good, it seems, in prospect for us, so, far from calming down, the tempest troubling the Church seems to rise higher every day. The conveners of the Council have arrived and delivered the letters of summons

to several of the Metropolitans including our own, and I have sent a copy of the letter to your Holiness to acquaint you how, as the poet has it, "Woe has been welded by woe." And we need only the Lord's goodness to stay the storm. Easy it is for Him to stay it, but we are unworthy of the calm, yet the grace of His patience is enough for us, so that haply by it we may get the better of our foes. So the divine apostle has taught us to pray "for He will with the temptation also make a way to escape that ye may be able to bear it." But I beseech your godliness to stop the mouths of the objectors and make them understand that it is not for them who stand, as the phrase goes, out of range, to scoff at men fighting in the ranks and giving and receiving blows; for what matters it what weapon the soldier uses to strike down his antagonists? Even the great David did not use a panoply when he slew the aliens' champion, and Samson slew thousands on one day with the jawbone of an ass. Nobody grumbles at the victory, nor accuses the conqueror of cowardice, because he wins it without brandishing a spear or covering himself with his shield or throwing darts or shooting arrows. The defenders of true religion must be criticized in the same way, nor must we try to find language which will stir strife, but rather arguments which plainly proclaim the truth and make those who venture to oppose it ashamed of themselves.

What does it matter whether we style the holy Virgin at the same time mother of Man and mother of God, or call her mother and servant of her offspring, with the addition that she is mother of our Lord Jesus Christ as man, but His servant as God, and so at once avoid the term which is the pretext of calumny, and express the same opinion by another phrase? And besides this it must also be borne in mind that the former of these titles is of general use, and the latter peculiar to the Virgin; and that it is about this that all the controversy has arisen, which would God had never been. The majority of the old Fathers have applied the more honourable title to the Virgin, as your Holiness yourself has done in two or three discourses; several of these, which your godliness sent to me, I have in my own possession, and in these you have not coupled the title mother of Man with mother of God, but have explained its meaning by the use of other words. But since you find fault with me for having left out the holy and blessed Fathers Diodorus and Theodorus in my list of authorities, I have thought it necessary to add a few words on this point.

In the first place, my dear friend, I have omitted many others both famous and illustrious. Secondly this fact must be borne in mind, that the accused party is bound to produce unimpeachable witnesses, whose testimony even his accusers cannot impugn. But if the defendant were to call into court authorities accused by the prosecutors, even the judge himself would not consent to receive them. If I had omitted these holy men in compiling an eulogy of the Fathers, I should, I own, have been wrong, and should have proved myself ungrateful to my teachers. But if when under accusation I have brought forward a defence, and have produced unimpeachable witnesses, why do men who are unwilling to see any of these testimonies lay me under unreasonable blame? How I reverence these writers is sufficiently shewn by my own book in their behalf, in which I have refuted the indictment laid against them, without fear of the influence of their accusers or even of the secret attack made upon myself. These people who are so fond of foolish talk had better get some other excuse for their sleight of words. My object is not to make my words and deeds fit the pleasure of this man or that man, but to edify the church of God, and please her bridegroom and Lord. I call my conscience to witness that I am not acting as I do through care of material things, nor because I cling to the honour with all its cares, which I shrink from calling an unhappy one. I would long ago have withdrawn of my own accord, did I not fear the judgment of God. And now know well that I await my fate. And I think that it is drawing near, for so the plots against me indicate.

LETTER 17: TO THE DEACONESS CASIANA

Had I only considered the greatness of your sorrow, I should have put off writing a little while, that I might make time my ally in my attempt to cure it, but I know the good sense of your piety, and so I make bold to offer you some words of consolation suggested partly by human nature, and partly by divine Scripture. For our nature is frail, and all life is full of such calamities, and the universal Governor and Ruler of the World,-the Lord who wisely orders our concerns,-gives us by means of His divine oracles consolation of various kinds, of which the writings of the holy Evangelists and the divine utterances of the blessed prophets are full. But I am sure it is needless to cull these passages, and suggest them to your piety, nurtured as you have been from the beginning in the inspired word, ruling your life in accordance with them, and needing no other teaching. But I do implore you to remember

those words that charge us to master our feelings, and promise us eternal life, proclaim the destruction of death, and announce the common resurrection of us all. Besides all this, nay, before all this, I ask you to reflect that He who has bidden these things so be is the Lord, that He, is a Lord all wise and all good, Who knows exactly what is best for us, and to this end guides all our life. Sometimes death is better than life, and what seems distressing is really pleasanter than fancied joys.

I beg your piety to accept the consolation offered by my humility, that you may serve the Lord of all by nobly bearing your pain, and affording to men as well as women an example of true wisdom. For all will admire the strength of mind which has bravely borne the attack of grief and broken the force of its violent assault by the magnanimity of its resolution. And we are not without great comfort in the living likenesses of your departed son; for he has left behind him offspring worthy of deep affection, who may be able to stay the excess of our sorrow. Lastly I implore you to remember in your grief what your bodily infirmity can endure, and to avoid increasing your sufferings by mourning overmuch; and I implore our Lord of His infinite resources to give you ground of consolation. XVIII. To Neoptolemus. Whenever I cast my eyes on the divine law which calls those who are joined together in marriage "one flesh," I am at a loss how to comfort the limb that has been sundered, because I take account of the greatness of the pang. But when I consider the course of nature, and the law which the Creator has laid down in the words "Dust thou art and to dust thou shalt return," and all that goes on daily in all the world on land and sea-for either husbands first approach the end of life or this lot first befalls the wives-I find from these reflections many grounds of consolation; and above all the hopes that have been given us by our Lord and Saviour. For the reason of the accomplishment of the mystery of the incarnation was that we, being taught the defeat of death, should no more grieve beyond measure at the loss by death of those we love, but await the longed-for fulfilment of the hope of the resurrection. I entreat your Excellency to reflect on these things, and to overcome the pain of your grief; and all the more because the children of your common love are with you, and give you every ground of comfort. Let us then praise Him who governs our lives wisely, nor rouse His anger by immoderate lamentation, for in His wisdom He knows what is good for us, and in His mercy He gives it.

LETTER 19: TO THE PRESBYTER BASILIUS

I have found the right eloquent orator Athanasius to be just what your letter described him. His tongue is adorned by his speech, and his speech by his character, and all about him is brightened by his abundant faith. Ever, most God-beloved friend, send us such gifts. You have given me, be assured, very great pleasure through my intercourse with him. XX. To the Presbyter Martyrius. Natural disposition appears in us before resolution of character, and, in this sense, takes the lead; but disposition is overcome by resolution, as is plainly proved by the right eloquent orator Athanasius. Though an Egyptian by birth, he has none of the Egyptian want of selfcontrol, but shews a character tempered by gentleness. He is moreover a warm lover of divine things. On this account he has spent many days with me, expecting to reap some benefit from his stay. But I, as you know, most God-beloved friend, shrink from trying so to derive good from others, and am far from being able to impart it to those who seek it, and this not because I grudge, but because I have not the wherewithal, to give. Wherefore let your holiness pray that what is said of me may be confirmed by fact, and that not only may good things be reported of me by word, but proved in deed.

LETTER 21: TO THE LEARNED EUSEBIUS

The disseminators of this great news, with the idea that it would be very distasteful to me, fancied that they might in this way annoy me. But I by God's grace welcomed the news, and await the event with pleasure. Indeed very grateful to me is any kind of trouble which is brought on me for the sake of the divine doctrines. For, if we really trust in the Lord's promises, "The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us." And why do I speak of the enjoyment of the good things which are hoped for? For even if no prize had been offered to them that struggle for the sake of true religion, Truth alone by her own unaided force would herself have been sufficient to persuade them that love her to welcome gladly all perils in her cause. And the divine Apostle is witness of what I say, exclaiming as he does, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril or sword? As it is written, `For thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter.'"

And then to teach us that he looks for no reward, but only loves his Saviour, he adds straightway "Nay in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us." And he goes on further to exhibit his own love more clearly. "For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." Behold, my friend, the flame of apostolic affection; see the torch of love. I covet not, he says, what is His. I only long for Him; and this love of mine is an unquenchable love and I would gladly forego all present and future felicity, aye, suffer and endure again all kinds of pain so as to keep with me this flame in all its force. This was exemplified by the divine writer in deed as well as in word and everywhere by land and sea he has left behind him memorials of his sufferings. So when I turn my eyes on him and on the rest of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, priests, what is commonly reckoned miserable I cannot but hold to be delightful. I confess to a feeling of shame when I remember how even they who never learnt the lessons we have learnt, but followed no other guide but human nature alone, have won conspicuous places in the race of virtue. The famous Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, when under the calumnious indictment, not only treated the lies of his accusers with contempt, but expressed his cheerfulness in the midst of his troubles in the words, "Anytus and Meletus can kill me, but they cannot harm me." And the orator of Paeania, who was as wise as he was eloquent, enriched both the men of his own day and them that should come after him with the saying: "to all the race of men the end of life is death, even though one shut himself up for safety in a cell; so good men are bound ever to put their hand to every honourable work, ever defending themselves with good hope as with a shield, and bravely to bear whatever lot may be given them by God."

Moreover a writer of earlier date than Demosthenes, I mean the son of Olorus, wrote many noble sentiments, and among them this "We must bear what the gods send us of necessity and the fortune of war with courage." Why need I quote philosophers, historians, and orators? For even the men who gave higher honour to their mythology than to the truth have inserted many useful exhortations in their stories; as Homer in his poems introduces the wisest of the Hellenes preparing himself for deeds of valour, where he says "He chid his angry spirit and beat his breast, And said `Forbear my mind,

and think on this: There hath been time when bitterer agonies Have tried thy patience.'" Similar passages might easily be collected from poets, orators, and philosophers, but for us the divine writings are sufficient. I have quoted what I have to prove how disgraceful it were for the mere disciples of nature to get the better of us who have had the teaching of the prophets and the apostles, trusting in the Saviour's sufferings and looking for the resurrection of the body, freedom from corruption, the gift of immortality and the kingdom of heaven.

So, my dear friend, comfort those who are discouraged at the stories bruited abroad, and if anybody is pleased at them, tell them that we are happy too, that we are exulting and dancing with joy, and that what they call punishment we are looking for as the kingdom of heaven itself. To inform those who do not know in what mind we are, be assured, most excellent friend, that we believe, as we have been taught, in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. There is no truth in the slander of some that we have been taught to believe, or have been baptized, or do believe, or teach others to believe, in two Sons. As we know one Father and one Holy Ghost so we know one Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, God the Word who was made man. We do not however deny the properties of the natures. We hold them to be in error who divide the one Lord Jesus Christ into two Sons, and we also call them enemies of the truth who endeavour to confound the natures. We believe an union to have been made without confusion, and we reckon some qualities to be proper to the manhood and others to the Godhead; for just as the man-I mean man in general-reasonable and mortal being, has a soul and has a body, and is reckoned to be one being, just so the distinction between the two natures does not divide the one man into two persons, but we recognise in the one man both the immortality of the soul and the mortality of the body, and acknowledge the invisible soul and the visible body, but, as I said, one being at once reasonable and mortal;

so do we recognise our Lord and God, I mean the Son of God our Lord Christ, even after His incarnation, to be one Son; for the union is indivisible, as we know it is without confusion. We acknowledge too that the Godhead is without beginning, and that the manhood is of recent origin; for the one nature is of the seed of Abraham and David, from whom descended the holy Virgin, but the divine nature was begotten of the God and Father before the

ages without time, without passions, without severance. But suppose the distinction between flesh and Godhead to be destroyed, what weapons shall we use in our war with Arius and Eunomius? How shall we undo their blasphemy against the only begotten? As it is, we apply the words of humiliation as to man, the words of exaltation and divinity as to God, and the setting forth of the truth is very easy to us.

But this disquisition on the faith is exceeding the limits of a letter. Still even these few words are enough to show the character of the apostolic faith. XXII. To Count Ulpianus. It is said that what is faulty in men's ways may be brought to order and improved by words. But I think that characters made beautiful by nature, themselves make words fair, though they stand in need of none, just as bodies naturally beautiful need no artificial colouring. These qualities are conspicuous in the right eloquent orator Athanasius, and I have been the more pleased with him because he is an ardent lover of your Excellency, and is constantly sounding your praises. Here, however, I have striven with him, and in enumerating your high qualities, have outdone him, for I know more about good deeds of yours than he. I am however vexed at not being able to praise them all, and to see that my summary of your virtues falls short of what might be said in your praise, but if God grant it even to approach the truth you will hold the pre-eminence in every kind of virtue among all your contemporaries.

LETTER 23: TO THE PATRICIAN AREOBINDAS

In distributing wealth and poverty among men the Creator and Governor of all gives no unjust judgment, but gives the poverty of the poor to the rich as a means of usefulness. So He brings chastisement upon men not merely in the infliction of punishment for their faults, but to provide the wealthy with opportunities for shewing kindness to mankind. This year the Lord has sent us scourges, far less than our sins, but enough to distress the husbandmen, of whose sufferings I lately made your magnificence acquainted through your own hinds. Pity, I beseech you, the tillers of the ground, who have spent their toil with but very little result. Be this bad year a suggestion of spiritual abundance, and do ye through the exercise of compassion gather in the harvest of the compassion of God. On this account the excellent Dionysius has hurried to your greatness to tell you of the trouble, that he may receive the remedy. He carries this letter, like a suppliant's branch of olive, in the hope that by its means he may receive greater kindness.

LETTER 24: TO ANDREAS BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

Your piety, nursling of God's love, longs, I am sure, for my society. But I am all the more eager for yours in proportion as I know that from it more advantage will accrue to me. Want somehow naturally makes our wishes the stronger, but the Lord of all is able to give us what we long for. He rules all things Himself; knows what is sure to do us good, and never ceases to give every man this boon. I really cannot tell you how much delighted I was with your letter, and the very honourable and devout deacon Thalassius increased my pleasure by telling me what I was very anxious to know, for what can be more welcome to me than news that all goes well with you? And what is it that so increases your welfare as the moderation of the great men among us? You have acted like a wise and active physician who does not wait to be sent for, but comes of his own accord to them that need his care. This has given me great pleasure, and I have learnt by my own experience what the poet means when he says "laughing through her tears." May the bountiful Giver of all good things grant your holiness to excel in them, and to make us emulous of what is praiseworthy in all good men. Help us then my dear friend, and persuade him who can to grant our petition.

LETTER 25: FESTAL

When the only begotten God had been made Man, and had wrought out our salvation, they who in those days saw Him from whom these bounties flowed kept no feast. But in our time, land and sea, town and hamlet, though they cannot see their benefactor with eyes of sense, keep a feast in memory of all He has done for them; and so great is the joy flowing from these celebrations that the streams of spiritual gladness run in all directions. Wherefore we now salute your piety, at once to signify the cheerfulness which the feast has caused in us, and to ask your prayers that we may keep it to the end. XXVI. Festal. The fountains of the Lord's kindness are ever gushing forth with good things for them that believe; but some further good is conveyed by the celebrations which preserve the memory of the greatest of benefits to them that keep the feasts with more good will. We have just now celebrated the rites and enjoyed their blessing, and thus salute your piety, for so the custom of the feast and law of love enjoins.

LETTER 27: TO AQUILINUS, DEACON AND ARCHIMANDRITE

No one who has won the divine adoption weeps for orphanhood, for what guardian care can be more powerful than that of our Father which is on high, because of Him fathers of earth are fathers. By His will some are made fathers by nature, some by grace. To Him then let us hold fast and keep alive the memory of them that are dead. For we shall be the better for the recollection of them that have lived well, rousing us to imitation of them. XXVIII. To Jacobus, Presbyter and Monk. They who have made the vigour of their manhood bright by virtuous industry hasten happily towards old age, gladdened by the recollection of their former victories, and for old age's sake rid of further struggle. This joy I think your own piety possesses, and that you bear your old age the more easily for the recollection of the labours of your youth.

LETTER 29: TO APELLION

The sufferings of the Carthaginians would demand, and, in their greatness, perhaps out-task, the power of the tragic language of an Aeschylus or a Sophocles. Carthage of old was with difficulty taken by the Romans. Again and again she contended with Rome for the mastery of the world, and brought Rome within danger of destruction. Now the ruin has been the mere byplay of barbarians. Now dignified members of her far-famed senate wander all over the world, getting means of existence from the bounty of kindly strangers, moving the tears of beholders, and teaching the uncertainty and instability of the lot of man. I have seen many who have come thence, and I have felt afraid, for I know not, as the Scripture says, "what the morrow will bring forth." Not least do I admire the admirable and most honourable Celestinianus, so bravely does he bear his misfortune, and makes the loss of his happiness an occasion for philosophy, praising the governor of all, and holding that to be good which God either ordains or suffers to be. For the wisdom of divine Providence is unspeakable. He is travelling with his wife and children, and I beg your excellency to treat him with an hospitality like that of Abraham. With perfect confidence in your benevolence I have undertaken to introduce him to you, and I am telling him how generous is your right hand.

LETTER 30: TO AERIUS THE SOPHIST

Now is the time for your Academy to prove the use of your discussions. I am told that a brilliant assemblage collects at your house, of which the members are both illustrious by birth and polished of speech, and that you debate about virtue and the immortality of the soul, and other kindred subjects. Show now opportunely your nobility of soul and wealth of virtue, and receive the most admirable and honourable Celestinianus in the spirit of men who have learnt the rapid changes of human prosperity. He was formerly an ornament of the city of Carthage, where he flung open the doors of his house to many priests, and never thought to need a stranger's kindness. Be his spokesman, my friend, and aid him in his need of your voice, for he cannot suffer the advice of the poet which bids him that needeth speak though he be ashamed.

Persuade I beg you any of your society who are capable of so doing to emulate the hospitality of Alcinous, to remove the poverty which has unexpectedly befallen him, and to change his evil fortune into good. Let them praise our kindly Lord for making us wise by other men's calamities, not having sent us to strangers' houses and having brought strangers to our doors. To men that shew kindness He promises to give what words cannot express and no intelligence can understand. XXXI. To Domnus Bishop of Antioch. The most admirable and honourable Celestinianus is a native of the famous Carthage, and of an illustrious family in that city. Now he has been exiled from it. He is wandering in foreign parts, and has to look to the benevolence of them that love God. He carries with him a burden from which he cannot escape and which increases his care-I mean his wife, his children and his servants, for whom he is at great expense. I wonder at his spirit. For he praises the great Pilot as though he were being borne by favourable breezes, and cares nothing for the terrible storm. From his calamity he has reaped the fruit of piety, and this thrice blessed gain has been brought him by his misfortune; for while he was in prosperity he never accepted this teaching, but when the evil day left him bare, among the rest of his losses he lost his impiety too, and now possesses the wealth of the faith, and for its sake thinks little of his ruin.

I therefore beseech your holiness to let him find a fatherland in these foreign parts, and to charge them that abound in riches to comfort one who once was endowed like themselves, and to scatter the dark cloud of his

calamity. It is only right and proper that among men of like nature, where all have erred, they that have escaped chastisement should bring comfort to them that have fallen on evil days, and by their sympathy for these latter propitiate the mercy of God. XXXII. To the Bishop Theoctistus. If the God of all had forthwith inflicted punishment on all that err he would utterly have destroyed all men. But He spares; He is a merciful Judge; and therefore some He chastises, and to others He gives the lesson of the punishment of the chastised. An instance of this merciful dealing has been shewn in our times. Exiles from what was once known as Libya, but is now called Africa, have been brought by Him to our doors, and by shewing us their sufferings He moves us to fear, and by fear rouses us to sympathy; thus He accomplishes two ends at once, for He both benefits us by their chastisement, and to them by our means brings comfort. This comfort I now beg you to give to the very admirable and honourable Celestinianus, a man who once was an ornament of the Africans' chief city, but now has neither city nor home, nor any of the necessaries of life. Now it is proper that those who in the jurisdiction of your holiness have been entrusted with the pastoral care of souls should bring before their fellow citizens what is for their good, for indeed they need such teaching. For this reason, as we know, the divine Apostle in his Epistle to Titus writes "Let ours also learn to maintain good works for necessary uses," for if our city, solitary as it is, and with only a small population, and that a poor one, succours the strangers, much rather may Beroea, which has been nurtured in true religion, be expected to do so, especially under the leadership of your holiness.

LETTER 33: TO STASIMUS, COUNT AND PRIMATE

To narrate the sufferings of the most honourable and dignified Celestinianus would require tragic eloquence. Tragic writers set forth fully the ills of humanity, but I can only in a word inform your excellency that his country is Libya, so long on all men's tongues, his city the far famed Carthage, his hereditary rank a seat in her famous council, his circumstances affluent. But all this is now a tale, mere words stripped bare of realities. The barbarian war has deprived him of all this. But such is fortune; she refuses to remain always with the same men and hastens to change her abode to dwell with others. I beg to introduce this guest to your excellency, and beseech you that he may enjoy your far famed beneficence. I beg also that through your excellency he may become known to all those who are in office and opulence, in order that

you may both become a means of advantage to them and win the higher reward from our merciful God.

LETTER 34: TO THE COUNT PATRICIUS

All kinds of goodness are praiseworthy, but all are made more beautiful by loving kindness. For it we earnestly pray the God of all; through it alone we obtain forgiveness when we err; it makes wealth stoop to the poor, and because I know that your Excellency is richly endowed with it I confidently commend to you the admirable and excellent Celestinianus, once lord of vast wealth and possessions and suddenly stripped of all, but bearing his poverty as easily as few men bear their riches. The subject of the tragedy involving the fall of his fortunes is the barbarian invasion of Libya and Carthage. I have introduced him to your greatness; pray suggest his case to others, and move them to pity. You will win greater gain by giving many a lesson in loving kindness: XXXV. To the Bishop Irenaeus. You are conspicuous, my Lord, for many forms of goodness, and your holiness is beautified in an especial degree by loving-kindness, by contempt of riches, and by a generosity that gushes forth for the help of them that need. I know too that you deem worthy of more than ordinary attention those who have been brought up in prosperity and have fallen from it into trouble. Knowing this as well as I do I venture to make known to you the very admirable and excellent Celestinianus. He was once well known in Carthage for wealth and position, now stripped of these he is favourably known by his piety and philosophy, for he bears what men call misfortune with resignation because it has brought him to the salvation of his soul. He came to me with a letter which described his former prosperity, and after he had passed several days with me I proved the truth of what was said of him by experience. I have therefore no hesitation in commending him to your Holiness, and begging you to make him known to the well-to-do men of the city. It is probable that when they have learnt what has befallen him, in fear of a like fate befalling themselves, they will endeavour to escape judgment by shewing mercy. He has no resource but to go about begging, as he is put to the greater expense because he has with him his wife and children, and the domestics who with him escaped the violence of the barbarians.

LETTER 36: TO POMPIANUS, BISHOP OF EMESA

I know very well that your means are small and your heart is great, and that in your case generosity is not prevented by limited resources. I therefore introduce to your holiness the admirable and excellent Celestinianus, once enjoying much wealth and prosperity, but now escaped from the hands of the barbarians with nothing but freedom, and having no means of livelihood except the mercy of men like your piety. And cares crowd round him, for travelling with him are his wife, children and servants, whom he has brought with him from no motives but those of humanity, for he cannot think it right to dismiss them when they refuse to abandon him. I beg you of your goodness to make him known to our wealthy citizens, for I think that, after being informed by your holiness and seeing how soon prosperity may fall away, they will bethink them of our common humanity, and, in imitation of your magnanimity, will give him such help as they can.

LETTER 37: TO SALUSTIUS THE GOVERNOR

When rulers keep the scales of justice true, and let them hang in even balance, they confer all kinds of benefits upon their subjects; if they are also gifted with prudence and further show loving-kindness to him that needs it, manifold advantages accrue from their rule to them that live under it. Having enjoyed these good things through your excellency, and having experienced them in your former administration, they have now been moved with joy at the information that to your munificence the helm of government has been entrusted. I pray that they may gain yet greater good, that your excellency may win still higher praise, and that the encomiums of your eulogists may be vindicated by the addition to all your other honourable titles to fame of that colophon of good things-true religion. As I was compelled to pass several days in Hierapolis I hoped to have the pleasure of meeting your excellency, and persistently enquired of new comers if the insignia of office had been conveyed to you. But I was compelled by the divine feast of salvation to return in haste to the city entrusted to me. Now however that I have received your excellency's letter, with very great pleasure I return your salutation, and without delay have sent, as you requested, the honourable and pious deacon who is by God's grace a water-finder. May the Lord in His loving kindness grant him both to do good service to the city and increase your excellency's glory.

LETTER 38: FESTAL

The divine feast of salvation has brought us the founts of God's good gifts, the blessing of the Cross, and the immortality which sprang from our Lord's death, the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ which gives promise of the resurrection of us all. These being the gifts of the feast, such its exhibition of the bounty of divine grace, it has filled us with spiritual gladness. But encompassed as we are on every side by many and great calamities, the brightness of the feast is dimmed, and lamentation and wailing are mingled with our psalmody. Such sorrows does sin bring forth. It is sin which has filled our life with pangs; it is on account of sin that death is lovelier to us than life; it is on account of sin that when we think in imagination of that incorruptible tribunal we shudder even at the life to come. So may your piety pray that God's loving-kindness may light on us, and that this gloomy and terrible cloud may be dispersed and sunshine again quickly give us joy.

LETTER 39: FESTAL

My wish was to write in cheerful terms and sound the note of the spiritual joy of the feast, but I am prevented by the multitude of our sins, which are bringing on us the judgment of God. For who indeed can be so insensible as not to perceive the divine wrath? May your piety then pray that affairs may undergo a change for the better; that so we too may change the style of our letter, and write words of cheerfulness instead of those of wailing. XL. To Theodorus the Vicar. The custom of the feast bids me write a festal letter, but the cloud of our calamities suffers me not to gather the usual happy fruit from it. Who is so stony-hearted as not to be shocked and affrighted at the anger and grief of the Lord? Who is not stirred to the memory of faults? Who does not look for the righteous sentence? All this dims the brightness of the feast, but the Lord is full of loving-kindness, and we trust He will not actually fulfil His threats, but will look mercifully on us, scatter our sadness, open the springs of mercy, and shew His wonted long suffering. I salute your greatness, and beseech you to send me news of the health I sincerely trust you are enjoying.

LETTER 41: TO CLAUDIANUS

The divine Celebration has as usual conferred on us its spiritual boons; but the sour fruits of sin have not suffered us to enjoy them with gladness. They have had their usual results; in the beginning they caused thorns, caltrops,

sweats, toil and pain to sprout; at the present moment sin sets the earth quaking against us, and makes nations rise against us on every side. And we lament because we force the good Lord, who is wishful to do us good, to do us ill, and compel Him to inflict punishment. Yet when we bethink us of the unfathomable depths of His pity we are comforted, and trust that the Lord will not cast off His people, neither will He forsake His inheritance. While saluting your magnificence I beseech you to give me news of your much-wished for health. XLII. To Constantius the Perfect. Did no necessity compel me to address a letter to your greatness, I might haply be found guilty of presumption, for neither taking due measure of myself nor recognising the greatness of your power. But now that all that is left of the city and district which God has committed to my charge is in peril of utterly perishing, and certain men have dared to bring calumnious charges against the recent visitation, I am sure your magnificence will pardon the boldness of my letter when you enquire into the necessity of the case, my own object in writing. I groan and lament at being compelled to write against a man over whose errors one ought to throw a veil, because he is of the clerical order. Nevertheless I write to defend the cause of the poor whom he is wronging. After being charged with many crimes and excluded from the Communion, pending the assembly of the sacred Synod, in alarm at the decision of the episcopal council he has made his escape from this place, thereby trampling, as he supposed, on the laws of the Church, and, by his contempt of the sentence of excommunication has laid bare his motive. He has undertaken an accusation not even fit for men of mean crafts, and in consequence of his ill-feeling towards the illustrious Philip has proceeded against the wretched tax-payers.

I feel that it is quite needless for me to mention his character, his course of life from the beginning and the greatness of his wrong-doings, but this one thing I do beseech your Excellency, not to believe his lies, but to ratify the visitation, and spare the wretched tax-payers. Aye, spare the thrice wretched decurions who cannot exact the moneys demanded of them. Who indeed is ignorant of the severity of the taxation of the acres among us? On this account most of our landowners have fled, our hinds have run away, and the greater part of our lands are deserted. In discussing the land there will be no impropriety in our using geometrical terms. Of our country the length is forty milestones, and the breadth the same. It includes many high mountains, some wholly bare, and some covered with unproductive vegetation.

Within this district there are fifty thousand free jugers, and besides that ten thousand which belong to the imperial treasury. Now only let your wisdom consider how great is the wrong. For if none of the country had been uncultivated, and it had all furnished easy husbandry for the hinds, they would nevertheless have sunk under the tribute, unable to endure the severity of the taxation. And here is a proof of what I say.

In the time of Isidorus of glorious memory, fifteen thousand acres were taxed in gold, but the exactors of the Comitian assessment, unable to bear the loss, frequently complained, and by offerings besought your high dignity to let them off two thousand five hundred for the unproductive acres, and your excellency's predecessors in this office ordered the unproductive acreage to be taken off the unfortunate decurions, and an equivalent number to be substituted for the Comitian; and not even thus are they able to complete the tale. So with many words I ask your favour, and beseech your magnificence to put aside the false accusations that are made against the wretched tax-payers, to stem the tide of distress in this unhappy district, and let it once more lift its head. Thus you will leave an imperishable memory of honour to future generations. I am joined in my supplication to you by all the saints of our district, and especially by that right holy and pious man of God, the Lord Jacobus, who holds silence in such great esteem that he cannot be induced to write, but he prays that our city, which is made illustrious by having him as neighbour and is protected by his prayers, may receive the boon which I ask. XLIII. To the Augusta Pulcheria.

Since you adorn the empire by your piety and render the purple brighter by your faith, we make bold to write to you, no longer conscious of our insignificance in that you always pay all due honour to the clergy. With these sentiments I beseech your majesty to deign to show clemency to our unhappy country, to order the ratification of the visitation which has been several times made, and not to accept the false accusations which some men have brought against it. I beseech you to give no credit to him who bears indeed the name of bishop, but whose mode of action is unworthy even of respectable slaves. He has been himself under serious charges and subject to the bann of excommunication under the most holy and God-beloved archbishop of Antioch, the Lord Domnus, pending the summoning of the episcopal council for the investigation of the charges against him. He has now made his escape, and betaken himself to the imperial city, where he plies the trade

of an informer, attacking the country which is his mother country with its thousands of poor, and, for the sake of his hatred to one, wags his tongue against all. Out of regard to what is becoming to me I will say nothing as to his character and education, and indeed he shows only too plainly what he has at present in hand.

But of the district I will say this, that when the whole province had its burdens lightened, this portion, although it bore a very heavy share of the burden, never enjoyed the benefit of relaxation. The result is that many estates are deprived of husbandmen; nay, many are altogether abandoned by their owners, while the wretched decurions have demands made on them for these very properties, and, being quite unable to bear the exaction, betake themselves some to begging, and some to flight. The city seems to be reduced to one man, and he will not be able to hold out unless your piety supplies a remedy. But I am in hopes that your serenity will heal the wounds in the city and add yet this one more to your many good deeds.

LETTER 44: TO THE PATRICIAN SENATOR

Thanks be to the Saviour of the world because to your greatness He is ever adding dignity and honour. The reason of my not writing up to this time to exhibit the delight which I have felt at the colophon of your honour, has been my wish not to trouble your magnificence. At the moment of my now thus writing, the district which Providence has committed to my care stands as the proverb has it on a razor's edge. You will remember the visitation which was made at the time when we first were benefited by your presence among us; how it was with difficulty established in the time of the most excellent prefect the Lord Florentius; and how it was confirmed by the present holder of the office. An individual who bears the name of bishop, but of ways unworthy even of stage players, has fled from the episcopal synod at a time when he was lying under sentence of excommunication and is endeavouring to calumniate and discredit the visitation, while through his hatred to the illustrious Philip be assails the truth. I therefore beseech your excellency to make his lies of none effect, and that the visitation lawfully confirmed may remain undisturbed. It is indeed becoming to your greatness to reap the fruit of this good deed among the rest, to receive the acclamations of those whom you are benefiting, and so to do honour at once to the God of all and to his true servant the very man of God the Lord Jacob, who joins with me in send-

ing you this supplication. Had it been his wont to write he would have written himself.

LETTER 45: TO THE PATRICIAN ANATOLIUS

Your greatness knows full well how all the inhabitants of the East feel towards your magnificence, as sons feel towards an affectionate father. Why then have you shewn hate to them that love you, deprived them of your kindly care, and driven them all to weeping and lamentation by putting your own advantage before the service of others? In truth I think there is not one of them that fear the Lord who is not much grieved at losing your official sway, and I think that even all the rest, although they have not right knowledge about divine things, when they reflect on the kindnesses you have conferred, share in these sentiments of distress. I for my part am specially sorry when I bethink me of your dignity and your unaffected character, and I pray the God of all ever to bestow on you the bulwark of His invincible right hand, and supply you with abundance of all kinds of blessings. We beseech your excellency no less when absent than when present to extend to us your accustomed protection, and to undo the rage of that unworthy bishop of ours whose purposes are perfectly well known to your greatness. He is endeavouring, as I am informed, to work the entire ruin of our district, and has accepted the part of an informer to culumniate the recent visitation, and this when all in a word know that the taxation of our district is very heavy, and that in consequence many estates have been abandoned by the husbandmen.

But this man, in contempt of his excommunication, and in flight from the holy synod, has thrust out his tongue against the unhappy poor. May your magnificence then consent to look to it that the truth be not vanquished by a lie. And I bring the same supplication about the Cilicians. For we cease not to wail till the iniquity be undone. The Lord, who promises to reward even a drop of water, will requite you for this trouble.

LETTER 46: TO THE LEARNED PETRUS

Nothing is able to stay the praiseworthy purpose of them that highly esteem what is right. That this is the case is confirmed by the grief shown by your magnificence at the news you have lately received, and your re-refusal to overlook the attack that right has suffered. You have opportunely put away your distress, and righteously stopped the mouth of the enemy of the truth.

No sooner did we hear of this, and found true philosophy so coupled with rhetorical skill, than we felt the more warmly disposed towards your excellence. Now we beseech you the more earnestly to counteract this fine fellow's lies and confirm the comfort given to the unhappy poor. XLVII. To Proclus, Bishop of Constantinople. A year ago, thanks to your holiness, the illustrious Philip governor of our city was delivered from serious danger. After entering into the enjoyment of the security which he owed to your kindness, he filled our ears with your praises. But all your labour a certain most pious personage was endeavouring to make null and void. The visitation made several times twelve years ago he calumniates, and has adopted a style of slander which would be unbecoming even in a respectable slave. Now I beseech your sanctity to put a stop to his lies, and to induce the illustrious praefects to ratify the decision which they duly and mercifully gave. As a matter of fact our city was taxed more severely than all the cities of the provinces, and after every city had been relieved ours continued to this day assessed at over sixty-two thousand acres. At last the occupants of that seat of honour were with difficulty in- duced to send inspectors of the district; their report was first received by Isidorus of famous memory and confirmed by the glorious and Christ-loving lord Florentius, and the whole matter was very carefully enquired into by our present ruler, whose equity adorns the throne, and he confirmed the assessment by an imperial decree. But this truth-loving person, all for his hatred of one single individual, the excellent Philip, has declared war against the poor. Under these circumstances I implore your holiness to array the forces of your righteous eloquence against his eloquence of wrong, to throw your shield over the truth which is attacked and at once prove her strength and the futility of lies.

LETTER 48: TO EUSTATHIUS, BISHOP OF BERYTUS

I have gladly received the accusation, although I have no difficulty in disproving the indictment. I have written not three letters only but four; and I suspect one of two things; either those who promised to convey the letters did me wrong in the matter of their delivery, or else your piety, though in receipt of them, is yet anxious for more, and so gets up a charge of idleness against me. I, as I said before, am not distressed at the accusation, for it is plain proof to me of the warmth of your affection. Continue then to ply your craft, cease not to prefer your complaint and so to cause pleasure to myself. XLIX. To Damianus, Bishop of Sidon. It is the nature of mirrors to reflect

the faces of them that gaze into them, and so whoever looks at them sees his own form. This is the same too with the pupils of the eyes, for they shew in them the likeness of other people's features. Of this your holiness furnishes an instance, for you have not seen my ugliness, but have beheld with admiration your own beauty. I really have none of the qualities which you have mentioned. It is nevertheless my prayer that your words may be vindicated by actual fact, and I beseech your piety by your prayers to cause it to come to pass that your praises may not fall to the ground through having no reality to correspond with them.

LETTER 50: TO THE ARCHIMANDRITE GERONTIUS

The characters of souls are often depicted in words and their unseen forms revealed; so now your reverence's letter exhibits the piety of your holy soul. Your waiting for that sentence, your anxiety, your search for advocates and preparation for a defence, clearly indicate your soul's zeal about divine things. We on the contrary are in a manner inactive and sleepy; we are nurtured in idleness, and stand in need of much assistance from prayers. Give them to us, O man beloved of God, that now at all events we may wake up and give some care to the soul. LI. To the Presbyter Agapius. The works of virtue are admirable in themselves, but yet more admirable do they appear if they find an eloquence able to report them well. Neither of these advantages has been lacking in the case of the bishop beloved of God, the lord Thomas, for he himself has contributed his own labours on behalf of piety, and has found in your holiness a tongue to bestow meet praise on those labours. Coming as he did with such testimony in his favour we have been all the more delighted to see him, and, after enjoying his society for a short space, have dismissed him to his charge.

LETTER 52: TO IBAS, BISHOP OF EDESSA

It is, I think, of His providential care for our common salvation that the God of all brings on some men certain calamities, that chastisement may prove to be to them that have erred a healing remedy; to virtue's athletes an encouragement to constancy; and to all who look on a beneficial exemplar. For it is natural that when we see others punished we should be filled with fear ourselves. In view of these considerations I look on the trouble of Africa as a general advantage. In the first place when I bear in mind their former prosperity and now look on their sudden overthrow, I see how variable are all

human affairs, and learn a twofold lesson;-not to rejoice in felicity as though it would never come to an end, nor be distressed at calamities as hard to bear. Then I recall the memory of past errors, and tremble lest I fall into like sufferings. My main motive in now writing to you is to introduce to your holiness the very God-beloved bishop Cyprianus, who starting from the famous Africa is now compelled, by the savagery of the barbarians, to travel in foreign lands.

He has brought a letter to us from the very holy bishop the lord Eusebius, who wisely rules the Galatians. When your piety has received him with your wonted kindness I beg you to send him with a letter to whatever pious bishops you may think fit so that while he enjoys their kindly consolation he may be the means of their receiving heavenly and lasting benefits. LIII. To Sophronius, Bishop of Constantina. Since I know, O God-beloved, how generous and bountiful is your right hand, I put a coveted boon within your reach; for just as men hungry for this world's gain are annoyed at the sight of them that stand in need of pecuniary aid, so the liberal are delighted, because the riches they reach after are heavenly. A man who furnishes this excellent opportunity is the God-beloved bishop Cyprianus, formerly known among them that minister to others, but now, while he gives a deplorable account of the African calamities, he has to look to the benevolence of others, and depends on the bounty of pious souls. I hope that he too will enjoy your brotherly kindness, and will be forwarded with letters to other havens of refuge.

LETTER 54: FESTAL

By our divine and saving celebrations both the down-hearted are cheered, and the joyous made yet more joyful. This I have learnt by experience, for, when whelmed in the waves of despair, I have risen superior to the surge at sight of the haven of the feast. May your piety pray that I may be wholly rescued from this storm, and that our loving Lord may grant me forgetfulness of my sorrow. LV. Festal. We are much distressed, for we are gifted with the nature not of rocks but of men, but the recollection of the Lord's Epiphany has been to me a very potent medicine; so at once I write, according to the custom of the feast, and salute your magnificence with a prayer that you may live in prosperity and repute. LVI. Festal. My grief is now at its height and my mind is seriously affected by it, but I have thought it right to fulfil the cus-

tom of the feast, so now I take my pen to salute your reverence and pay the debt of affection.

LETTER 57: TO THE PRAEFECT EUTRECHIUS

Besides other boons the Ruler of the universe has granted to us that of hearing of your excellency's honour, and of congratulating at once yourself on your elevation and your subjects on so gentle a rule. I have thought it wrong to give no expression to my satisfaction and to refrain from manifesting it by letter. Your magnificence knows quite well how warm is our affection towards you-an affection most warmly reciprocated. And being so filled with love we beseech the Giver of all good things ever to pour on you His manifold gifts. LVIII. To the Consul Nomus. I am divided in mind at the idea of sending a letter to your greatness. On the one hand I know how everything depends on your judgment; I see you under the weight of public anxieties, and so think it better to be silent. On the other hand, being well aware of the breadth and capacity of your intelligence, I cannot bear to say nothing, and am afraid of being charged with negligence. I am moreover stimulated by the longing regret left with me by the short taste I had of your society. My full enjoyment of it was prevented by the disease and death of that most blessed man, so now I think writing will be a comfort. I pray the Master of all to guide your life that it be ever borne on favourable breezes and so we may reap the benefit of your kindly care.

LETTER 59: TO CLAUDIANUS

Sincere friendships are neither dissolved by distance of place nor weakened by time. Time indeed inflicts indignities on our bodies, spoils them of the bloom of their beauty, and brings on old age; but of friendship he makes the beauty yet more blooming, ever kindling its fire to greater warmth and brightness. So separated as I am from your magnificence by many a day's march, pricked by the goad of friendship I indite you this letter of salutation. It is conveyed by the standard-bearer Patroinus, a man who on account of his high character is worthy of all respect, for he endeavours with much zeal to observe the laws of God. Deign, most excellent sir, to give us by him information of your excellency's precious health, and of the desired fulfilment of your promise. LX. To Dioscorus, Bishop of Alexandria. Among many forms of virtue by which we hear that your holiness is adorned (for all men's ears are filled by the flying fame of your glory, which speeds in all dir-

ections) special praise is unanimously given to your modesty, a characteristic of which our Lord in His law has given Himself as an ensample, saying, "Learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart;" for though God is high, or rather most high He honoured at His incarnation the meek and lowly spirit. Looking then to Him, sir, you do not behold the multitude of your subjects nor the exaltation of your throne, but you see rather human nature, and life's rapid changes, and follow the divine laws whose observance gives us the kingdom of heaven. Hearing of this modesty on the part of your holiness, I take courage in a letter to salute a person sacred and dear to God, and I offer prayers whereof the fruit is salvation. Occasion is given me to write by the very pious presbyter Eusebius, for when I heard of his journey thither I immediately indited this letter to call upon your holiness to support us by your prayers, and by your reply to give us a spiritual feast, sending to us who are hungry the blessed banquet of your words.

LETTER 61: TO THE PRESBYTER ARCHIBIUS

I did not let the two letters which I had just received from you go unheeded, but wrote without delay, and gave my letter to the very devout presbyter Eusebius. In consequence of some delay, it was for the time postponed, for the weather kept the vessels within the harbour, inasmuch as it indicated a coming storm at sea and bade sailors and pilots wait awhile. So I discharged this debt for the time, not that I may cease to be a debtor but that I may increase the debt. For this obligation becomes many times greater by being discharged, inasmuch as they who try to observe the laws of friendship increase the potency of its love, and, blowing sparks into a flame, kindle a greater warmth of affection, while all who are fired thereby strive to surpass one another in love. Receive then my defence, my venerable friend; forgive me; and send me a letter to tell me how you are.

LETTER 62: TO THE PRESBYTER JOHN

A saying of one of the men who used to be called wise was, "Live unseen." I applaud the sentiment, and have determined to confirm the word by deed, for I see no impropriety in gathering what is good from others, just as bees, it is said, gather their honey and draw forth the sweet dew from bitter herbs as well as from them that are good to eat, and I myself have seen them settling on a barren rock and sucking up its scanty moisture. Far more reasonable is it for them that are credited with reason to harvest what is good from every

source; so, as I said, I try to live unseen, and above all men am I a lover of peace and quiet. On his recent return from your part of the world the very pious presbyter Eusebius announced that you had held a certain meeting, and that in the course of conversation mention had been made of me, and that your piety spoke with praise of my insignificant self. I have therefore deemed it ungrateful, and indeed unfair, that he who spoke thus well and kindly of me should fail to be paid in like coin; for although we have done nothing worthy of praise still we admire the intention of them that thus praise us, for such praise is the off-spring of affection. Wherefore I salute your reverence, using as a means of conveyance of my letter him who has brought to me the unwritten words which you have spoken about me. When, most pious sir, you have received my letter, write in reply. You were first in speech; I in writing; and I answer speech by letter. It remains now to you to answer letter for letter.

LETTER 63: FESTAL

We have enjoyed the wonted blessings of the Feast. We have kept the memorial Feast of the Passion of Salvation; by means of the resurrection of the Lord we have received the glad tidings of the resurrection of all, and have hymned the ineffable loving kindness of our God and Saviour. But the storm tossing the churches has not suffered us to take our share of unalloyed gladness. If, when one member is in pain the whole body is partaker of the pang, how can we forbear from lamentation when all the body is distressed? And it intensifies our dis- couragement to think that these things are the prelude of the general apostasy. May your piety pray that since we are in this plight we may get the divine succour, that, as the divine Apostle phrases it, we may "be able to withstand the evil day." But if any time remain for this life's business, pray that the tempest may pass away, and the churches recover their former calm, that the enemies of the truth may no more exult at our misfortunes.

LETTER 64: FESTAL

When the Master underwent the Passion of salvation for the sake of mankind, the company of the sacred Apostles was much disheartened, for they knew not clearly what was to be the Passion's fruit. But when they knew the salvation that grew therefrom, they called the proclamation of the Passion glad tidings, and eagerly offered it to all mankind. And they that believed, as being enlightened in mind, cheerfully received it, and keep the Feast in

memory of the Passion, and make the moment of death an opportunity for entertainment and festivity. For the close connexion with it of the resurrection does away with the sadness of death, and becomes a pledge for the resurrection of all. After just now taking part in this celebration, we send you these tidings of the feast as though they were some fragrant perfume, and salute your piety. LXV. To the General Zeno. To be smitten by human ills is the common lot of all men; to endure them bravely and rise superior to their attack is no longer common. The former is of human nature; the latter depends upon resolution. It is on this account that we wonder how the philosophers resolved on the noblest course of life and conquered their calamities by wisdom. And philosophy is produced by our reason's power, which rules our passions and is not led to and fro by them. Now one of human ills is grief, and it is this which we exhort your excellency to overcome, and it will not be difficult for you to rise victorious over this feeling, if you consider human nature, and take to heart the uselessness of sorrow. For what gain will it be to the departed that we should wail and lament? When, however, we reflect upon the common birth, the long years of intercourse, the splendid service in the field, and the far-famed achievements, let us reflect that he who was adorned by them was a man subject to the law of death; that moreover all things are ordained by God, who guides the affairs of men in accordance with His sacred knowledge of what will be for their good. Thus have I written so far as the limits of a letter would allow me, beseeching your eminence for all our sakes to preserve your health, which is wont to be maintained by cheerfulness and ruined by despondency. Wherefore in my care for the advantage of us all I have penned this letter.

LETTER 66: TO AERIUS THE SOPHIST

She that gave you birth and nurtured you invites you to the longed-for feast. The holy shrine is crowned by a roof; it is fitly adorned; it is eager for the inhabitants for whom it was erected. These are Apostles and Prophets, loud-voiced heralds of the old and new covenant. Adorn, therefore, the feast with your presence; receive the blessing which swells forth from it, and make the feast more joyous to us. LXVII. To Maranas. It was thy work, my good Sir, to call the rest also to the feast of the dedication. Through thy zeal and energy the holy temple has been built, and the loud-voiced heralds of the truth have come to dwell therein, and guard them that approach thither in faith. Nevertheless I write and signify the season of the feast. LXVIII. To Epiphanius. It

was my wish to summon you to the feast of holy Apostles and Prophets, not only as a citizen, but as one who shares both my faith and my home. But I am prevented by the state of your opinions. Therefore I put forward no other claims than those of our country, and I invite you to participate in the precious blessing of the holy Apostles and Prophets. This participation no difference of sentiment hinders.

LETTER 69: TO EUGRAPHIA

Had I not been unavoidably prevented, I should no sooner have heard that your great and glorious husband had fallen asleep than I should straightway have hurried to your side. I have enjoyed at your hands many and various kinds of honour, and I owe you full many thanks. When hindered, much against my will, from paying my debt, I deemed it ill-advised to send you a letter at the very moment, when your grief was at its height; when it was impossible for my messenger to approach your excellency, and when grief prevented you from reading what I wrote. But now that your reason has had time to wake from the intoxication of grief, to repress your emotion, and to discipline the license of sorrow, I have made bold to write and to beseech your excellency to bethink you of human nature, to reflect how common is the loss you deplore, and, above all, to accept the divine teaching, and not let your distress go beyond the bounds of your faith. For your most excellent husband, as the Lord Himself said, "is not dead but sleepeth" -a sleep a little longer than he was wont. This hope has been given us by the Lord; this promise we have received from the divine oracles. I know indeed how distressing is the separation, how most distressing; and especially so when affection is made stronger by sympathy of character and length of time. But let your grief be for a journey into a far country, not for a life ended.

This kind of philosophy is particularly becoming to them that be brought up in piety, and it is of this philosophy that I beseech you, my respected friend, to seek the adornment. And I do not offer you this advice as a man labouring himself under insensibility; in truth my heart was grieved when I learnt of the departure of one I loved so well. But I call to mind the Ruler of the world and His unspeakable wisdom, which ordains everything for our good. I implore your holiness to take these reflections to heart, to rise superior to your sorrow, and praise God who is the Master of us all. It is with ineffable providence that He guides the lives of men.

LETTER 70: TO EUSTATHIUS, BISHOP OF AEGOOE

The story of the noble Mary is one fit for a tragic play. As she says herself, and as is attested by several others, she is a daughter of the right honourable Eudaemon. In the catastrophe which has overtaken Libya she has fallen from her father's free estate, and has become a slave. Some merchants bought her from the barbarians, and have sold her to some of our countrymen. With her was sold a maiden who was once one of her own domestic servants; so at one and the same time the galling yoke of slavery fell on the servant and the mistress. But the servant refused to ignore the difference between them, nor could she forget the old superiority: in their calamity she preserved her kindly feeling, and, after waiting upon their common masters, waited upon her who was reckoned her fellow slave, washed her feet, made her bed, and was mindful of other like offices. This became known to the purchasers. Then through all the town was noised abroad the free estate of the mistress and the servant's goodness. On these circumstances becoming known to the faithful soldiers who are quartered in our city (I was absent at the time) they paid the purchasers their price, and rescued the woman from slavery. After my return, on being informed of the deplorable circumstances, and the admirable intention of the soldiers, I invoked blessings on their heads, committed the noble damsel to the care of one of the respectable deacons, and ordered a sufficient provision to be made for her.

Ten months had gone by when she heard that her father was still alive, and holding high office in the West, and she very naturally expressed a desire to return to him. It was reported that many messengers from the West are on the way to the fair which is now being held in your parts. She requested to be allowed to set out with a letter from me. Under these circumstances I have written this letter, begging your piety to take care of a noble girl, and charge some respectable person to communicate with mariners, pilots, and merchants, and commit her to the care of trusty men who may be able to restore her to her father. There is no doubt that those who, when all hope of recovery has been lost, bring the daughter to the father, will be abundantly rewarded.

LETTER 71: TO ZENO, GENERAL AND CONSUL

Your fortitude rouses universal admiration, tempered as it is by gentleness and meekness, and exhibited to your household in kindliness, to your foes in

boldness. These qualities indicate an admirable general. In a soldier's character the main ornament is bravery, but in a commander prudence takes precedence of bravery; after these come self-control and fairness, whereby a wealth of virtue is gathered. Such wealth is the reward of the soul which reaches after good, and with its eyes fixed on the sweetness of the fruit, deems the toil right pleasant. For to virtue's athletes the God of all, like some great giver of games, has offered prizes, some in this life, and some in that life beyond which has no end. Those in this present life your excellency has already enjoyed, and you have achieved the highest honour. Be it also the lot of your greatness to obtain too those abiding and perpetual blessings, and to re- not only the consul's robe, but also the garment that is indescribable and divine. Of all them that understand the greatness of that gift this is the common petition.

LETTER 72: TO HERMESIGENES THE ASSESSOR

At the time when men were whelmed in the darkness of ignorance, all did not keep the same feasts, but celebrated distinct ceremonies in different cities. In Aelis were the Olympian games, at Delphi the Pythian, at Sparta the Hyacinthian, at Athens the Panathenaic, the Thesmophoria, and the Dionysian. These were the most remarkable, and further some men celebrated the revel feast of some daemons and some of others. But now that those mists have been scattered by intellectual light, in every land and sea mainlanders and islanders together keep the feast of our God and Saviour, and whithersoever any one may wish to travel abroad, journey he either towards rising or towards setting sun, everywhere he will find the same celebration observed at the same time. There is no longer necessity, in obedience to the law of Moses which was adapted to the infirmity of the Jews, to come together into one city and keep the feast in memory of our blessings, but every town, every village, the country and the farthest frontiers, are filled with the grace of God, and in every spot divine shrines and precincts are consecrated to the God of all. So through every town we observe our several festivals and communicate with one another in the feast. It is the same God and Lord who is honoured in our hymns and to whom our mystic sacrifices are offered. On this account, as is well known, we neighbours address one another by letter and signify the joy that comes to us in the feast. So now do I to you and offer the festal salutation to your excellency. You will without doubt reply and honour the custom of the feast.

LETTER 73: TO APOLLONIUS

Themistocles the son of Neocles, the far-famed and admirable general, is described by the admiring historian as endowed with natural virtue alone. Of Pericles, however, the son of Xanthippus, it is said that he also derived ability from his education to charm his hearers by his persuasive eloquence, and was gifted with the power alike of knowing what measures should be taken and of enforcing them by word of mouth. In writing about him there is no impropriety in my using his own words. These things illustrate your magnificence, for God, our Creator, hath given you natural capacity, and your education makes its brilliance the more conspicuous. Nothing then is wanting to the full complement of your high qualities save only knowledge of their Author; be but this added, and the tale of virtues which we shall have will be complete. Thus I write to you on receiving news of your arrival, beseeching the Giver of all good to grant a beam of light to your soul's eye, to show you the greatness of His boon, to kindle your love of that possession, and to grant the longed for favour to him that longs for it.

LETTER 74: TO URBANUS

It has been granted to us by our generous Lord once again to enjoy the feast and to send to your excellency the festal salutation. We pray that you may be well and prosperous, and share the ineffable and divine boon which to them that approach supplies the seeds of the blessings hoped for, and gives the symbols of the life and kingdom that have no end. These things we beseech the loving Lord to impart to you, for it is natural for friends to ask that their friends may be blessed. LXXV. To the Clergy of Beroea. I perceive that it is with reason that I am well disposed to your reverences, for I have been assured by your kindly letter that my affection was returned. For this affection of mine towards you I have many reasons. First of all there is the fact that your father, that great and apostolic man, was my father too. Secondly I look upon that truly religious bishop, who now rules your church, as I might on a brother both in blood and in sympathy. Thirdly there is the near neighbourhood of our cities, and fourthly our frequent intercourse with one another, which naturally begets friendship and increases it when it is begotten. If you like, I will name yet a fifth, and that is that we have the same close connexion with you as the tongue has with the ears, the former uttering speech, and the latter receiving it; for you most gladly listen to my words, and I am de-

lighted to let fall my little drop upon you. But the colophon of our union is our harmony in faith; our refusal to accept any spurious doctrines; our preservation of the ancient and apostolic teaching, which has been brought to you by hoary wisdom and nurtured by virtue's hardy toil. I beseech yon therefore to take greater care of the flock, to preserve it unharmed for the Shepherd, and boldly to utter the famous words of the patriarch "that which was born of beasts I offered not unto Thee."

LETTER 76: TO URANIUS, GOVERNOR OF CYPRUS

True friendship is strengthened by intercourse, but separation cannot sunder it, for its bonds are strong. This truth might easily be shewn by many other examples, but it is enough for us to verify what I say by our own case. Between me and you are indeed many things, mountains, cities, and the sea, yet nothing has destroyed my recollection of your excellency. No sooner do we behold any one arriving from those towns which lie on the coast, than the conversation is turned on Cyprus and on its right worthy governor, and we are delighted to have tidings of your high repute. And lately we have been gratified to an unusual degree at learning the most delightful news of all: for what, most excellent sir, can be more pleasing to us than to see your noble soul illuminated by the light of knowledge? For we think it right that he who is adorned with many kinds of virtue should add to them also its colophon, and we believe that we shall behold what we desire. For your nobility will doubtless eagerly seize the God-given boon, moved thereto by true friends who clearly understand its value, and guided to the bountiful God "Who wills all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truths" netting men by men's means to salvation, and bringing them that He captures to the ageless life.

The fisherman indeed deprives his prey of life, but oar Fisher frees all that He takes alive from death's painful bonds, and therefore "did he shew himself upon earth, and conversed with men," bringing men His life, conveying teaching by means of the visible manhood, and giving to reasonable beings the law of a suitable life and conversation. This law He has confirmed by miracles, and by the death of the flesh has destroyed death. By raising the flesh He has given the promise of resurrection to us all, after giving the resurrection of His own precious body as a worthy pledge of ours. So loved He men even when they hated Him that the mystery of the aeconomy fails to obtain credence with some on account of the very bitterness of His suffer-

ings, and it is enough to show the depths of His loving kindness that He is even yet day by day calling to men who do not believe. And He does so not as though He were in need of the service of men,-for of what is the Creator of the universe in want?-but because He thirsts for the salvation of every man. Grasp then, my excellent friend, His gift; sing praises to the Giver, and procure for us a very great and right goodly feast.

LETTER 77: TO EULALIUS, BISHOP OF PERSIAN ARMENIA

I know that Satan has sought to sift you as wheat, and that the Lord has allowed him so to do that He may shew the wheat, and prove the gold, crown the athletes, and proclaim the victors` names. Nevertheless I fear and tremble, not indeed distressed for the sake of you who are noble champions of the truth, but because I know that it comes to pass that some men are of feebler heart. If among twelve apostles one was found a traitor, there is no doubt that among a number many times as great any one might easily discover many falling short of perfection. Thus reflecting I have been confounded and filled with much discouragement, for, as says the divine Apostle, "whether one member suffer all the members suffer with it. "We are members one of another," and form one body, having the Lord Christ for head. Yet one consolation I have in my anxiety, when I bethink me of your holiness. For brought up as you have been in the divine oracles, and taught by the arch-shepherd what are the good shepherd's marks, there is no doubt that you will lay down your life for the sheep. For, as the Lord says, "he that is an hireling" when he sees "the wolf coming," "fleeth because he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep," but "the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep.

Just so it is not in peace that the best general shews his inborn valour, but in time of war, by at once stimulating others and himself exposing himself to peril for his men. For it would be preposterous that he should enjoy the dignity of his command, and, in the hour of need, run out of danger's way. Thus the thrice blessed prophets ever acted, making light of the safety of their bodies, and, for the sake of the Jews who hated and rejected them, underwent all kinds of peril and toil. Of them the divine apostle says "they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain by the sword; they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented, of whom the world was not worthy; they wandered in deserts and mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth. Thus the divine apostles trav-

elled preaching over all the world, without home, bed, bedding, board, or any of the necessaries of life, but scourged, racked, imprisoned, and undergoing countless kinds of death. And all this they underwent, not for the sake of their friends, but voluntarily facing these perils for the sake of the men who were persecuting them. A far stronger claim is made on you now to accept the peril at present assailing you, for the sake of fellow-believers and brothers and children.

This affection is shown even by unreasoning animals, for sparrows may be seen fighting with all their force in behalf of their brood, and putting out in their defence all the strength they have; other kinds of birds moreover undergo danger for their young. But why do I speak of birds? Bears too, and leopards, wolves, and lions, voluntarily suffer any pain for the safety of their offspring, for instead of fleeing from the hunter they will await his attack and do battle for their young. I have adduced these instances not as though anointing your piety for endurance and courage by the example of brute beasts, but to console myself in my despondency, and to be assured that you will not leave Christ's flock without a shepherd when wolves make their attack, but will invoke the Lord of the flock to help you and will heartily do battle in its behalf. A crisis like this proves who is a shepherd and who a hireling; who diligently feeds the flock and who on the other hand feeds on the milk and thinks little of the safety of the sheep. "But God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will with the temptation also make a way to escape that ye may be able to bear it. But one thing I do beseech your reverence, and that is to have greater heed of the unsound; and not only to strengthen the unstable but also to raise the fallen, for shepherds by no means neglect those of their flock who have fallen sick, but keep them apart from the rest, and try in every possible way to restoreth-em, and so must we do. We must make them that are slipping stand up, and givethem a helping hand and a word of encouragement. When they are bitten we mustheal them; we must not give up the attempt to save them nor leave them in the devil's maw. Thus ever acted the divine Apostle Paul;

and when the Galatians, after receiving the baptism of salvation, and the gift of the divine Spirit, fell away into the sickness of Judaism, and received circumcision, he wailed and lamented more exceedingly than the most affectionate mother, and tended them and freed them from that infirmity. We can hear him exclaiming, "My little children, of whom I travail in birth

again until Christ be formed in you. So too the teacher of the Corinthians, who had committed that abominable fornication, he both chastised as might a father, and very skilfully treated, and after cutting him off in the first Epistle, readmitted him in the second and says, "So that contrariwise ye ought rather to forgive him and comfort him lest perhaps such a one should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow. And again, "Lest Satan should get an advantage of us for we are not ignorant of his devices. In the same manner too those who partook of things offered to idols he properly rebuked, suitably exhorted, and freed from their grievous error.

Wherefore our Lord Jesus Christ permitted the first of the apostles, whose confession He had fixed as a kind of groundwork and foundation of the Church, to waver to and fro, and to deny Him, and then raised Him up again. And thus He gave us two lessons: not to be confident in our own strength, and to strengthen the unstable. Reach out, therefore, I beseech you, a hand to them that are fallen, "draw them out of the horrible pit, out of the miry clay, and set their feet upon a rock," and "put a new song into their mouth, even praise unto our God," that their example of life may become an example of salvation, that "many shall see it and fear and shall trust in the Lord." Let them be prevented from participating in the holy mysteries, but let them not be kept from the prayer of the catechumens, nor from hearing the divine Scriptures and the exhortation of teachers, and let them be prohibited from partaking of the sacred mysteries, not till death, but during a given time, till they recognise their ailment, covet health, and are properly contrite for having abandoned their true Prince and deserted to a tyrant, and for having left their benefactor and gone over to their foe.

The same lessons are given us by the precepts of the holy and blessed Fathers. I write as I do, not to teach you piety, but to remind you as a brother might, knowing well that even the best of pilots in the moment of the storm needs monition even from his men. So the great and famous Moses, renowned throughout the world, who did those mighty works of wonder, did not refuse the counsel of Jethro, a man still sunk in idolatrous error; for he did not regard his impiety, but acknowledged the soundness of his advice. Moreover I implore your piety to offer earnest prayer to God in my behalf that for the remaining days of my life I may live in accordance with His laws. Thus have I written by the most honourable and religious presbyter

Stephanus, whom on account of the goodness of his character I have seen with great pleasure.

LETTER 78: TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF PERSIAN ARMENIA

Whenever anything happens to the helmsman, either the officer in command at the bows, or the seaman of highest rank, takes his place, not because he becomes a self-appointed helmsman, but because he looks out for the safety of the ship. So again in war, when the commander falls, the chief tribune assumes the command, not in the attempt to lay violent hands on the place of power, but because he cares for his men. So too the thrice blessed Timothy when sent by the divine Paul took his place. It is therefore becoming to your piety to accept the responsibilities of helmsman, of captain, of shepherd, gladly to run all risk for the sake of the sheep of Christ, and not to leave His creatures abandoned and alone. It is rather yours to bind up the broken, to raise up the fallen, to turn the wanderer from his error, and keep the whole in health, and to follow the good shepherds who stand before the folds and wage war against the wolves. Let us remember too the words of the patriarch Jacob; "In the day the drought consumed me and the frost by night and my sleep departed from my eyes. The rams of thy flock I have not eaten. That which was born of beasts I brought not unto thee. I bare the loss of it. Of my hand didst thou require it, whether stolen by day or stolen by night. These are the marks of the shepherd; these are the laws of the tending of the sheep.

And if of brute cattle the illustrious patriarch had such care, and offered this defence to him who trusted them to his charge, what ought not we to do who are entrusted with the charge of reasonable sheep, and who have received this trust from the God of all, when we remember that the Lord for them gave up His life? Who does not fear and tremble when he hears the word of God spoken through Ezekiel? "I judge between shepherd and sheep because ye eat the fat and clothe yourselves with the wool and ye feed not the flocks. And again, "I have made thee a watchman unto the house of Israel; when thou speakest not to warn the wicked from his wicked way, the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity but his blood shall I require at thine hand. With this agree the words spoken in parables by the Lord. "Thou wicked and slothful servant...Thou oughtest to have put my money to the exchangers, and then at my coming I should have received the same with usury. Up then, I beseech you, let us fight for the Lord's sheep. Their Lord is

near. He will certainly appear and scatter the wolves and glorify the shepherds. "The Lord is good unto them that wait for Him, to the soul that seeketh Him. Let us not murmur at the storm that has arisen for the Lord of all knoweth what is good for us.

Wherefore also when the Apostle asked for release from his trials He would not grant his supplication but said, "My grace is sufficient for thee, for my strength is made perfect in weakness. Let us then bravely bear the evils that befall us; it is in war that heroes are discerned; in conflicts that athletes are crowned; in the surge of the sea that the art of the helmsman is shewn; in the fire that the gold is tried. And let us not, I beseech you, heed only ourselves, let us rather have forethought for the rest, and that much more for the sick than for the whole, for it is an apostolic precept which exclaims "Comfort the feeble minded, support the weak. Let us then stretch out our hands to them that lie low, let us tend their wounds and set them at their post to fight the devil. Nothing will so vex him as to see them fighting and smiting again. Our Lord is full of loving-kindness. He receives the repentance of sinners. Let us hear His own words: "As I live saith the Lord I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live. So He prefaced His words with an oath, and He who forbids oaths to others swore Himself to convince us how He desires our repentance and salvation. Of this teaching the divine books, both the old and the new, are full, and the precepts of the holy Fathers teach the same.

But not as though you were ignorant have I written to you; rather have I reminded you of what you know, like those who standing safe upon the shore succour them that are tossed by the storm, and shew them a rock, or give warning of a hidden shallow, or catch and haul in a rope that has been thrown. "And the God of peace shall bring Satan under your feet shortly" and shall gladden our ears with news that you have passed from storm to calm, at His word to the waves "Peace be still." And do you too offer prayers for us, for you who have undergone peril for His sake can speak with greater boldness. LXXIX. To Anatolius the Patrician. The Lord God has given your excellency to us to be at the present time a source of very great comfort, and has afforded us a meet haven for the storm. We have therefore confidence in informing your lordship of our distress. Not long ago we acquainted your excellency that the right honourable Count Rufus had shewn us an order written in the imperial handwriting commanding the gallant general to provide

with prudence and diligence for our residence at Cyrus, and not to suffer us to depart to another city, on the ground that we are endeavouring to summon synods to Antioch, and are disturbing the orthodox. Now I make known to you that in obedience to the imperial letter I have come to Cyrus. After an interval of six or seven days they sent the devoted Euphronius, the commander, with a letter begging me to acknowledge in writing that the imperial order had been shown me. I therefore promised to remain in Cyrus and its adjacent district, and to tend the sheep entrusted to my care. I therefore beseech your excellency to make exact enquiry, both whether these orders had really been issued, and for what reason. I am indeed conscious of many other sins, but I do not know that I have erred either against the Church of God, or against public order. And I write as I do, not because I take it ill to have to live at Cyrus, for in truth she is dearer to me than any of the most famous cities, because my office in her has been given me by God. But the fact of my being bound to her not by preference but by compulsion does seem somewhat grievous, and besides it does give a handle to the wicked to grow bold and to refuse to obey our exhortations.

Under these circumstances I beseech your lordship, if no order of the kind has really been issued, to let me know; but if the letter really comes from the victorious emperor, tell his pious majesty not readily to believe calumnies, nor give ear to accusers alone, but to demand an account from the accused. Though really the evidence of the facts alone was quite enough to persuade his piety that the charges against me were false. For when did I ever make myself offensive about anything to his serene majesty or his chief officers? Or when was I ever obnoxious to the many and illustrious owners here? It is on the contrary well known to your excellency that I have spent a considerable portion of my ecclesiastical revenues in erecting porticoes and baths, building bridges, and making further provision for public objects. But if any persons take it ill that I mourn over the ruin of the churches of Phoenicia, be it known to your lordship that it is impossible for me not to grieve when I see the horn of the Jews exalted on high and the Christians in tears and sorrow, though they send them to the very ends of the earth. We cannot fight against the apostolic decrees, for we remember the word of the Apostle which says, "We ought to obey God rather than men," and more terrible to us than any of the pains of this life is the "judgment seat of Christ" the Lord, before whom we shall all stand to render an account of our words and of our

deeds. On account of that judgment seat the hardships of this present life must be endured. For them that suffer wrong the hope of what is to come is consolation enough, but to us the loving Lord has given further comfort in you, most excellent sir, whose life is brightwith piety and faith.

LETTER 80: TO THE PREFECT EUTRECHIUS

I have been much astonished that no information has been sent me by your lordship of the plots against me. To counteract them would very likely have been a difficult matter to any one not having the means of convicting their promoters of lies; but to give information of what was going on needed not so much power as friendliness. and we had hoped that when your excellency had been summoned to the imperial city, and had been chosen to adorn the prefect's exalted seat, every tempest of the Church would be calmed down. But we suffer from such disturbances as we did not see even in the beginning of the dispute. The churches of Phoenicia are in trouble; in trouble are those of Palestine, as all unanimously report; and the distress is proved by the letters of the most pious bishops. All the saints among us groan and every pious congregation is lamenting. While looking for a cessation of our former troubles we have been afflicted with new ones. I myself have been forbidden to quit the coasts of Cyrus, if the dispatch is true which has been shewn me, and which is said to be an autograph of our victorious emperor. It runs as follows "Since so and so the bishop of this city is continually assembling synods and this is a cause of trouble to the orthodox, take heed with proper diligence and wisdom that he resides at Cyrus, and does not depart from it to another city. I have accepted the sentence, and remain still.

Your lordship can bear witness to my sentiments, for you know how on my arrival at Antioch I departed in a hurry, on account of those who wished to detain me there. And those were unquestionably wrong who gave both their ears to my calumniators and would not keep one for me. Even to murderers, and to them that despoil other men's beds, an opportunity is given of defending themselves, and they do not receive sentence till they have been convicted in their own presence, or have made confession of the truth of the charges on which they are indicted.But a high priest who has held the office of bishop for five and twenty years after passing his previous life in a monastery, who has never troubled a tribunal, nor yet on any single occasion been prosecuted by any man, is treated as a mere plaything of calumny, without being allowed even the common privilege of grave-robbers of being ques-

tioned as to the truth of the accusations brought against them. Yet they have done wrong; I have done no wrong. But I am ready for even more serious troubles. Though they be ever so much annoyed at my bewailing the calamities of Phoenicia I shall not cease so to do so long as I behold them. The only judgment that is awful to me is the judgment of God. For them, nevertheless, I pray that from the God of all they may obtain forgiveness;

for your excellency, that you may ever live in honour, excel in all good things, speak boldly against lies, and fight on the side of the truth. And let the contrivers of this plot know that, though I depart to the uttermost ends of the earth, God will not suffer the confirmation of impious doctrines, but will nod His head and destroy them that bow down to doctrines of abomination.

LETTER 81: TO THE CONSUL NOMUS

For but a brief portion of a day I enjoyed the society of your lordship, for I was deprived by unavoidable circumstances of what I so earnestly desired. I had hoped that our short interview would have kindled good will and friendly intercourse, but I was disappointed. I have now written you two letters, without receiving any reply; and by the imperial decree I am forbidden to travel beyond the boundaries of Cyrus. For this apparent punishment cause there is none, except the fact of my convening an episcopal synod. No indictment was published; no prosecutor appeared; the defendant was not convicted; but the sentence was given. We submit, for we know the reward of the wronged. I am aware however that Festus the Procurator who was entrusted with the government of the Jews when they demanded the death of the divine Paul, publicly replied, "It is not lawful to us Romans to deliver any man before that he which is accused have the accusers face to face, and have license to answer for himself concerning the crime laid against him. Now these words were spoken by one who was no believer in our Master, Christ, but was a slave to the errors of polytheism. I was never asked whether I was assembling synods or not, or for what reason I was assembling them, or what umbrage this could give, either to the Church or to the government; yet just as though I had been a very guilty criminal I am prohibited from visiting other cities;

while to every one else every city lies open, and that not only to Arians and Eunomians, but to Manichees and Marcionists, to them that are sick with the unsoundness of Valentinus and Montanus, aye to pagans and Jews,

while I, a foremost champion of the teaching of the Gospels, am from every city excluded. Some however maintain that I do not adhere to it. Then let there be a council: let there be assembled there the godly bishops who are capable of judging: then let there be assembled those in office and in rank who have been instructed in divine lore. Let me state what I hold, and let the judges declare what opinion is agreeable to the teaching of the Apostles. I have not thus written from any desire to see the great city, nor from trying to travel to any other. In fact I rather love the quiet of them whose wish is to administer the churches in a monastic state. I should like your excellency to know that neither in the time of the blessed and sainted Theodotus, nor in that of John of blessed memory, nor in that of the very holy lord bishop Domnus, did I of my own accord enter Antioch; five or sixtimes I was invited but I with difficulty assented, and when I did assent it was in obedience to the canon of the Church which orders him who is summoned to a synod and refuses to be present to be held guilty.

And when I appeared, what thing unpleasing to God did I do? Was it that I removed from the sacred lists the names of such and such a man guilty of unspeakable wickedness? Was it that I ordained to the priesthood men of character and of honourable life? Was it that I preached the gospel to the people? If these things are worthy of indictment and punishment, I gladly welcome yet severer punishments for their sake. My accusers compel me to speak. Even before my conception my parents promised to devote me to God; from my swaddling-band, they devoted the according to their promise and educated me accordingly; the time before my episcopate I spent in a monastery and then was unwillingly consecrated bishop. Five and twenty years I so lived that I was never summoned to trial by any one nor ever brought accusation against any. Not one of the pious clergy who were under me ever frequented a court. In so many years I never took an obol nor a garment from any one. Not one of my domestics ever received a loaf or an egg. I could not endure the thought of possessing anything save the rags I wore. From therevenues of my see I erected public porticoes; I built two large bridges; I looked after the public baths. On finding that the city was not watered by the river running by it, I built the conduit, and supplied the dry town with water.

But not to mention these matters I led eight villages of Marcionists with their neighbourhood into the way of truth; another full of Eunomians and another of Arians I brought to the light of divine knowledge, and, by God's

grace, not a tare of heresy was left among us. All this I did not effect with impunity; many a time I shed my blood; many a time was I stoned by them and brought to the very gates of death. But I am a fool in my boasting, yet my words are spoken of necessity, not of consent. Once the thrice blessed Paul was compelled to act in the same way to stop the mouths of his accusers. Yet I put up with seeming ignominy and count it high honour, for I hear the voice of the Apostle crying, "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution."

But I beseech your excellency to give heed to the affairs of the Church, and calm the storm that has arisen, for in fact not even at the beginning of the dispute was the Church beset by such confusion. No one informs you of the greatness of the peril, of the lamentations of the Christians in Phoenicia and of the wails of our holiest monks. Wherefore I have written to you at some length, that on learning the agitation of the Church your excellency might stay it, and reap. the fruits of the benefit which such action will produce. LXXXII. To Eusebius, Bishop of Ancyra. I had hoped at this time to hear frequently from your holiness. Suffering as I do under charges which are plain calumny I stand in need of brotherly consolation. For they who are now renewing the heresy of Marcion, Valentinus, Manes, and of the other Docetae, annoyed at my publicly pillorying their heresy, have endeavoured to deceive the imperial ears, by calling me a heretic and falsely accusing me of dividing into two sons our one Lord Jesus Christ, the divine Word made man. Their utterances did not meet with the success that they expected. A despatch was therefore written to the right honourable and glorious commander and consul, containing indeed no accusation of heresy, but certain other charges no less unfounded. They alleged that I was endeavouring to assemble frequent synods at Antioch; that certain persons thereupon took umbrage; that for this reason I ought to desist from these proceedings and manage the churches entrusted to my charge. When this communication was shewn me I caught at the sentence as an opportunity of good. For in the first place I gained the rest I so much longed for; furthermore I trust in the wiping out of the stains of the many errors I have committed, on account of the wrong devised against me by the enemies of truth. Even in this present life our supreme Ruler very plainly shews us what care He takes of them that suffer wrong. While I have been remaining at rest, prisoned within the boundaries of my own country;

while throughout the East all men have been distressed and have been bitterly lamenting though compelled to silence by the terror that has fallen on them (for what has befallen me has stricken terror into the hearts of all) the Lord has stooped from heaven, has convicted my calumniators of their falsehood, and laid bare their impious intent. They armed even Alexandria against me and by means of their worthy instruments are dinning into all men's ears that I am preaching two sons instead of one. I, on the contrary, am so far from holding this abominable opinion, that, on finding some of the holy fathers of the Nicene Council opposing in their treatises the madness of Arius and forced in their struggle against their opponents to make too marked a distinction, I have objected, and refused to admit such distinction, for I know how the exigencies of the distinction result in exaggeration. And lest any one should suppose that I am speaking as I do through fear, let any one who likes get hold of my ancient writings written before the Council of Ephesus, and those written after it twelve years ago. For by God's grace I interpreted all the Prophets and the Psalms and the Apostles: I wrote long ago against the Arians, the Macedonians, the sophistry of Apollinarius and the madness of Marcion: and in every one of my books by God's grace the mind of the Church shines clear. Moreover I have written a book on the Mysteries, another on Providence, another on the Questions of the Magi, a life of the Saints, and besides these, not to name every one in detail, many more.

I have enumerated them not for ambition's sake, but to challenge my accusers and my judges to put any of my writings they may choose to the test. They will find that by God's grace I hold no other opinion than just that which I have received from holy Scripture. When, then, your holiness has heard this from me, I beg you to inform the ignorant and to persuade the unbridled tongues that revile me and all who are deceived by them, not to believe what they have heard of me from my calumniators. Beg them to believe rather the Lawgiver when he exclaims "Men shall not receive a false report." Ask them to wait till the facts are proved. My prayer is that the churches may enjoy a calm and that this long and painful storm may vanish away. But if the multitude of our sins suffer not this to come to pass; if for their sakes we are delivered to the sifter; we pray that we may share the perils undergone for the faith, in order that since we have not the confidence that comes from this life, at least for guarding the faith in its integrity we may

meet with pity and pardon in the day of the appearance of the Lord. And for this we beseech your holiness to join us in our prayers.

LETTER 83: OF THEODORETUS, BISHOP OF CYRUS, TO DIOSCORUS, ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA

To them that suffer under false accusation the greatest comfort is given by the words of Scripture. When such a sufferer is wounded by the lying words of an unbridled tongue, and feels the sharp stings of distress, he remembers the story of the admirable Joseph, and as he beholds that model of chastity, an exemplar of every kind of virtue, suffering, under a calumnious charge, imprisoned and fettered for invading another man's bed, and spending a long time in a dungeon, his pain is lightened by the remedy that the story furnishes. So again when he finds the gentle David, hunted as a tyrant by Saul, and then catching his enemy and letting him go unharmed, an anodyne is given him in his distress. But when he sees the Lord Christ Himself, Maker of the ages, Creator of all things, very God, and Son of the very God, called a gluttonous man and a wine bibber by the wicked Jews, it is not only consolation but rather great joy that is given him in that he is deemed worthy of sharing the sufferings of the Lord.

Thus I was compelled to write when I read the letters of your holiness to the most pious and sacred archbishop Domnus, for there was contained in them the statement that certain men have come to the illustrious city administered by your holiness, and have accused me of dividing the one Lord Jesus Christ into two sons, and this when preaching at Antioch, where innumerable hearers swell the congregation. I wept for the men who had the hardihood to contrive the vain calumny against me. But I grieved, and, my Lord, forgive me, forced as I am by pain to speak, that your pious excellency did not reserve one ear unbiassed for me instead of believing the lies of my accusers. Yet they were but three or four or about a dozen while I have countless hearers to testify to the orthodoxy of my teaching. Six years I continued teaching in the time of Theodotus bishop of Antioch, of blessed and sacred memory, who was famous alike for his distinguished career and for his knowledge of the divine doctrines. Thirteen years I taught in the time of bishop John of sacred and blessed memory, who was so delighted at my discourses as to raise both his hands and again and again to start up: your holiness in your own letters has borne witness how, brought up as he was from boyhood with the divine oracles, the knowledge which he had of the divine

doctrines was most exact. Besides these this is the seventh year of the most pious lord archbishop Domnus. Up to this present day, after the lapse of so long a time, not one of the pious bishops, not one of thedevout clergy has ever at any time found any fault with my utterances. And with how much gratification Christian people hear our discourses your godly excellency can easily learn, alike from those who have travelled thence hither, and from those who reached your city from us.

All this I say not for the sake of boasting, but because I am forced to defend myself. It is not the fame of my sermons to which I am calling attention; it is their orthodoxy alone. Even the great teacher of the world who is wont to style himself last of saints and first of sinners, that he might stop the mouths of liars was compelled to set forth a list of his own labours; and in shewing that this account of his sufferings was of necessity, not of free will, he added "I am become a fool in glorying; ye have compelled me. I own myself wretched-aye thrice wretched. I am guilty of many errors. Through faith alone I look for finding some mercy in the day of the Lord's appearing. I wish and I pray that I may follow the footprints of the holy Fathers, and I earnestly desire to keep undefiled the evangelic teaching which was in sum delivered to us by the holy Fathers assembled in council at the Bithynian Nicaea. I believe that there is one God the Father and one Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father: so also that there is one Lord Jesus Christ, only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all ages, brightness of His glory and express image of the Father's person, on account of man's salvation, incarnate and made man and born of Mary the Virgin in the flesh.

For so are we taught by the wise Paul "Whose are the Fathers and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen," and again "Concerning His Son Jesus Christ our Lord which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh and declared to be the Son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness. On this account we also call the holy Virgin "Theotokos," and deem those who object to this appellation to be alienated from true religion. In the same manner we call those men corrupt and exclude them from the assembly of the Christians, who divide our one Lord Jesus Christ into two persons or two sons or two Lords, for we have heard the very divine Paul saying "One Lord, one faith, one baptism" and again "One Lord Jesus Christ by Whom are all things" and again "Jesus Christ the same yesterday and to-day and for ever" and in anoth-

er place-"He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens." And countless other passages of this kind may be found in the Apostle's writings, proclaiming the one Lord. So too the divine Evangelist exclaims, "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, full of grace and truth." And his namesake exclaimed, "After me cometh one who is preferred before me for He was before me." And when he had shewn one person, he expressed both the divine and the human. for the words "man" and "comes" are human, but the phrase "He was before me" expresses the divine. But nevertheless he did not recognise a distinction between Him who came after and Him who was before, but owned the same being to be eternal as God, but born man, after himself, of the Virgin.

Thus too, the thrice blessed Thomas, when he had put his hand on the flesh of the Lord, called Him Lord and God, saying "My Lord and my God." For through the visible nature he discerned the invisible. So do we know no difference between the same flesh and the Godhead but we own God the Word made man to be one Son. These lessons we bare learnt alike from the holy Scripture and from the holy Fathers who have expounded it, Alexander and Athanasius, loud voiced heralds of the truth, who have been ornaments of your apostolic see; from Basil and from Gregory and the rest of the lights of the world; and that, in our endeavour to shut the mouths of them that dare to oppose the blessed Theophilus and Cyril, we use their works, our own writings testify. For we are most anxious by the medicines supplied by very holy men to heal them that deny the distinction between the Lord's flesh and the Godhead, and who maintain at one moment that the divine nature was changed into flesh, and at another that the flesh was transmuted into nature of Godhead.

For they clearly instruct us in the distinction between the two natures, and proclaim the immutability of the divine nature, calling the flesh of the Lord divine as being made flesh of God the Word; but the doctrine that it was transmuted into nature of Godhead they repudiate as impious. I think that your excellency is well aware that Cyril of blessed memory often wrote to me, and when he sent his books against Julian to Antioch, and in like manner his book on the scapegoat, he asked the blessed John, bishop of Antioch, to shew them to the great teachers of the East; and in compliance with this request the blessed John sent us the books. I read them with admiration,

and I wrote to Cyril of blessed memory; and he wrote back to me praising my exactitude and kindness. This letter I have preserved. That I twice subscribed the writings of John of blessed memory concerning Nestorius my own hand bears witness, but this is the kind of thing whispered about me by men who try to conceal their own unsoundness by calumniating me.

Therefore I implore your holiness to turn your back on the liars; to give heed to the Church's quiet and either to heal by salutary medicines them that are trying to destroy the doctrines of the truth, or, if they refuse to accept your treatment, to expel them from the fold, to the end that the sheep may be spared from contagion. I beg you to give me your customary salutation. That I have written you my true sentiments is proved by my works on the holy Scriptures and against the Arians and Eunomians. I will in addition write yet a brief word. If any one refuses to confess tile holy Virgin to be "Theotokos," or calls our Lord Jesus Christ bare man, or divides into two sons Him who is one only begotten and first born of every creature, I pray that he may fall from hope in Christ, and let all the people say amen, amen.

Now that I have thus spoken, deign, my lord, to give me your sacred prayers, and to cheer me by a letter in reply telling me that your holiness has turned your back on my accusers. I and my household salute all thy brotherhood in piety in Christ. LXXXIV. To the Bishops of Cilicia. Your piety has heard of the calumnies directed against me. The opponents of the truth allege that I divide our one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, into two sons, and it is said by some that a ground for their calumny is derived from a handful of men among you who hold these opinions, and who divide God the Word made man into two sons. They ought to listen to those words of the Apostle which openly declare "out Lord Jesus Christ by whom are all things," and again "one Lord, one faith, one baptism." They ought to have followed the Master's teaching, for the Lord Himself says "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 again "If ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where He was before." And the tradition of holy baptism teaches us that there is one Son, just as there is one Father and one Holy Ghost. I hope then that your piety will deign, if there really are any, though I cannot believe it, who disobey the apostolic doctrines to close their mouths, to rebuke them as the laws of the Church require, and teach them to follow the footsteps of the holy Fathers and preserve undefiled the faith laid down at Nicaea

in Bithynia by the holy and blessed Fathers, as summing up the teaching of Evangelists and Apostles. For it becomes you who love God to give heed both to God's glory and our common credit, and not to overlook the attacks which are made upon us all through the ignorance or contentiousness of these few men-if they really are guilty, and if they are not, like ourselves, suffering from the whetted tongues of false accusers.

Deign to remember us in your prayers to God, for so the law of love ordains. LXXXV. To the Bishop Basil. The chief good is said by the divine Paul to be love, and by love he ordered the nurslings of the faith to be fed. Of this love your piety possesses great wealth, and so has told me what was befitting and given me pleasant news. For to them that fear the Lord what can be pleasanter than the health and harmony of the doctrines of the truth? Be well assured, most godly sir, that we were much delighted to hear the intelligence of our common friend; and in proportion to our previous distress at hearing that he described the nature of flesh and of Godhead as one, and openly attributed the passion of salvation to the impossible Godhead, so were all rejoiced to read the letters of your holiness, and to learn that he maintains in their integrity the properties of the natures and denies both the change of God the Word into flesh, and the mutation of the flesh into the nature of Godhead, maintaining on the contrary that in the one Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, God the Word made man, the properties of either nature abide unconfounded. We praise the God of all for the harmony of divine faith. We have however written to either Cilicia, although our intelligence is imperfect, as to whether there are really any opponents of the truth, and have charged the godly bishops to search and examine if there are any who divide the one Lord Jesus Christ into two sons, and either to bring them to their senses by admonition, or cut them off from the roll of the brethren. For in fact we equally repudiate both those who dare to assert one nature of flesh and Godhead, and those who divide the one Lord Jesus Christ into two sons and strive to go beyond the definitions of the Apostles.

But let your holiness be well assured that we are disposed to peace. For if the prophet says, "With them that hate peace I was peaceful." much more readily do we welcome the peace of God. Some of those men who have been fed on lies have hurried to Alexandria and patched up calumnies against me, with the result that the godly bishop of that city, led away by their statements, although he had been fully informed by my letters, has sent a pious

bishop to the imperial city. I beg you therefore to shew your accustomed kindness to him, and to confront falsehood with the truth. LXXXVI. To Flavianus, Bishop of Constantinople. At the present time, most God-beloved lord, I have received many buffetings of billows, but I called upon the great Pilot, and have been able to stand firm against the storm; the attacks, however, now made upon me transcend every story in tragedy. In relation to the attacks which are being plotted against the apostolic faith, I thought that I should find an ally and fellow-worker in the most godly bishop of Alexandria, the lord Dioscorus, and so sent him one of our pious presbyters, a man of remarkable prudence, with a synodical letter informing his piety that we abide in the agreement made in the time of Cyril of blessed memory, and accept the letter written by him as well as that written by the very blessed and sainted Athanasius to the blessed Epictetus, and, before these, the exposition of the faith laid down at Nicaea in Bithynia by the holy and blessed Fathers. We exhorted him to induce those who are unwilling to abide by these documents at once to abide by them. But one of the opposite party, who keep up these disturbances, by tricking some of those who are on the spot and contriving countless calumnies against myself has stirred an iniquitous agitation against me.

But the very godly bishop Dioscorus has written us a letter such as never ought to have been written by one who has learnt from the God of all not to listen to vain words. He has believed the charges brought against me as though he had made personal enquiry into every one of them, and had arrived at the truth after questioning, and has thus condemned me. I however have bravely borne the calumnious charge, and have written him back a courteous letter, representing to his piety that the whole charge is false, and that not one of the godly bishops of the East holds opinions contrary to the apostolic decrees. Moreover the pious clergy whom he sent as messengers have been convinced by the actual evidence of the facts. These however he has dismissed unheeded, and, lending his ears to my calumniators, has acted in a manner quite incredible, were it not that the whole church bears witness to if. He put up with them that were crying Anathema against me; nay he stood up in his place and confirmed their words by adding his voice to theirs. Besides all this he sent certain godly bishops to the imperial city, as we learnt, in the hope of increasing the agitation against me.

I in the first place have for champion Him who seeth all things, for it is on behalf of the divine decrees that I am wrestling-next after Him I invoke your holiness to fight in defence of the faith that is attacked, and do battle on behalf of the canons that are being trodden under foot. When the blessed Fathers were assembled in that imperial city in harmony with them that had sat in council at Nicaea, they distinguished the dioceses, and assigned to each diocese the management of its own affairs, expressly enjoining that none should intrude from one diocese into another. They ordered that the bishop of Alexandria should administer the government of Egypt alone, and every diocese its own affairs. Dioscorus, however, refuses to abide by these decisions; he is turning the see of the blessed Mark upside down; and these things he does though he perfectly well knows that the Antiochene metropolis possesses the throne of the great Peter, who was teacher of the blessed Mark, and first and coryphaeus of the chorus of the apostles. But I know the majesty of the see, and I know and take measure of myself. I have learnt from the first the humility of the Apostles. I beseech your holiness not to overlook the trampling underfoot of the holy canons, and to stand forward zealously as champion of the divine faith, for in that faith we have hope of our salvation and on its account are confident that we shall meet with mercy. But that your holiness may not be ignorant of this, know, my lord, that he shewed his ill-will towards me from the time of my assenting, in obedience to the canons of the holy Fathers, to the synodical letters issued in your see in the time of Proclus of blessed memory; on this point he has chidden me once and again on the ground of my violating the rights of the church of Antioch and, as he says, of that of Alexandria. Remembering this, and finding, as he thinks, an opportunity, he has exhibited his hostility. But nothing is stronger than the truth. Truth is wont to conquer even with few words. I beseech your holiness to remember me in your prayers to the Lord that I may have power to prevail against the waves that are beating me hither and thither.

LETTER 87: TO DOMNUS, BISHOP OF APAMEA

The law of brotherly love demanded that I should receive many letters from your godliness at this time. For the divine Apostle charges us to weep with them that weep and rejoice with them that do rejoice. I have not received a single one, although just lately I was visited by some of the pious monks of your monastery with the pious presbyter Elias. Nevertheless I have written,

and I salute your holiness; and I make you acquainted with the fact that the consolation of the Master has stood me in stead of all other, for in truth not even had I as many mouths as I have hairs on my head, could I worthily praise Him for my being deemed worthy of suffering on account of my confession of Him, and for the apparent disgrace which I hold more august than any honour. And if I be banished to the uttermost parts of the earth all the more will I praise Him as being counted worthy of greater blessings. Nevertheless I hope your holiness will put up prayers for the quiet of the holy churches. It is because of the storm that is assailing them that I wail and groan and lament. That quiet, as I know, was driven away by the Osrhoene clergy, who poured out countless words against me, although I had no share in their condemnation, nor in the sentence passed upon them; on the contrary, as your holiness knows, I besought that the communion might be given to them at Easter. But slanderers find no difficulty in saying what they like. My consolation lies in the blessing of the Master who said, "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake; rejoice and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you."

LETTER 88: TO TAURUS THE PATRICIAN

Slanderers have forced me to go beyond the bounds of moderation, and compel me to write to you who have adorned the highest offices, and obtained the most distinguished honours. I therefore implore you to pardon me, for I do not write in self sufficiency, but because I am thrust forward by necessity. It is not because I expect to fall unjustly into trouble and distress, for this is the common fate of all who have sincerely served God, but because I desire to persuade your excellency that those who accuse my opinions are producing false charges against me. From my mother's breast I have been nurtured on apostolic teaching, and the creed laid down at Nicaea by the holy and blessed Fathers I have both learnt and teach. All who bold any other opinion I charge with impiety, and if any one persists in asserting that I teach the contrary, let him not bring a charge which I cannot defend, but convict me to my face. For this is agreeable to the laws alike of God and of man, but to whom is it so becoming to champion the wronged as to you, O friend of Christ, to whom boldness of utterance is given by the splendour of your lineage, the greatness of your rank and your foremost place in the law?

LETTER 89: TO FLORENTIUS THE PATRICIAN

In sending a letter to your greatness I am daring what is beyond me, but the cause of my daring is not self-confidence, but the slanders of my calumniators. I have thought it well worth while to instruct your righteous ears how openly the impugners of my opinions are calumniating me. I have been guilty, I own, of many errors, but up to now I have ever kept the faith of the apostles undefiled, and on this account alone I have cherished the hope that I shall meet with mercy on the day of the Lord's appearing. On behalf of this faith I continue to contend against every kind of heresy; this faith I am ever giving to the nurslings of piety; by means of this faith I have metamorphosed countless wolves into sheep, and have brought them to the Saviour who is the Arch-shepherd of us all. So have I learnt not only from the apostles and prophets but also from the interpreters of their writings, Ignatius,Eustathius, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory, John, and the rest of the lights of the world; and before these from the holy Fathers in council at Nicaea, whose confession of the faith I preserve in its integrity, like an ancestral inheritance, styling corrupt and enemies of the truth all who dare to transgress its decrees. I invoke your greatness, now that you have heard from me in these terms, to shut the mouths of my calumniators. It is in my opinion wholly unreasonable to accept as true what is charged against men in their absence; rather is it lawful and right that those who wish to appear as prosecutors should accuse the defendants in their presence, and endeavour to convict them face to face. Under these conditions the judges will without difficulty be able to arrive at the truth.

LETTER 90: TO LUPICINUS THE MASTER

I have passed through the contests of my prime. I see before me the confines of old age, and have expected as an old man to have more honour given me. But I am a mark for the shafts of slander, and am driven to meet by defence accusations levelled against me. Under these circumstances, I beseech your excellency not to believe the lies of my accusers. Had I been living a life of silence, there might have been room for the suspicion of unorthodoxy. But I am continually discoursing in the churches, and therefore have, by God's grace, innumerable witnesses to the soundness of what I teach. I follow the laws and rules of the apostles. I test my teaching by applying to it, like a rule and measure, the faith laid down by the holy and blessed Fathers at Nicaea. If

any one maintain that I hold any contrary opinion, let him accuse me face to face; let him not slander me in my absence. It is fair that even the defendant should have an opportunity of speech, and meet with his defence the charges brought against him, and that then and not till then should the judges lawfully pronounce their sentence. This favour I beg through your excellency's assistance. If any men wish to condemn me unheard, I accept with willingness even their unjust sentence. For I wait for the judgment of the Master, where we need neither witnesses nor accusers. Before Him, as says the divine Apostle, "all things are naked and opened."

LETTER 91: TO THE PREFECT EUTRECHIUS

I well know, and need no words to tell me, how your excellency regards me. Actions speak more clearly than words, but I have been anxious for you to know the cause of the accusation that is brought against me. For I am suffering under a most extraordinary charge, being at one and the same time attacked as unmarried, and as having been married twice. If my present calumniators assert that I am falsifying the apostolic doctrine, why in the world, instead of accusing me in my absence, do they not attempt to convict me face to face? This fact alone is enough to give utter refutation to their lies, for it is because they know that I have innumerable witnesses to the apostolic character of my doctrines that they have urged an undefended indictment against me. Lawful judges must on the contrary keep one ear unbiassed for the accused. If they give both to the pleadings of the opponents, and deliver a sentence acceptable to them, I shall put up with the injustice as bringing me nearer to the kingdom of heaven, and shall await that impartial tribunal, where there is neither prosecutor, nor counsel, nor witness, nor distinction in rank, but judgment of deeds and words and righteous retribution. "For," it is said, "we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ that every one may receive the things done in his body according to that he hath done whether it be good or bad."

LETTER 92: TO ANATOLIUS THE PATRICIAN

The very holy lord archbishop Domnus has arranged for the most pious bishops to repair to the imperial city, with a view to the complete refutation of the false accusation made against us all. At this time we stand in especial need of the aid of your magnificence, since the Lord of all has endowed you with the gifts of pure faith, of warm zeal in its behalf, of intelligence and ca-

pacity, and power withal to carry out your prudent counsels. I beg you therefore to defend the cause of the wronged, to contend against lies, and champion the apostolic teaching now assailed. Without doubt the master and guide of the churches will bless your endeavour, will scatter the lowering cloud, and bless the nurslings of the faith with clear sky. Even should He permit the tempest to prevail, your greatness will reap your perfect reward, and we shall bow our heads before the storm, ready to live with cheerfulness wheresoever it may drive us, and waiting the judgment of God and his true and righteous sentence.

LETTER 93: TO SENATOR THE PATRICIAN

I cherish an indelible memory of your magnificence, and now by very religious and holy bishops I salute you. The very holy lord bishop Domnus has arranged for them to journey to the imperial city in order to put an end to the false charges raised against me. For certain men have contrived manifest calumnies against me, and have grievously disturbed the churches for whose sake the Lord Christ "endured the Cross despising the shame"; in whose behalf the band of the divine apostles and companies of victorious martyrs were delivered to many kinds of death. On behalf of their peace I call on your magnificence to contend. It had been easy for the God of all to have nodded His head and scattered the lowering clouds; but He bides His time, and thereby at once shews the endurance of them that are assailed, and gives us opportunities of doing good.

LETTER 94: TO PROTOGENES THE PRAEFECT

The loving-kindness of the Lord has already given you an opportunity of carrying out your good intentions. He has given you a greater opportunity now, that your excellency may the more easily champion the cause of the truth that is assailed, bring lies to nought, and give the churches the calm for which they so intensely long. Your excellency has already learned from many other sources bow great is the surge by which the churches in the East are overwhelmed, but you will acquire more accurate information concerning it from the very religious bishops who, on account of it, have undertaken their long journey in the winter, relying, next after the Grace of God, on the providence of your authority. Disperse for us, then, O Christian man, the storm, change the moonless night into clear sunshine, and bridle the tongues set wagging against us. We by God's grace are ever fighting for the

apostolic decrees, and we preserve undefiled the faith laid down at Nicaea, and style impious all who dare to violate its dogmas. In evidence of the truth of what I say may be cited my catechumens, those who are from time to time baptized by me, and the hearers of my discourses in the churches. If they mean to accuse me in accordance with the law, they must convict the in my presence, not slander me in my absence. In this manner your excellency, when giving judgment in other cases, is wont to deliver your sentences, perceiving on which side lies the right from the pleadings both of the prosecution and of the defence.

LETTER 95: TO THE PRAEFECT ANTIOCHUS

You have laid aside the cares of your very important government, but your fame flourishes among all; for they that have reaped the fruit of your benevolence, and they are many and everywhere, persistently extol it, proclaiming your good report in all directions, and stirring their hearers' tongues to join in the chorus of acclamation. When I behold the worthy fruit which adorns with its beauty its far-famed stem, I am delighted. For this reason I call your excellency to greater and higher deeds, and beseech you to give heed to the tranquillity of the churches. They have been overwhelmed with a great storm by the contrivers of calumnies against me, and under these circumstances the very religious bishops, making light of a long journey, of infirmity, and of old age, have left their own flocks unshepherded, and undertaken to travel this great distance, in their eagerness to confute the lies told against us all. I beseech your greatness to give them your protection, to shew care for the calumniated East, and your forethought for the welfare of the apostolic faith. It is only fitting that you should add this further glory to the rest of your good deeds.

LETTER 96: TO NOMUS THE PATRICIAN

I have written to you two letters, indeed I think three, but without getting any answer. I had wished to say no more, but to know my own place and the greatness of dignities, and to beg you to inform me of the cause of your silence. Really I do not know what offence I can have given to your excellency. We err unwillingly as well as willingly, and sometimes are quite ignorant in what way we are transgressing. I therefore beg your greatness, remembering the divine laws which plainly charge us "If thy brother shall trespass against thee go and tell him his fault between him and thee alone" to deign to make

plain to me the origin of the annoyance, that I may either prove myself innocent, or, made aware of where I was wrong, may beg your pardon. In my confidence in the evidence of my conscience I hope for the former. All men are adorned by magnanimity, and not least those who, following the example of your excellency, trained in outside education as well as instructed in divine principles, both hear the apostolic laws loudly exclaiming "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath" and remember the words of Homer

"In fit bounds contain thy mighty mind; Benignity is best." I have thus written not as though giving you information, but to remind one who is much occupied, and I do so in remembrance of the law of the Lord, who says "Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother and then come and offer thy gift." In obedience to these words I have thought it right to salute your excellency by the most pious bishops, and to exhort you to give heed to the tranquillity of the churches. They are indeed overwhelmed by a great storm. XCVII. To the Count Sporacius. I am delighted with your excellency's letter. My pleasure has been increased by the very religious presbyter and monk Iamblichus, who has told me of your warm zeal, your earnestness in religion, and your real goodwill to me. On hearing of this as well as of the efforts of the glorious and pious lord Patricius on my behalf I give you the apostolic blessing which the blessed Onesiphorus obtained from that holy tongue; "The Lord give mercy to your house, for he oft refreshed. me and was not ashamed of my chain;" "The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day." This I pray for you, even though the enemies of the truth inflict on me yet greater miseries as they suppose; for we have been taught to regard men's purpose; but be sure of this, that with true religion death to me is very pleasant, and exile to the ends of the earth. Still we are distressed at the storm of the churches, which the Lord of all is mighty to disperse.

LETTER 98: TO PANCHARIUS

WE are distressed to see the tempest of the churches, but their Master and Ruler ever through mighty billows shows to men His own wisdom and power. He rebukes the winds and brings about a calm as He did when He was in the apostles boat. So though I am distressed, nevertheless because I know this power of our Saviour and am aware of what He arranges for us, even

though adversity befall me. I give thanks and accept it as a gift of God. I have learned the lesson to care little for the present, and to wait for the expected blessings. But it behoves your excellency zealously to defend the apostolic faith, that you may receive from the God of all the recompense of such conduct. XCIX. To Claudianus the Antigrapharius. Although you have not yet met me, I think that your excellency is aware of the open calumnies that have been published against me, for you have often heard me preaching in church, when I have proclaimed the Lord Jesus, and have pointed out the properties alike of the Godhead and of the manhood; for we do not divide one Son into two, but, worshipping the Only-begotten, point out the distinction between flesh and Godhead. This, indeed, is I think confessed even by the Arians, who do not call the flesh Godhead, nor address the Godhead as flesh. Holy Scripture clearly teaches us both natures. Nevertheless, though I have ever thus spoken, certain men are uttering lying words against me. But I rely on my conscience and have as witness to my teaching Him who looks into the hearts. So, as the prophet says, I regard the contrivances of calumny as "a spider's web." I await the great judgment which needs no words, but makes manifest what in the meanwhile is unknown.

I send this by the very religious bishops, thinking it worth while to salute your excellency by them and to remind you of your promise. For attacked as I am I do not cease to go a-hunting, for I know that even the sacred apostles in the midst of the assaults made upon them did not cease to ply the net of the spirit. C. To Alexandra. I have recently received your excellency's letter. For the zeal you have shewn on my behalf I thank you, and pray the God of all to guard the goods you have, to increase them with further boons, and to grant you the enjoyment of future and everlasting blessings. I think that He hears the prayer even of them that are sentenced to relegation, and all the more when it is for the sake of His divine doctrine that they are undergoing apparent disgrace. I am writing by the very religious bishops, and I beg that they may meet with your kindly care. It is for the sake of the faith of the gospel and the peace of the churches that they have undertaken this long journey.

LETTER 101: TO THE DEACONESS CELARINA

The flames of the war against us have been lit up again. After yielding awhile, the enemy of men has once more armed against us men nurtured in lies, who utter open slander against me, and say that I divide our one Lord

Jesus Christ into two sons. I however know the distinction between Godhead and manhood, and confess one Son, God the Word made man. I assert that He is God eternal, who was made man at the end of days, not by the change of the Godhead, but by the assumption of the manhood. It is however needless for me to inform your piety of my sentiments, for you have exact knowledge of what I preach, and how I instruct the ignorant. I beseech you therefore since the workers of lies have poured their insults upon all the godly bishops of the East at once, and overwhelmed the churches with a storm, that your piety will show all possible zeal on behalf of the doctrines of the gospel anti the peace of the churches. On this account the very godly bishops have left the churches shepherded by them, have disregarded the inclemency of winter, and endured the labours of their long journey, that they may calm the tempest which has arisen. I am sure that your godly excellency will regard them as champions of piety and governors of the churches.

LETTER 102: TO BISHOP BASILIUS

There is nothing remarkable in the reproaches that are directed against me being heard in silence by men who do not know me; but that your holiness should not refute the lies of my revilers, or at least should do so only to a certain extent, and with no great heartiness, passes the belief of any one who knows your character and conduct. And I say this not because friendship ought to be preferred to truth, but because the witness of truth is on the side of friendship. Your reverence has very often heard me preaching in church, and, in other assemblies where I have spoken on doctrinal questions; you have listened to what I have said, and I do not know of any occasion on which you have found fault with me for expressing unorthodox opinions. But what is the case at the present moment? Why in the world, my dear friend, do you not utter a word against falsehood, while you allow a friend to be calumniated and the truth to be assailed? If this is because you disregard the helpless and insignificant, remember the plain proclamation of the commandment of the Lord "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones which believe in me, for I say unto you that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.

If however it is the influence of my calumniators which imposes silence upon you, you must listen to the other law which says "Thou shalt not honour the person of the mighty" and "Judge righteous judgment" and "Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil" and "He that shutteth his eyes from

seeing evil and stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood. You may find innumerable similar passages in holy Scripture, which I have thought it needless to collect when writing to a man brought up in the divine oracles, and watering Christian people with his teaching. But this I will say, that we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ, and shall give account of our words and deeds. I, who for every other reason dread this tribunal, now that Iam encompassed with calumny, find my chief consolation in the thought of it.

LETTER 103: TO THE COUNT APOLLONIUS

The very godly bishops have been led to travel to the imperial city by the calumnies uttered against me, and I by their holinesses send your excellency my salutation, and pay the debt of friendship, not indeed to wipe out the cherished obligation, but to make it greater. For in truth the obligations of friendship are increased by their discharge. That I should now be reaping the fruits of calumny is not extraordinary, for, in that I am human, there is nothing that I must not expect. All troubles of this kind must be borne by them that have learned wisdom; one thing only is distressing-that harm should accrue to the soul. CIV. To Flavianus, Bishop of Constantnople. I have already in another letter informed your holiness how openly the calumniators of our teaching are slandering us. Now in like manner by means of the very godly bishops I do the same, having not only these as witnesses of the orthodoxy of my teaching but also countless other men who are my hearers in the churches of the East. Above and beyond all these I have my conscience, and Him who sees my conscience. And I know too how the divine Apostle often appealed to the testimony of his conscience, for "our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience" and again "I say the truth in Christ I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost. Know then, O holy and godly sir, that no one has ever at any time heard us preaching two sons; in fact this doctrine seems to the abominable and impious, for there is one Lord Jesus Christ through whom are all things. Him I acknowledge both as everlasting God and as man in the end of days, and I give Him one worship as only begotten. I have learned however the distinction between flesh and Godhead, for the union is unconfounded.

Thus drawn up as it were in battle array to oppose the madness of Arius and Eunomius, we very easily refute the blasphemy hazarded by them against the only begotten, by applying what was spoken in humility about the Lord, and suitably to His assumed nature, to man, and, on the other hand, what

becomes the divine and signifies the divine nature, to God; not dividing Him into two persons, but teaching that both the former and latter attributes belong to the only begotten, the latter to Him as God the Creator and Lord of all, and the former as made man on our account. For divine Scripture says that He was made man, not by mutation of the Godhead, but by assumption of human nature, of the seed of Abraham. This the divine Apostle openly says in the words "For verily He took not on Him the nature of angels, but He took on Him the seed of Abraham, wherefore in all things it behoved Him to be made like unto His brethren. And again "Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made: he saith not and to seeds, as of many; but as of one, and to thy seed, which is Christ."

These and similar passages have been cut out of divine Scripture by Simon, Basilides, Valentinus, Bardesanes, Marcion, and the man who is named after his maniacal heres. So they style the Master Christ God only, and describe Him as having nothing human about Him, but appearing in imagination and appearance as man to men. On the other hand the Arians and Eunomians say that God the Word assumed only a body, and that He Himself supplied the place of a soul in the body. And Apollinarius describes the Master's body as endued with a soul; but, deriving, I know not whence. the idea of a distinction between soul and intelligence, deprives intelligence of its share in the achieved salvation. The teaching of the divine Apostles lays down on the contrary that a soul both reasonable and intelligent was assumed together with flesh, and the salvation of which the hope is held out to them that believe is complete.

There is yet another gang of heretics who hold differently.Photinus, Marcellus, and Paul of Samosata, assert that our Lord and God was only man. When arguing with these we are tinder the necessity of advancing proofs of the Godhead, and of shewing that the Master Christ is everlasting God. When, on the other band, we are contending with the former faction, which calls our Lord Jesus Christ God only, we are obliged to marshal against them the forces of the divine Scripture, and collect from it evidence of the assumption of the manhood. For a physician must use remedies appropriate to the disease, and suit the medicine to the case. Now, therefore, I beseech your holiness to scatter the slander raised against me, and bridle the tongues now vainly reviling me. For, after the incarnation, I worship one Son of God, one Lord Jesus Christ, and denounce as impious all who hold

otherwise. Deign, sir, to give me too your holy prayers, that, by God's grace, I may reach the other side of the ocean of danger, and drop my anchor in the windless haven of the Lord.

LETTER 105: TO EULOGIUS THE OECONOMUS

We have heard from many sources of your piety's efforts on behalf of true religion. It is therefore right that you should readily succour one who is calumniated for the same cause, and should refute the reviler's lies. You, O godly Sir, know what I hold, and what I teach, and that no one has ever heard of my preaching two sons. Exert, I implore you, in this case too your divine energy, and stop the months of the evil speakers. In conflicts of this kind one must help not only one's friends but even those who have caused us pain. CVI. To Abraham the Oeconomus. By the godly bishops I salute you. I beseech you to give heed to the churches' calm, and to disperse the waves of calumny. "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap," as says the divine Apostle. Without doubt then he who fights for the apostolic doctrines shall reap the fruit of the apostolic blessing and enjoy the Apostles' devotion.

LETTER 107: TO THE PRESBYTER THEODOTUS

The struggles which your piety has undergone on behalf of the apostolic doctrines are not unknown, but are frequently mentioned alike by those who have known them by experience, and by others who have heard of them from these. Continue, my dear sir, your efforts, and fight for the doctrines of the Fathers. For these I too am buffeted in all directions and, while I receive the shock of the great waves, I beseech our Governor either to nod his head and scatter the tempest, or enable the victims of the storm by His grace to play the man. CVIII. To Acacius the Presbyter. True indeed is the promise of David's Psalm, for through him the Spirit of truth gave this promise to them that believe, "Commit thy way unto the Lord, trust also to him; and he shall bring it to pass; and he shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light and thy judgment as the noonday." This we find too has come to pass in the case of your piety. For the great care you bestow upon them that are weeping for their orphanhood, and your struggles on behalf of the apostolic doctrines, are in every one's mouth, and so, as the prophets say, "Hidden things are made manifest." Since I too have beard of your piety's admirable exertions I write to salute you, most godly sir, and beseech you to increase your glory by adding to your labours, and to fight on behalf of the doctrine of the Gospels,

that we may both keep the inheritance of our fathers unimpaired, and bring our Master His talent with good usury.

LETTER 109: TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF ANCYRA

Many are the devices secretly plotted against me, and through me patched up against the faith of apostles. I am however comforted by the sufferings of the Saints, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, and men famous in the churches in the word of Grace; and besides these by the promises of our God and Saviour, for in this present life He has promised us nothing pleasant or delightful, but rather trouble, toil, and peril, and attacks of enemies. "In the world," He says, "ye shall have tribulation," and "if they have persecuted me they will also persecute you," and "If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub how much more shall they call them of his household," and "The time cometh when whosoever killeth you will think he doeth God service," and "Straight is the gate and narrow the way which leadeth unto life," and "When they persecute you in this city flee you into another," and I might quote all similar passages. The divine Apostle too speaks in the same strain. "Yea and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution, but evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived. These words give me the greatest comfort in this distress. As the calumnies uttered against me have probably reached your holiness's ears, I beseech your holiness to give no credence to the lies of my slanderers. I am not aware of ever having taught anyone up to the present time to believe in two sons.

I have been taught to believe in one only begotten, our Lord Jesus Christ, God the Word made man. But I know the distinction between flesh and Godhead, and regard as impious all who divide our one Lord Jesus Christ into two sons, as well as those who, travelling in an opposite direction, call the Godhead and manhood of the master Christ one nature. For these exaggerations stand opposed to one another, while between them lies the way of the doctrines of the Gospel, beautified by the footprints of prophets and apostles, and of all who after them have been conspicuous for the gift of teaching. I was anxious to adduce their opinions, and to point out how they bear witness in favour of my own, but I want more words than a letter allows room for, wherefore I have written summarily what I have been taught about the incarnation of the only begotten; I send my statement to your godly excellency. I bare written not with the object of teaching others, but of

making my defence against the accusations brought against me, and of explaining my sentiments to those who are ignorant of them. After your holiness has read what I have written, if you find it in conformity with the apostolic doctrines, I hope you trill confirm my opinion by what you reply-if, on the contrary, anything that I have said jars with the divine teaching, I request to be told of it by your holiness.

For, though I have spent much time in teaching, I still need one to teach me. "We know," says the divine Apostle "in part," and again he says, "If any man think that he knoweth anything he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know. So I hope that I may hear the truth from your holiness, and that you may also give heed to the calm of the Church, and fight for the divine doctrines. It is for their sakes that the very godly bishops, making light of the difficulties of the journey, and of the winter, have set out for the imperial city, in the endeavour to bring about some end to the storm. Send them I pray you, on their way with your prayers and with your prayers too strengthen me.

LETTER 110: TO DOMNUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH

When I read your letter I remembered the very blessed Susannah, who when she saw the famous villains, and believed that the God of all was present, uttered that remarkable cry, "I am straitened on every side; but nevertheless preferred to fall into the snares of slander rather than to despise the just God. And I, sir, have two alternatives as I have often said, to offend God and wound my conscience, or to fall by man's unjust sentence. The most pious emperor, I think, knows nothing of this. For what hindered him from writing, and ordering the ordination to take place, if in truth it so pleased him? Why in the world do they utter threats without and cause alarm, and yet do not send letters openly ordering it? One of two things must be true; either the very pious emperor is not induced to write, or they are trying to make us break the law and afterwards be indicted by them for illegality. I have before me the example of the blessed Principius, for in that case, when they had given orders by writing, they punished him for obedience. Moreover the letters which I read on the very day of the letter-bearer's arrival are of a contrary tenour.

For one of the holy monks has written to some one that he fins received letters both from the very illustrious guardsman and the very glorious ex-magister stating that the case of the very godly lord bishop Irenaeus will

stand more favourably, and in return for this good will they ask prayers on their behalf. I think therefore that a reply ought to be written to the clergy who have written from the imperial city to the effect that "in obedience to the sentence of the very godly bishops of Phoenicia, and knowing both the zeal and the magnanimity and love for the poor and all the other virtues of the very godly bishop Irenaeus, and in addition to this the orthodoxy of his opinions, I have ordained him. I am not aware that he has ever objected to apply to the holy Virgin the title `Theotokos,' or has ever held any other opinions contrary to the doctrines of the Gospel. As to the question of digamy, I have followed my predecessors; for Alexander of blessed and sacred memory, the ornament of this apostolic see, as well as the very blessed Acacius, bishop of Beroea, ordained Diogenes of blessed memory who was a `digamus;' and similarly the blessed Praylius ordained Domninus of Caesarea who was a `digamus.' We have therefore followed precedent, and the example of men well known and illustrious both for learning and character.

Proclus, bishop of Constantinople, of blessed memory well aware of this and many other instances, both himself accepted the ordination, and wrote in praise and admiration of it. So too did the leading godly bishops of the Pontic Diocese, and all the Palestinians. "No doubt has been raised about the matter, and we hold it wrong to condemn a man illustrious for many and various noble actions." In my opinion it is becoming to write in these terms. If your holiness holds any other view, let what seems good to you be done. I, as they suppose, have undergone one punishment, and am ready by God's help to undergo yet another. Even a third and fourth, if they like, by the stay of God's grace I will endure, praising the Lord. If your holiness thinks right, let us see what answer comes from Palestine, and, after considering more exactly what course is to be taken, let us so write to Constantinople. CXI. To Anatolius the Patrician.

Your excellency will be recompensed for the kindness you have shewn me by the God of all, for all that is done for His sake has its reward. I laugh at all my slanderers. The bodies of them who are most severely scourged do not feel the pain, because the scourged flesh is deadened. Still I lament over them whose unrestrained mouths utter such lies. In what way have the accusers of the godly bishop Ibas been wronged by me that they should utter such calumnies against me? To begin with, I was not even one of the judges, for in obedience to the imperial decree I was living at Cyrus. Moreover, as I have

heard from many, they all along treated my absence as a grievance, for I had arranged for their partaking of the Holy Communion at the Easter feast of salvation, and as they often expressed a wish to meet me, I received them with kindness and advised them as to the proper course to take. But that I may also speak in the defence of the very godly bishop the lord Domnus, what was the proper course for him to take? He was openly attacked; he saw men deposed by a synodical sentence sent into another diocese, and resuming their priestly functions in violation of the laws of the Church; he saw things holy and divine laughed at and turned into ridicule by the enemies of the Church; what was he to do?

When he knew this he handed over the case to others, and not only to the very godly lord Ibas, but also to the holy lord bishop Symeon of Amida, that the metropolitans of the two provinces might hear the charges. What fairness is there in charging the same persons with cruelty and kindness? If we ex-communicate, we run into danger; if we do not excommunicate, we do not escape it. We alone of all the world are objects of attack. Other dioceses are at peace. We alone are exposed to calumniators,-specially I myself, though I took no part in the trial, and am absolutely without responsibility in the matter. Thus have I been forced to write on reading your lordship's letter, and on learning from it how for these reasons a great commotion has been made against me, a man confined to my diocese; a man of peace; one not evendeliberating with the godly bishops of the province. As a matter of fact, although there have been already two episcopal ordinations in our province, I took part in neither. Were I not restrained by the imperial decree I would have gone away, and spent the remainder of my days in some remote spot. I am faint for the plots hatched against me. I am sure those Edessenes never put together their slander against me of their own accord. They were prompted to these attacks on me by their truly truthful neighbours. I thank our Saviour that he has deemed me worthy of the beatitudes of the Gospel, all unworthy though I be. For this reason I have gladly accepted the sentence of relegation. I am ready for exile, and, for the sake of the "hope laid up for me," welcome whatever fate they may inflict. I pray without ceasing for your excellency, and beseech all the saints to share in my petitions.

LETTER 112: TO DOMNUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH

When news was brought to me that the pettiness of the victorious emperor had been put an end to, a reconciliation effected between him and the very

godly bishop, the summons to the council cancelled, and the peace of the churches restored, I hoped that our troubles were a thing of the past. But I am deeply distressed at what I hear from your holiness. It is impossible to hope for any good from this notorious council, unless the merciful Master with His wonted providence shall undo the riotous demons' devices. Even in the great synod, I mean that of Nicaea, the Arian party voted with the orthodox and set their hands to the apostolic exposition. But they did not cease to war against the truth till they had torn asunder the body of the Church. For thirty years the supporters of the apostolic doctrines and they who were infected with the Arian blasphemy continued in communion with one another. But at Antioch, when the latest council was finished, when they had seated the man of God, the great Meletius, on the apostolic throne, and then after a few days ejected him by the imperial authority, Euzoius who was affected with the undoubted plague of Arius was put forward, and straightway the champions of apostolic doctrines seceded and thereafter the division continued.

As I look back on what happened then, and look forward to similar events in the future, my wretched spirit sighs and wails, for I see no prospect of good. The men of the other dioceses do not know the poison which lies in the Twelve Chapters; having regard to the celebrity of the writer of them, they suspect no mischief, and his successor in the see is I think adopting every means to confirm them in a second synod. For supposing he who lately wrote them at command, and anathematized all who did not wish to abide by them, were presiding over an oecumenical council, what could he not effect? And be well assured, my lord, that no one who knows the heresy they contain will brook to accept them, though twice as many men of this sort decree them. Before now, though a larger number have rashly confirmed them, I resisted at Ephesus, and refused to communicate with the writer of them till he had agreed to the points laid down by me, and had harmonized his teaching with them, without making any mention of the Chapters. This your holiness can ascertain without any difficulty if you order the acts of the synod to be investigated; for they are preserved as is customary with the synodical signatures, and there are extant more than fifty synodic acts shewing the accusation of the Twelve Chapters.

For before the journey to Ephesus the blessed John had written to the very godly bishops Eutherius of Tyana, Firmus of Caesarea, and Theodotus of An-

cyra, denouncing these Chapters as Apollinarian, And at Ephesus the exposition and confirmation of these Chapters was the cause of our deposition of the Alexandrian and of the Ephesian. Moreover at Ephesus many synodic letters were written both to the victorious emperor, and to the great officers, about these Chapters; and in like manner to the laity at Constantinople and to the reverend clergy. Moreover when we were summoned to Constantinople we had five discussions in the imperial presence, and afterwards sent the emperor three protestations. And to the very godly bishops of the West, of Milan I mean, of Aquileia, and of Ravenna, we wrote on the same subject, protesting that the Chapters were full of the Apollinarian novelty. Furthermore their writer received a letter from the blessed John by the hands of the blessed Paul, openly blaming them; and in like manner from Acacius of blessed memory. And to give your holiness concise information on the subject I have sent you both the letter of the blessed Acacius, as well as that of the blessed John to the blessed Cyril, in order that you may perceive that though they were writing to him on the subject of agreement they blamed these Chapters.

And the blessed Cyril himself, in his letter to the blessed Acacius plainly indicated the drift of these Chapters in the words "I have written this against his innovations and when peace is made they will be made manifest. The very defence proves the accusation. I have sent you the copy of what he wrote at the time of the agreement, that you may see, my lord, that he made no mention of them, and that those who attend the Council are under an obligation to bring forward what was written at the time of the agreement, and to state plainly what had caused the difference and on what terms the sundered parts were atoned. For they who are summoned to fight for the truth must flinch from no toil, and must invoke the divine aid, that we may preserve unimpaired the heritage bequeathed us by our forefathers. Your holiness must look out for men of like mind among the godly bishops and make them companions of your journey; and likewise of the reverend clergy those who are zealous for the truth, lest betrayed even by them of our own side we are either driven to do something displeasing to the God of all, or, in our abandonment, fall an easy prey to our foes. It is faith in which we have our hopes of salvation, and we must leave no means untried to prevent aught spurious being brought into it, and the apostolic teaching from being corrupted. I write you these words from far away, with sighs and with groans,

and I beseech our common Master to scatter this dark cloud and bestow on us once more the boon of the bright sunshine. CXIII. To Leo, Bishop of Rome.

If Paul, the herald of the truth, the trumpet of the Holy Ghost, hastened to the great Peter in order that he might carry from him the desired solution of difficulties to those at Antioch who were in doubt about living in conformity with the law, much more do we, men insignificant and small, hasten to your apostolic see in order to receive from you a cure for the wounds of the churches. For every reason it is fitting for you to hold the first place, inasmuch as your see is adorned with many privileges. Other cities are indeed adorned by their size, their beauty, and their population; and some which in these respects are lacking are made bright by certain spiritual boons. But on your city the great Provider has bestowed an abundance of good gifts. She is the largest, the most splendid, the most illustrious of the world, and overflows with the multitude of her inhabitants. Besides all this, she has achieved her present sovereignty, and has given her name to her subjects. She is moreover specially adorned by her faith, in due testimony whereof the divine Apostle exclaims "your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world. And if even after receiving the seeds of the message of salvation her boughs were straightway heavy with these admirable fruits, what words can fitly praise the piety now practised in her?

In her keeping too are the tombs that give light to the souls of the faithful, those of our common fathers and teachers of the truth, Peter and Paul. This thrice blessed and divine pair arose in the region of sunrise, and spread their rays in all directions. Now from the region of sunset, where they willingly welcomed the setting of this life, they illuminate the world. They have rendered your see most glorious; this is the crown and completion of your good things; but in these days their God has adorned their throne by setting on it your holiness, emitting, as you do, the rays of orthodoxy. Of this I might give many proofs, but it is enough to mention the zeal which your holiness lately shewed against the ill-famed Manichees, proving thereby your piety's earnest regard for divine things. Your recent writings, too, are enough to indicate your apostolic character. For we have met with what your holiness has written concerning the incarnation of our God and Saviour, and we have marvelled at the exactness of your expressions.

For both writings agreed in setting forth both the everlasting Godhead of the Only-begotten derived from the everlasting Father, and the manhood derived from the seed of Abraham and David; and that the nature assumed was in all things like unto us, being unlike to us in this respect alone, that it remained free from all sin; since it springs not of nature but of free will. The letters moreover contain this, that the Only-begotten Son of God is one, and his God head impassible, immutable, and invariable, like the Father who begat Him and the Holy Spirit; and that on this account He took the passible nature, divine nature being incapable of suffering, that by the suffering of His own flesh He might bestow freedom from suffering on them that have believed in Him. These statements and others of like nature were contained in your letters. We, in admiration of your spiritual wisdom, have lauded the grace of the Holy Ghost uttered through you, and we invoke and beseech and beg and implore your highness to protect the churches of God that are now assailed by the storm.

We had expected that through the instrumentality of the representatives sent by your holiness to Ephesus, the tempest would have been done away, but we have fallen under severer attacks of the storm. For the very righteous bishop of Alexandria was not content with the illegal and very unrighteous deposition of the most holy and godly bishop of Constantinople, the lord Flavianus, nor was his soul satisfied with a similar slaughter of the rest of the bishops, but me too in my absence he stabbed with a pen, without summoning me to the bar, without trying me in my presence, without questioning me as to my opinions about the incarnation of our God and Saviour. Even murderers, tomb-breakers, and adulterers, are not condemned by their judges until they have themselves confirmed by confession the charges brought against them, or have been clearly convicted by the testimony of others. Yet I, nurtured as I have been in the divine laws, have been condemned by him at his pleasure, when all the while I was five and thirty days' march away.

Nor is this all that he has done. Only last year when two fellows tainted with the unsoundness of Apollinarius had gone thither and patched up slanders against me, he stood up in church and anathematized me, and that after I had written to him and explained my opinions to him. I lament the disturbance of the church, and long for peace. Six and twenty years have I ruled the church entrusted to me by the God of all, aided by your prayers.

Never in the time of the blessed Theodotus, the chief bishop of the East; never in the time of his successors in the see of Antioch, did I incur the slightest blame. By the help of God's grace working with me more than a thousand souls did I rescue from the plague of Marcion; many others from the Arian and Eunomian factions did I bring over to our Master Christ. I have done pastoral duty in eight hundred churches, for so many parishes does Cyrus contain; and in them, through your prayers, not even one tare is left, and our flock is delivered from all heresy and error. He who sees all things knows how many stones have been cast at me by evil heretics, how many conflicts in most of the cities of the East I have waged against pagans, against Jews, against every heresy. After all this trial and all this danger I have been condemned without a trial.

But I await the sentence of your apostolic see. I beseech and implore your holiness to succour me in my appeal to your fair and righteous tribunal. Bid me hasten to you, and prove to you that my teaching follows the footprints of the apostles. I have in my possession what I wrote twenty years ago; what I wrote eighteen, fifteen, twelve, years ago; against Arians and Eunomians, against Jews and pagans; against the magi in Persia; on divine Providence; on theology; and on the divine incarnation. By God's grace I have interpreted the writings of the apostles and the oracles of the prophets. From these it is not difficult to ascertain whether I have adhered to the right rule of faith, or have swerved from its straight course. Do not, I implore you, spurn my prayer; regard, I implore you, the insults piled after all my labours on my poor grey head.

Above all, I implore you to tell me whether I ought to put up with this unrighteous deposition or not; for I await your decision. If you bid me abide by the sentence of condemnation, I abide; and henceforth I will trouble no man, and will wait for the righteous tribunal of our God and Saviour. God is my witness, my lord, that I care not for honour and glory. I care only for the scandal that has been caused, in that many of the simpler folk, and especially those whom I have rescued from various heresies, cleaving to the authority of my judges and quite unable to understand the exact truth of the doctrine, will perhaps suppose me guilty of heresy. All the people of the East know that during all the time of my episcopate I have not acquired a house, not a piece of ground, not an obol, not a tomb, but of my own accord have embraced

poverty, after distributing, at the death of my parents, the whole of the property which I inherited from them.

Above all I implore you, O holy sir, beloved of God, to grant me the help of your prayers. I have told you this by the reverend and godly presbyters Hypatius and Abramius chorepiscopi and by Alypius exarch of our monks. I would hasten to you myself were I not kept back by the chains of the imperial order, which imprison me as they do others. Treat my messengers, I beseech you, as a father might his sons; give them kindly and unbiassed audience; deign to grant your protection to my old age, slandered as it is and attacked in vain. Above all, regard, to the utmost of your power, the faith conspired against; preserve for the churches the inheritance of their fathers unimpaired. So will your holiness receive the recompense due for such deeds from the great Giver of all good gifts. CXIII. (A). From Pope Leo to Theodoret.

To our much beloved brother Theodoretus, bishop, Leo, bishop. CXIV. To Andiberis. The reverend presbyter Peter is distinguished not only by his priestly rank, but also by his wise practice in medicine. During his long residence with us he has won all hearts by his conciliatory manners. On learning of my departure he has now determined to leave Cyrus; I therefore commend him to your excellency, and hope that,, fully capable as he is of doing good service to the city,-for when he lived at Alexandria he practised the same profession,-he will meet with kindness at your hands. CXV. To Apella. When I undertook the direction of the see of Cyrus, I procured for it from all directions men who practised necessary arts, and besides this induced skilful physicians to live there. Of these one is the reverend presbyter Peter, who practises his profession with wisdom, and adorns it by his character. On my departure, several have left the city and Peter also has determined to leave. Under these circumstances I beseech your excellency to give him your kind care. He is well able to attend the sick and to wage war against their ailments.

CXVI. To the Presbyter Renatus.

We have heard of the warm and righteous zeal of your holiness, and the just and lawful boldness of speech which you employed in condemning the audacious proceedings at Ephesus. Nor is this known to us alone, but the fame of your orthodoxy has gone out into all lands, and all men are celebrating your righteousness, your zeal, your boldness, and your denunciation of my unfair

treatment. And your holiness took this course after seeing one massacre. If you had seen the others which took place after your departure you would perhaps have emulated the fervour of the famous Phinehas. I am one of those who was subsequently condemned, being forbidden by the imperial order to attend the council, and sentenced in my absence. Six and twenty years have I been a bishop; innumerable labours have I undergone; I have struggled hard for the truth; I have freed tens of thousands of heretics from their errors and brought them to the Saviour; and now they have stripped me of my priesthood; they are exiling me from the city. For my old age, for my hairs grown gray in the truth, they have no respect. Wherefore, I beseech your sanctity, persuade the very sacred and holy archbishop to bid me hasten to your council. For that holy see has precedence over all churches in the world, for many reasons; and above all for this, that it is free from all taint of heresy, and that no bishop of heterodox opinion has ever sat upon its throne, but it has kept the grace of the apostles undefiled. Confident in your justice I shall accept your decisions, whatever they may be, and shall claim to be judged by my writings. More than thirty books have I written against Arius and Eunomius, against Marcion, against Macedonius, against the heathen and against Jews; I have interpreted the holy Scriptures, and any one who likes may easily learn that I have followed in the steps of the apostles, proclaiming the one Son, one Father, and one Holy Ghost; one Godhead of the Trinity, one sovereignty, one power, eternity, immutability, impassibility, one will; that the Godhead of the Lord Jesus Christ was perfect, perfect the manhood taken for our salvation and for our sakes delivered unto death.

I do not know one Son of man and another Son of God, but one and the same, Son of God and Godbegotten of God, and Son of man, through the form of the servant, of the seed of Abraham and David. These and like doctrines I continue to teach; these also I have found in the writings of the most holy and sacred lord archbishop Leo, and I praise the Lord of all that I agree with his apostolic doctrines. Receive, I beseech you, my supplication, and do not overlook the wrongs under which I suffer. On this account I have sent to your holiness the godly presbyters Hypatius and Abramius, chorepiscopi, and Alypius exarch of our monks, adorned as they are by good lives, and able by word of mouth to give you exact information as to the affairs of my insignificant self.

LETTER 117: TO THE BISHOP FLORENTIUS

Truly the grace of our God and Saviour has not yet abandoned the human race, but has left us a seed in your holiness "lest we should become as Sodom, and be made like unto Gomorrah." This seed suffers us not altogether to faint, but charges us to wait for the passing away of the dire storm; this renders us hopeful. We have therefore sent to your holiness. the very godly presbyters Hypatius and Abramius, chorepiscopi, and Alypius, exarch of our monks, that you may put an end to the disaster which has befallen the churches of the East; that in the first place you may confirm the faith handed down to us from the first by the holy Apostles, may proscribe the heresy that has started up, and openly convict the men who have the hardihood to debase the preaching of the Oeconomy; and secondly may fight as champion of them who are being attacked for the truth's sake. For it is in the cause of the apostolic Faith, most holy, that we have undergone that unrighteous massacre, because we refused to abandon the truth of the Gospel doctrines. Now it behoves your holiness not to overlook the unjust persecution of men of like mind with yourself, but by your just help to put a stop to injustice, and teach the assailants of the truth that men who strive to act unscrupulously at their own good pleasure cannot be allowed to work out their ends.

LETTER 118: TO THE ARCHDEACON OF ROME

A terrible storm has attacked our churches, but the adherents of the apostolic faith have in your holiness a safe and quiet haven. Not only do you champion the cause of the doctrines of the Gospel, but you utterly detest the wrong done to me. I was living far away at a distance of thirty-five days' journey, when I was condemned at their good pleasure by those most righteous judges. Teaching which has obtained in the churches from the coming of God our Saviour till this day they have abandoned. They have introduced a novel and bastard doctrine, diametrically contrary to the tradition of the apostles, and are openly at war with them that hold to the ancient instruction. Deign, then, most godly sir, to kindle the zeal of the very sacred and holy archbishop, that the churches of the East too may enjoy your kindly care. Above all fight in behalf of the faith delivered from the beginning by the holy apostles; preserve the heritage of our fathers unimpaired, and scatter the mist that oppresses us. Give us instead of moonless night clear sunshine, and condemn the wickedness of the massacre unrighteously wrought against

us. It is becoming to your holiness to add yet this act of zeal to your other good deeds.

LETTER 119: TO ANATOLIUS THE PATRICIAN

Your excellency has been fully informed as to the acts of the most righteous judges at Ephesus, for their sound has gone out into all lands and their most just judgment to the ends of the world. What church has not felt the storm that has been raised by it? The one side wronged, the other were wronged, but they who neither suffered nor did the wrong share the distress of the wronged, and lament over them that so savagely and against all laws human and divine massacred their own members. Even house breakers caught in the very act are first tried and then punished by their judges; even murderers, violators of sepulchres, and adulterers, are first haled before the bench, and their accusers ordered to make their indictment, and the motive of the witnesses is tested to see that they are not giving evidence to curry favour with the prosecutors, or are prejudiced against the defendants; and after this they are bidden to make their defence to the charges brought against them. This is done twice, thrice; sometimes even four times; and then, and not till then, after the truth has been sought in the words of both accuser and accused, the sentence is given. As to how these men judged in the case of the rest I will say nothing, lest I may seem a meddler in what does not concern me. I am forced to speak on behalf of myself alone, for the unrighteous deed of violence compels me. The imperial order kept me at home, and prevented me from travelling beyond the bounds of the city placed under my pastoral care. The decision of the synod went against me, and a man was condemned who was five and thirty days' journey away.

Now the God of all said to the patriarch Abraham about Sodom and Gomorrah: "Because the cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is very great and because their sin is very grievous; I will go down now and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it which is come unto me; and if not, I will know." He knew quite well the wickedness of those men, and nevertheless He said, "I will go down and see," so teaching us to wait for the proof of facts. But these men never summoned me to trial, they never heard the sound of my voice, they refused to hear from me a statement of my opinions, and handed me over, as a victim to be slaughtered, to the rage of the enemies of the truth. I, however, welcome my rest, and especially so at the present time, when the apostolic decrees have been by many destroyed, and the new

heresy strengthened. But lest any one who does not know me should believe that the slanders uttered against me are true, and should be scandalized at the idea of my holding opinions other than those of the gospel, I implore your excellency to ask as a favour from the victorious sovereign that I may go to the West, and there plead my cause before the very godly and holy bishops; and if I be found transgressing in the least degree the rule of the faith, that I may be plunged into the midst of the deep sea. If he will not grant you this request, let him at least command me to inhabit my monastery, which is a hundred and twenty miles away from Cyrus, seventy-five from Antioch. and lies three miles away from Apamea.

Of these petitions, if possible, I ask the former; if not at least I implore that, through your excellency's interposition, the second may be granted me. I shall ever carry the memory of your kindness in my heart and on my lips, supplicating the Lord of hosts to requite your excellency as well with present as with future blessings. I am compelled to write to you in these terms because I have heard that certain persons are endeavouring to compass my removal from this place. CXX. To Lupicius. Even the enemies of the truth must, I think, be indignant at the injustice and illegality of the violence done us. It is only reasonable that the nurslings of the truth, at whose head stands your excellency, should be still more distressed at this new and surprising tragedy. It is only right that those who are the more grieved should show the more earnestness and zeal to counteract the deeds impiously and illegally done; and restore to its previous concord the Church's body now in peril of being torn asunder. Wherefore I beseech your excellency to reckon the present crisis an opportunity for spiritual reciprocity; to give on your side earnestness on behalf of the truth, and to receive from our generous Master alike His kindly care in this present life and in the life to come the kingdom of heaven.

LETTER 121: TO ANATOLIUS THE PATRICIAN

The Lord who overlooks and governs all things has shewn both the apostolic truth of my doctrines, and the falsehood of the slander laid at my door. For the writings sent from the right godly and holy lord Leo, archbishop of Great Rome, to Flavianus of holy memory and to the rest assembled at Ephesus, are entirely in harmony with what I myself have written and have always preached in church. So soon therefore as I had read them, I praised the loving-kindness of the Lord, in that He had not wholly forsaken the

churches, but had protected the spark of orthodoxy; or-shall I not rather say?-not a spark, but a very great torch, such as might enkindle and enlighten the world; for he has truly, in his writings, observed the apostolic stamp, and in them we have found at once what has been delivered by the holy and blessed prophets and apostles, and their successors in the preaching of the Gospel, and moreover the holy Fathers assembled at Nicaea. By these I confess that I abide, and indict all who hold other doctrines as guilty of impiety. Side by side with these writings of mine I have set one of the letters sent by him to Ephesus, to the end that when your excellency reads them you may remember the words which I have often spoken in church, may recognise the harmony of the doctrines, and may bate the utterers of the lie as well as those who have set up their new heresy in opposition to the doctrines of the Apostle.

LETTER 122: TO URANIUS BISHOP OF EMESA

I have been greatly delighted that we who correspond in character should have corresponded by letter. But I do not quite see what you mean by saying "Are not these my words?" If it were said only for the sake of salutation, I am not annoyed at it; but if it is intended to remind me of the advice which recommended silence, and of the so-called oeconomy, I am very much obliged, but I do not accept the suggestion. For the divine Apostle charges us to take quite the opposite course. "Be instant in season and out of season." And the Lord says to this very spokesman, "Be not afraid, but speak" and to Isaiah, "Cry aloud, spare not" and to Moses "Go down, charge the people" and to Ezekiel "I have made thee a watchman unto the house of Israel," and it shall be "if thou warn not the wicked," and the like: for I think it needless to write at length to one who knows. Not only therefore are we not distressed at having spoken freely, but we even rejoice and are glad, and laud Him who has thought us worthy of these sufferings; aye and call on my friends to encounter the same perils.

If they know that we do not keep the apostolic rule of the faith, but swerve to the right hand or the left, let them hate us; let them join the opposite side; let them be ranked with them that are at war with us.But if they bear witness to our holding the right teaching of the gospel message, we hail them with the cry, "Do you too `stand having your loins girt about with truth,...and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace,'" and so on, for it is said that virtue comprises not only temperance, righteousness,

and prudence, but also courage, and that by means of courage the rest of its component parts are preserved. For righteousness needs the alliance of courage in its war against wrong; temperance vanquishes intemperance by the aid of courage. And for this reason the God of all said to the prophet "The just shall live by his faith, and if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him." Shrinking he calls cowardice. Hold fast then, my dear friend, to the apostolic doctrines, for "He that shall come will come, and will not tarry," and "He shall render to every man according to his deeds," for "the fashion of this world passeth away," and the truth shall be made manifest.

LETTER 123: TO THE SAME

Your letter was a long one, and a pleasant one, and it shews how warm and genuine is your affection. So delighted am I with it that I am not at all sorry for having erroneously conjectured the meaning of the beginning of your former one. For my misapprehension of the intention of your letter has disclosed your brotherly love, made plain the sincerity of your faith, and shewn your zeal for the true religion. We have indeed shared between us the words and the trials of the prophet; your holiness has used the words; I am buffeted by the hurricane and billows, and against the towers of the ship I exclaim in his words "They that observe lying vanities forsake their own mercy." Perhaps He who is Jonah's Lord and mine will grant that I too may rise and be released from the monster. But if the surge continue to boil I trust that even thus I shall enjoy the divine protection, and learn by my own experience how His strength is "made perfect in weakness," for He has measured the peril by my infirmity. The divine prophet whom I have mentioned was flung into the sea by his shipmates one and all, but I am granted the consolation of your holiness, and of other godly men. For them and for your godliness I pray that the blessing bestowed upon the excellent Onesiphorus may be yours, for you have not blushed at my gibes; nay rather you have shared in my afflictions for the faith's sake.

And one thing which I wish you to know is that, though other godly bishops have sent me their bounty, I have declined to receive it;-not from any want of respect to the senders, God forbid;-but because hitherto food convenient for me has been provided by Him Who gives it even to the ravens without stint. In the case of your reverence I have acted differently, for really the warmth of your affection has overcome what has hitherto been my fixed principle. For be well assured, thy godly friend, that ever since friendship

grew up between us the fire of our love has been kindled to greater heat. CXXIV. To the Learned Maranas. I too am distressed at the calamities of the Church, and wail over the storm that is raging; for myself I am glad to be quit of agitation, and to be enjoying a calm which is delightful to me. As to the men whom your learning states to be still carrying on their iniquities, the day is not far distant when they will pay the penalty of their present rash lawlessness. All things are governed by the Lord of all with weight and rule, and whenever any fall away into unbounded iniquity His long suffering comes to an end, and He then acts as Judge and appoints punishment. Foreseeing this I pray that they may cease from their license that I may not be compelled to weep once more for them as I behold them undergoing chastisement.

Your excellency I can never forget, and I beg our common Master to fill your house with blessing. CXXV. To Aphthonius, Theodoritus, Nonnus, Scylacius, Apthonius, Joannes, Magistrates of the Zeugmatensis. I know the strength and stability of your faith, and have been filled with the greatest possible delight, for, since we worshippers of the eternal Trinity constitute one body, it is only natural that together with the members that are sound the rest of the members should rejoice. So says the divine Apostle; "Whether one member be honoured all the members rejoice with it. I therefore rejoice with you in your struggles on behalf of the apostolic doctrines and your following of the famous Naboth in more excellent things. Naboth for his vineyard's sake suffered most unrighteous slaughter, because he would not give up the heritage of his fathers. You are fighting not for vineyards, but for divine doctrines, and reject this new-fangled and spurious heresy as blackening the brightness of the teaching of the gospel; you do not suffer the number of the blessed Trinity to be diminished or increased. For it is diminished by those who ascribe the passion of the only begotten to the Godhead; it is increased by those who have the audacity to introduce a second son. You believe in one only begotten, as you do in one Father and in one Holy Ghost. In the only begotten made flesh you behold the assumed nature which He took from us and offered on our behalf. The denial of this nature puts our salvation far from us;

for if the Godhead of the only begotten is impassible, as the nature of the Trinity is impassible, and we refuse to acknowledge that which is by nature adapted to suffer, then the preaching of a passion which never happened is

idle and vain. For if that which suffers has no existence how could there be a passion? We declare that the divine nature is impassible;-a doctrine confessed by our opponents as well as by ourselves. How then could there be a passion when there is no subject capable of suffering? The great mystery of the oeconomy will appear an appearance, a mere seeming instead of the reality. This is the fable started by Valentinus, Bardesanes, Marcion and Manes. But the teaching handed down to the churches from the beginning recognises, even after the incarnation, one Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and confesses the same to be everlasting God, and man made at the end of days; made man not by the mutation of the Godhead but by the assumption of the manhood. For suppose the divine nature to have undergone mutation into the human nature, then it did not remain what it was; and if it is not what it was, they who have these objects of worship are false in calling Him God. We, on the contrary, recognise the only begotten Son of God to be immutable as God, and Son of the very God. For we have learnt from the divine Scripture that being in the form of God He took the form of the servant;

and took on Him the seed of Abraham, not was changed into Abraham's seed; and shared just as we do both in flesh and blood and in a soul immortal and immaculate. Preserving these for our sinful bodies He offered His sinless body and for our souls His soul free from all stain. It is for this reason that we have the hope of the common resurrection for the race will assuredly share with its first fruits, and as we have shared with Adam in his death, so too with Christ our Saviour shall we be sharers in His life. This the divine Apostle has plainly taught us, for "now" he says "is Christ risen from the dead and become the first fruits of them that slept. For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive."

I write thus not to inform you but to remind you. I have tried to be brief, but I fear I have transgressed the limits of a letter. I was however urged to write by the very reverend and godly presbyter and archimandrite Mecimas, who, in obedience to the law of love, has undertaken so long a journey, told us of your excellency's zeal, and begged us to inflame it by a letter. I have therefore granted his supplication, and written my letter, and I implore the Lord of all to keep you safe in the faith and make stronger than him who sifts us. CXXVI. To the Bishop Sabinianus. I praised your holiness on your quitting the envied see. Once it was venerable; now it is ridiculous, for we

have made it a thing to be bought and sold. I was astounded to hear of your having appealed to the men who ejected you. You ought to have done just the contrary, and, on being invited to grasp the tiller, to have declined to do so, on the ground that your shipmates had become your foes. Are you not aware, most godly sir, what our Saviour, through His sacred apostles, taught us to preach? Do you not know what the heirs of the apostolic doctrines have just now laid down as objects of worship? For who of the old teachers from the time when the message was first preached down to the period of the darkness that now obtains, ever listened to any one preaching one nature of flesh and Godhead or dared at any time to call the nature of the only begotten passible? These doctrines in our day are by some men openly and boldly uttered, while among others their utterance is overlooked, and by silence men become participators in the blasphemy. What then, may well be asked, is the proper course to be taken by, those who abominate such doctrines? They have, I should reply, two alternatives before them; they may either come to close quarters, and prove the spuriousness of the doctrines, or they may decline communion with their opponents as openly impious.

I, indeed, have received the wrong done me as a divine blessing. I do not mean that I have thanked them that have wronged me; how could I thank fratricides, and men who have become followers of Cain? But I praise my Master for thinking me worthy of the lot of them that suffer wrong, for separating me from wrong-doers and blasphemers, and for giving me my most delightful rest. CXXVII. To Jobius, Presbyter and Archimandrite. The patriarch Abraham won a victory in his old age. The great Moses was now an old man when, so long as he stretched out his hands in prayer, he vanquished Amalek. The divine Samuel was an old man when he put the aliens to flight. These are emulated by your venerable old age. In our wars for true religion's sake you are playing the man, and championing the cause of the gospel doctrines, and putting young men in the shade by the vigour of your spirit.

I rejoice to hear it, and am glad, and long to embrace your right venerable gray hairs. This I cannot do, for your reverence is kept at home by your years, and I am kept in durance here by the imperial decree. But I cheat my love by this letter, and give your piety this most loving embrace. I call upon you in your prayers to help the churches now whelmed in the storm, and to win for me the divine support, assailed as I am for the sake of the doctrines of the gospel, and standing sorely in need of help from above. CXXVIII. To

Candidus, Presbyter and Archimandrite. I am afraid that the vigour of your godly soul has been overcome by old age, and that you do not keep your hands stretched out as usual. So Amalek is trying to win. May there be some to succour your weakness, as once of old Ur and Aaron supported the hands of the law-giver, that you may overthrow Amalek and save Israel. These are days when we specially need more earnest prayers, when Gentiles and Jews and every heresy are at peace, and the Church alone is beaten by the storm and surrounded by the boisterous billows.

We indeed specially need the aid of your prayers, for those whom we reckoned to be fighting on our side are fighting on that of our foes. CXXIX. To Magnus Antoninus the Presbyter. Sailors at night are cheered by the sight of the harbour lights, and so are they who are in peril for the sake of the apostolic faith by the zeal of them that share the faith. We have great comfort in what we hear of your godliness's efforts on behalf of the divine doctrines, for this mind has been given you by the Giver of all good gifts and for the safe keeping of these doctrines you undergo every toil. Now I, comforted by your zeal, make an insignificant return, calling on you to persevere in your divine labours, to despise your adversaries as an easy prey, (for what is weaker than they who are destitute of the truth?) and to trust in Him who said "I will not fail thee nor forsake thee," and "Lo I am with you alway even unto the end of the world." Help me too with your prayers that I may confidently say "The Lord is on my side; I will not fear: what can man do unto me?"

LETTER 130: TO BISHOP TIMOTHEUS

Not without purpose does the supreme Ruler allow the spirits that are against us to agitate the waves of impiety. He does so that He may try the courage of the sailors, and, while He exhibits some men's manliness, convicts others of cowardice, stripping the mask from the faces of some who put on an appearance of piety, and proclaiming others as foremost fighters in the ranks of the truth. We have seen an instance of this in the present time. The storm rose high; some shewed their secret impiety; some abandoned the truth which they were holding, went over to the phalanx of our foes, and now, with them, are smiting the very men whom they used to call their chiefs. The witnesses of these things detest the enemy and pity the deserters, but are afraid to give aid to the victims of the attack upon the apostolic doctrines. Nay, suppose the traitors to urge them with greater insistency, they will perhaps themselves pass over to the side of the assailants, will give no quarter to their

fellow-believers, but will drive against them their barbs side by side with the very men whom they accuse. They will act thus though they have been taught by the divine Scripture that a wrong done to one's neighbour incurs punishment, while the suffering of injustice entails great and lasting rewards.

Your own piety, your zeal for the faith, and your good will to myself, have been proved by this agitation. Twice you have written me a letter in contempt of all that might deter you, and have thus shewn your brotherly affection. You have also indicated the conflict you are sustaining on behalf of the apostolic doctrines. You ask me to tell you by letter what we ought to think and preach concerning the passion of salvation. I have received your request with delight, and, not indeed to give you information but only to remind one who is beloved of God, will proceed to tell you what I have learnt from the divine Scripture and from the Fathers who have interpreted it. Know then, most godly sir, that before all things it is necessary to observe the distinction of terms, and, in addition to this, the cause of the divine incarnation. Once let these be made clear, and there will be no ambiguity left about the passion. We will therefore first, to those who endeavour to contradict us, put this enquiry. Which of the names given to the only begotten Son of God are anterior to the incarnation, and which posterior, or rather, connected with the operation of the oeconomy? They will reply that the terms anterior are, "God the Word," "only begotten Son," "Almighty," and "Lord of all creation"; and that the names "Jesus Christ" belong to the incarnation. For, after the incarnation, God the Word, the only begotten Son of God is called Jesus Christ; for "Behold" He says "unto you is born this day Christ the Lord" and because others had been called christs, priests, kings, and prophets, lest any one should suppose Him to be like unto them, the angels conjoined the title Lord with that of Christ, in order to prove the supreme dignity of Him that was born. And, again, Gabriel says to the blessed Virgin, "Behold thou shall conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son and shalt call His name Jesus" "for He shall save His people from their sins. Before the incarnation, however, He was never called either Christ or Jesus.

For truly the divine Prophets, in their predictions of things to come, used the words, just as they prophesied about the birth, the cross, and the passion, when the events had not yet come to pass. Nevertheless, even after the incarnation He is called God the Word, Lord, Almighty, only begotten Son,Maker, and Creator. For He was not made man by mutation, but, re-

maining just what He was, assumed what we are, for "Being in the form of God," to use the words of the divine Apostle "He took the form of a servant. On this account, therefore, even after the incarnation, He is called also by the titles which are anterior to the incarnation, since His nature is invariable and immutable. But when relating the passion the divine Scripture nowhere uses the term God, since that is the name of the absolute nature. No one on hearing the words "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" and similar expressions, would suppose that the flesh existed before the ages, or is of one substance with the God of the universe, or was Creator of the world. Every one knows that these terms are proper to the Godhead. Nor would any one on reading the genealogy of St. Matthew suppose that David and Abraham according to nature were forefathers of God, for it is the assumed nature which is derived from them.

Since then these points are plain and indubitable even among extreme heretics, and we acknowledge both the nature which is before the ages, and that which is of recent time, so are we bound to recognise at once the passibility of the flesh, and the impassibility of the Godhead, not dividing the union nor separating the only begotten into two persons, but contemplating the properties of the natures in the one Son. In the case of soul and body, which are of natures contemporary and naturally united, we are accustomed to make this distinction, describing the soul as simple, reasonable, and immortal, but the body as complex, passible, and mortal. We do not divide the union, nor cut one man in two. Far rather, then, in the case of the Godhead, begotten of the Father before the ages, and of the manhood assumed of David's seed, is it becoming to adopt a similar course, and distinctly to recognise the everlasting, eternal, simple, uncircumscribed, immortal, and invariable character of the one nature, and the recent, complex, circumscribed, and fluctuating nature of the other. We acknowledge the flesh to be now immortal and incorruptible, although before the resurrection it was susceptible of death and of passion; for how otherwise was it nailed to the tree, and committed to the tomb?

And though we recognise the distinction of the natures, we are bound to worship one Son, and to acknowledge the same as Son of God and Son of man, form of God, and form of a servant, Son of David, and Lord of David, seed of Abraham, and creator of Abraham. The union causes the names to be common, but the community of names does not confound the natures.

With them that are right-minded some names are plainly appropriate as to God, and others as to man; and in this way both the passible and the impassible are properly used of the Lord Christ, for in His humanity He suffered, while as God He remained impassible. If, according to the argument of the impious, it was in the Godhead that He suffered, then, I apprehend, the assumption of the flesh, was supererogatory; for suppose the divine nature to have been capable of undergoing passion, then He did not need the passible manhood. But grant that, as even their own argument contends, the Godhead was impassible, and the passion was real, let them beware of denying that which suffered, lest they deny with it the reality of the passion; for if that which suffers does not exist, then the passion is unreal. Now for any one who likes to open the quaternion of the sacred evangelists, it is easy to perceive that the divine Scripture distinctly proclaims the passion of the body, and to learn from them how Joseph of Arimathaea came to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus;

how Pilate ordered the body of Jesus to be delivered, how Joseph took down the body of Jesus from the tree and wrapped the body of Jesus in the linen cloth, and laid it in the new tomb. All this is described by the four evangelists with frequent mention of the body. But if our opponents adduce the words of the angel to Mary and her companions, "Come where the Lord lay," let them be referred to the passage in the Acts which states that devout men "carried Stephen to his burial" and observe that it was not the soul, but the body, of the victorious Stephen, to which the customary rites were paid. And to this very day, when we approach the shrines of the victorious martyrs, we commonly enquire what is the name of him who is buried in the grave, and those who are acquainted with the facts reply peradventure"Julian the martyr," or "Romanus," or, "Timotheus."

Very often it is not entire bodies that are buried, but only very small remains, yet nevertheless we speak of the body by the name that belongs to the whole man. It was in this sense that the angel called the body of the Lord,"Lord," because it was the body of the Lord of the universe. Moreover the Lord Himself promised to give on behalf of the life of the world, not His invisible nature, but His body. "For," He says, "the bread that I will give is my flesh which I will give for the life of the world," and when He took the symbol of divine mysteries, He said,"This is my body which is given for you." Or according to the version of the Apostle, "broken." In no place where He

spoke of the passion did He mention the impossible Godhead. It is therefore before all things necessary that the question should be put to those who are endeavouring to contradict us whether they confess that the perfect manhood was assumed by God the Word, and assert the union to have been made without confusion. Once let these points be admitted, and the rest will follow in due course, and the passion will be attributed to the passible nature. I have now summed up these heads and have exceeded the limits of my letter. I have sent also what I lately wrote at the suggestion of a very godly and holy man of God, the lord- in the form of a concise instruction designed to teach the truth of the apostolic doctrines. Should I find a good copyist, I will also send your holiness what I have written in the form of a dialogue, extending the argument, and strengthening my positions, by the teaching of the Fathers. I have moreover now sent a few statements of the ancient teachers, sufficient to shew the drift of their instruction. Give me in return, most godly sir, the succour of your prayers, that I may pass through the terrible tempest and reach the quiet haven of the Saviour.

LETTER 131: TO LONGINUS, ARCHIMANDRITE OF DOLICHE

You have shewn alike your zeal for the true religion, and your love for your neighbour,both of which are at the present time clearly connected, for it is for the sake of the apostolic decrees that I am being attacked, because I refuse to give up the heritage of my fathers, and prefer to undergo any suffering to looking lightly on the robbery of one tittle from the faith of the Gospel. You have accepted fellowship in my sufferings, not only by comforting me by means of your letter, but further by sending to me the very honourable and pious Matthew and Isaac. You shall hear, I am well assured. from the lips of the righteous Lord, "I was in prison, and ye visited me." We are small and of no account, and burdened by a great load of sins, but the Lord is bountiful and generous. He remembers the small rather than the great, and says, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these" "which believe in me" "ye have done it unto me." I pray you in that yon are conspicuous for right doctrine, and shine by worthiness of life, and therefore have great boldness before God, help me in your prayers, that I may be able "to stand," to use the words of the Apostle, "against the wiles of error," escape the sins of the destroyer, and stand, though with little boldness, in the day of the appearing before the righteous Judge.

LETTER 132: TO IBAS, BISHOP OF EDESSA

The Lord has taught them that suffer wrong not to be east down, but to rejoice, and to derive consolation from the examples of old. For from the period of the first men down to our own days we find instances of men who have been zealous in the worship of the God of all, and yet have been wronged by those with whom their lot was cast, and have fallen into many and grievous troubles. Of these I would have gone through the entire list, had I not been writing to one of accurate knowledge of the divine Scriptures. But since you, O beloved of God, have been nurtured from your boyhood in tim divine oracles, I have thought it needless so to do. I only ask you to cast your eyes on them, and to look on all the kind-hearted clergy that have done wrong, with sorrow; on all that look lightly on wrong doing, with pity; and to be sorrowful for the disquiet of the Church. I ask you to rejoice and be glad that I am a sharer in suffering for the sake of true religion, and to praise without ceasing Him who has imposed this lot on me. As for honour and comfort and the dignity of sees and wretched reputation, let us yield them to the murderers.

Let us cleave only to the doctrines of the gospel, and with them, if need be, endure any extremity of pain, and choose honourable penury rather than wealth with its many cares. I am not writing ill these terms in order to give you exhortation, for I know the courage of your holiness in trouble. My object is to make my own mind known to your piety, and to inform you that you have on your side comrades who are gladly incurring peril for the truth's sake. I have been anxious for some time to write thus to you, but I have been unable to find anyone to convey my letter. Now I have met with the very honourable and pious presbyter Ozeas, a man who is at once engaged in the battle for truth and attached to your piety. So I write and salute your holiness, and beg you to give me both the prop of your prayers and the comfort of a letter from you.

LETTER 133: TO JOHN, BISHOP OF GERMANICIA

I have always known, sir, that you are not unmindful of our friendship. And it has ever been my wish and prayer that your piety should give heed to exact truth, and shun the communion of traitors to true religion, ascribing to the Supreme Ruler His care on our behalf. For indeed, while I have been silent and inactive, He has put an end to our very keen and terrible sufferings, and

has replaced the dire tempest by this bright calm. And now that the loving-kindness of the Lord has granted us this blessing, I find the quiet of my retreat indeed delightful, for I feel the necessity of persuading those who have been led away by the slanders launched against me, and of both convincing them of the truth of the teaching of the gospels, and refuting the attack of falsehood. When once this refutation is finished, and the victory of the truth is secured, it is my purpose to quit public life, and withdraw to the rest that I so greatly long for. As to the foes of the truth I cry with the prophet, "Their memorial is perished with a noise, but the Lord shall endure for ever." As to ourselves, I sing with the Psalmist, "He sent from above, He took me, He drew me out of many waters, He delivered me from my strong enemy."

This letter is in reply to two received from your holiness, one conveyed by Anastasius, the presbyter of Beroea, and one by the standard-bearer Theodotus. In your last letter you mention another, but this has not been delivered. As to my journey thither I can say nothing till I know what orders are given concerning me by the most pious emperor. His letter has not yet arrived. CXXXIV. To Theoctistus, Bishop of Beroea. Our Saviour, Lawgiver, and Lord, was once asked, "What is the first commandment?" His reply was "Thou shall love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind." And He added "This is the first commandment: and the second is like unto it, Thou shall love the neighbour as thyself." Then He said further "On these two commandments bang all the law and the prophets." He then who keeps these, according to the definition of the Lord, plainly fulfils the Law; and he who transgresses them is guilty of transgressing the whole Law. Let us then examine, before the exact and righteous tribunal of our conscience, whether we have fulfilled the divine commandments. Now the first is kept by him who guards the faith given by God in its integrity, who abominates its assailants as enemies of the truth and hates heartily all those who hate the beloved; and the second by him who most highly esteems the care of his neighbour and who, not only in prosperity but also in apparent misfortunes, observes the laws of friendship. They, on the other hand, who look after their own safety, as they suppose, who on its account make little of the laws of friendship and take no heed of their friends when assaulted and attacked, are reckoned to belong to the number of the wicked and of them that are without. The Lord of all requires better things at the hands of His disciples."Love" He says "your enemies, for if ye love them

which love you, what reward have ye? for the sinners and the publicans do this" I, however, have not received even such kindness as publicans receive. Publicans, do I say? I have not even received the consolation given to murderers and wizards in their dungeons.

If every one had imitated this cruelty, nothing else would have been left then for me in my life time but to be wasted by want, and, at my death, instead of being committed to a tomb, to be made meat for dogs and wild beasts. But I have found support in those who care nought for this present life, but await the enjoyment of everlasting blessings, and these furnish me with manifold consolation. But the loving Lord "caused judgment to be heard from heaven; the earth feared and was still, when God arose to judgment. But the wicked shall perish. The falsehood of the new heresy has been proscribed, and the truth of the divine Gospels is publicly proclaimed. I for my part exclaim with the blessed David, "Blessed be the Lord God whet only doeth wondrous things, and blessed be His glorious name: and let the whole earth be filled with His glory; amen and amen."

LETTER 135: TO BISHOP ROMULUS

You have reminded me of the ancient story, and remarked how the King of the Syrians, bethinking him of the loving kindness of the kings of lsrael, assumed the form of a suppliant and failed not to obtain his petition. Remember therefore, sir, the divine wrath. God delivered Ahab to utter destruction for using mercy, and delivered his sentence through the mouth of the prophet, saying "Thy life shall go for his life and thy people for his people. We are thus commanded to temper mercy with justice, since not every kind of mercy is pleasing to the God of all. The present state of affairs specially requires prudent council; for we are contending on behalf of the divine doctrines, wherein we have the hope of our salvation. But herein, too, may be seen the great difference between man and man. Some men are verily infected with the common impiety; while others, without distinction, advance at one time one doctrine, and at another its opposite. Some who know the truth conceal it in the secret chambers of their soul, while they preach impiety with the rest; others again who are filled with envy have made their private ill-will an occasion of waging war against the truth, and wreak all kinds of mischief against the prophets of the truth.

Again, there are who embrace the truth of the apostolic doctrines, and yet because they are afraid of the power of the dominant party are too cowed

to proclaim it, and though they lament at the abundance of our misfortunes, nevertheless side with them that set the mighty surge a-rolling. It is in this last category that we place your reverence. We have believed you to be sound in the divine doctrines, and think that you keep your affection for me, and are borne along with the time for no other reason than your cowardice. Under these circumstances though I am not writing to any of the rest, I write to year holiness, and receive your reply. I see your drift and to some extent I pardon your pusillanimity. But the loving Lord has now removed all occasions of cowardice, by exhibiting the new-fangled impiety, and shewing the plain truth of the gospels. I, even though my mouths were as many as my hairs, cannot praise as I ought the loving-kindness of the Lord for compelling my strongest opponents openly to preach what has been preached by me. For I have heard that he who shares your holiness's roof, when he heard that anathemas had been published in the great cities, ceased to imitate the crooked gait of crabs, and, after disputing in a certain assembly about doctrines, walked in the straight road. Never must we suit our words to the season, but ever preserve the unbending rule of truth.

LETTER 136: TO CYRUS MAGISTRIANUS

I was very much distressed to hear of the trouble which had befallen you. How indeed could I fail to suffer, making as I do your interest mine, and remembering the apostolic law which bids us not only "rejoice with them that do rejoice, but also weep with them that weep"? Suffering itself is able to draw even those that are at enmity with one another into sympathy. What is so grievous as to lose a wife; one who bore blamelessly the yoke of wedlock. one who made her husband's life pleasant, one who shared the care of the family; one who managed the household and shared in the direction of everything; one who was ready to suggest whatever might be likely to be of service, and to comply with the wishes of her husband? But what sorrow could surpass the committal to the tomb of the mother at the same moment as the son whom she bore; a son who had been carefully trained and had received a learned education; one who, you hoped, would be the stay of your old age; buried in the very spring of his manhood, when the down was just beginning to grow upon his cheeks? Did we only look at the character of the calamity, it admits of no consolation. But when we bethink us how our race is doomed to die; that against that race the divine fiat has gone forth; that suffering is common, for life is full of such woes; we shall bravely bear what has happened,

shall repel the assaults of despair, and shall raise that wonderful song of praise "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away; the Lord hath done what seemed to him good; blessed be the name of the Lord. But we have many more reasons for consolation. We have been distinctly taught the hopes of the resurrection, and we look for the time when the dead shall live again.

We know how the Lord many times called death sleep. If we trust, as in truth we do, the Saviour's words we are bound not to mourn those that have fallen asleep, even though their sleep lasts somewhat longer than it is wont. We must await the resurrection. We must remember that the Ruler of the world in His wisdom, and clearly knowing as He does not the present only but the future also, guides events for our good. A wise man who knew all this full well reasons about deaths of this kind and says, "Yea; speedily was he taken away, lest that wickedness should alter his understanding." Let us submit I beg you to the wise Ruler of all; let us submit to His decrees. Whether they be pleasant or whether they be grievous, they are good and profitable, they make men wise; for them that endure they ordain crowns. CXXXVII. To the Archimandrite John.

The blessed David fell into several errors, which God, who wisely orders all things, has caused to be recorded for the good of them that were to come after. But it was not on their account that Absalom, parricide, murderer, impious, and altogether vile, started his wild war against his father. The reason of his beginning that most unrighteous struggle was because he coveted the sovereignty. The divine David, however, when these events were coming to pass, began to remember the wrong that he had done. I too am conscious within myself of the guilt of many errors, but I have kept undefiled the dogmatic teaching of the Apostles. And they who have trampled upon all laws human and divine, and condemned me in my absence, have not sentenced me for what I have done wrong, for my secret deeds are not made manifest to them; but they have contrived false witness and calumny against me, or rather in their open attack upon the doctrines of the Apostles have proscribed me for my obedience to them. "So the Lord awaked as one out of sleep; He smote His enemies in the hinderparts and put them to a perpetual shame. Counterfeit and spurious doctrines tie has scattered to the winds, and has provided for the free preaching of those which He has handed down to us

in the holy Gospels. To me this suffices for complete delight. I do not even long for a city in which I have passed all my time in hard work;

all I long for is to see the establishment of the truth of the Gospels. And now the Lord has satisfied this longing. I am therefore very glad and happy, and I sing praises to our generous Lord, and I invite your reverence to rejoice with the, and, with our praises, to put up the earnest prayer that the men who say now one thing and now another and change about to suit the hour, like the chameleons who assume the colour of the leaves, may be strengthened by the loving-kindness of the Lord, established upon the rocks and, of His mercy, made to pay the highest honour to the truth.

LETTER 138: TO ANATOLIUS THE PATRICIAN

I have cordially welcomed the rest which has fallen to my lot, and am harvesting its beneficial and pleasant results. Our Christ-loving Emperor, after reaping the empire as fruit of his true piety, has offered as first-fruits of his sovereignty to Him that bestowed it, the calm of the storm-tossed churches, the triumph of the invaded faith, the victory of the doctrines of the Gospel. To these he has added the righting of the wrong done to me. Of a wrong so great and of such a kind who ever heard? What murderer was ever doomed in his absence? What violator of wedlock was ever condemned without a hearing? What burglar, grave-breaker. wizard, church-robber, or doer of any other unlawful deed, was ever prevented, when eager to appeal to the law, and slain when far away by the sentence of his judge? In their cases nothing of the kind was ever known. For, by our law, plaintiff and defendant are bidden to stand face to face before the judge, while the judge has to wait for the production of plain truth, and then and not till then, either dismiss the accused as innocent, or punish him as being reached by the indictment. In my case the course pursued has been just the opposite. The emperor's letter forbade me to approach the far-famed synod, and the most righteous judges condemned me in my absence, not after fair trial. but after extravagant laudation of the documents which were produced to incriminate me.

Neither the law of God nor shame of man staved the deed of blood. Orders were given by the president, flinging the truth to the winds, and courting the power of the hour. He was obeyed by men who think as I do, whose doctrines are my doctrines, and who had expressed admiration of me and mine. None the less did that day convict some men of treachery;some of cowardice; while to me a ground of confidence was given by my sufferings

for the truth's sake. And to me our master Christ hath granted the boon "not only of believing on Him but also of suffering for His sake. For the greatest of all gifts of grace are sufferings for the Master's sake, and the divine Apostle puts them even before great marvels. In these boons I too glory, humble and insignificant as I am, and having no other ground of boasting. And I beseech your excellency to offer on behalf of my poor self expressions of thanksgiving to the emperor, lover of Christ, and to the most pious Augusta, dear to God, instructress of the good, for that she has requited our generous Lord with such gifts, and has made her zeal for true religion the Connotation and groundwork of bet sway. Besides this, beg their godly majesties to complete the work that has been so well marked out, and to summon a council, not, like the last, composed of a turbulent rabble, butkept quite clear of all of these-of men who decide on and highly value divine things, and esteem all human affairs as of less account than the truth. If their majesties wish to bring about the ancient peace for the churches, and I am sure that they do, beg their pious graces to take part in the proceedings, that their presence may overawe those of a contrary mind and the truth may have none to gainsay her, but may herself by her own unaided powers examine into the position of affairs, and the character of the apostolic doctrines.

I make this request to your excellency, not because I long to see Cyrus again, for your lordship knows what a solitary town it is, and how I have somehow or other managed to conceal its ugliness by my great expenditure on all kinds of buildings, but to the end that what I preach may be shewn to be in agreement with apostolic doctrines while the inventions of my opponents are counterfeit and base. Once let this come to pass, by God's help be it spoken, and I shall pass the remainder of my days in cheerful contentment, wherever the Master may bid me dwell. To you who have been brought up in the true religion, and are dowered with the wealth of goodness it is becoming to make this effort, and by your urgent counsel to render yet more zealous our most pious emperor and the Christ-loving Augusta, zealous already as they are to strengthen their glorious empire by laudable and rightful energy.

LETTER 139: TO ASPAR, CONSULAR AND PATRICIAN

To the other good deeds of your excellency must be added your having acquainted our pious and most christian emperor, whom God's grace has appointed for the blessing of his subjects, of the enormous wrong done against

me, and your having by a righteous edict annulled an edict which was nothing of the kind. Supported by divine Providence I have made what they reckoned a punishment a means of good, and I have welcomed my rest with delight; but none the less I have been wrongly and illegally treated, though in no single point guilty of the errors which the enemies of the truth slanderously laid at my door, but yet made to suffer the penalty of the greatest criminals. Nay, my fate has been yet harder than theirs. I was judged without a trial; I was doomed in my absence; when forbidden by the emperor's orders to go to Ephesus I received the most righteous sentence of my holy judges. All this has now been undone by his most serene majesty, through the active interposition of your excellency. I, for my part, feeling that I should be wrong to keep silent and not offer yon my thanks, have availed myself of this letter, whereby I beseech your excellency to speak in warm terms in my behalf both tothe victorious and Christian emperor and to the very godly and pious Augusta.

On their behalf I implore our good Lord as earnestly as lies in my power to guard their empire in security, and to grant that it may be at once a source of loving protection for their subjects, and of terror to their foes, and establish honourable peace for all. May your excellency be induced to petition them completely to put an end to the agitation of the Church, and order the assembling of the council; not, like the last, of men who from their habits of unruliness throw the synod into confusion, but, in peace and quiet, of members instructed in divine things, and in the habit of confirming the apostolic decrees and rejecting what is spurious and at variance with the truth. And I express this hope to the end that your excellency may reap the good which such a course of conduct is likely to produce.

LETTER 140: TO THE MASTER VINCOMALUS

I have been much astonished to learn that your magnificence, though quite unacquainted with me and mine, and knowing only the wrong that had been done me, stood up as my advocate, and left no means untried to undo the results of the conspiracy against me. But your excellency will assuredly receive recompense from our bountiful Lord, for He who promised to give a reward for a little water will doubtless give greater recompense to the givers of greater gifts. I have indeed endured such sufferings as none, or at least very few, of the ancients have undergone, and this not only from my open foes, but, as I apprehend, from my real friends. The former attacked me, the latter

betrayed me. Who in the world ever heard of such a trial? Who ever commanded a criminal to be tried in his absence after chaining him up at a distance of more than five and thirty stages? What judge has ever been so savage and inhuman as not only to try men, aye but to condemn men the sound of whose voice he has never heard, and this in most savage and inhuman fashion? The Lord has ordered the erring brother, who spurns advice, after a first, second and third admonition, to be treated as "an heathen man and a publican" Now these most equitable and righteous judges have not even given to them of the same faith with themselves the treatment which they give to heathen men and publicans. These indeed they do see and occasionally converse with, and that with all honour and deference where they appear to be of rank and dignity. But they have ordered me to be cut off from home, from water, from everything. This is the way in which they have wished to become imitators of our Father in heaven "Who maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. But of these men I will say no more. The tribunal of the Lord is at hand where is required not stage pretence but the reality of life.

Now I beseech your excellency to express my thanks to the emperor, the lover of Christ and victorious, and to the very pious and godly Augusta, for having made true religion the firm root of their pious empire, and to implore their majesties to make the peace of the churches firm by commanding the assembling of a council, not · of men of violence who throw the discussion into confusion, but of the lovers of the truth who confirm the apostolic teaching, and repudiate this new fangled and spurious heresy. And I pray that of these honourable endeavours you may reap the fruit at the hands of our loving Lord.

LETTER 141: TO MARCELLUS, ARCHIMANDRITE OF THE ACOEMETOE

Bright is made your holiness by your goodly life, exhibiting on earth the image of the conversation of the angels, but it is made still brighter by your zeal for the apostolic faith. As keel to boat, as corner-stone to house, so to them that choose to live in piety is the truth of the doctrines of the Gospel. For this truth when assailed you have bravely fought, not striving to protect it as though it were weak, but shewing your godly disposition; for the teaching of our Master Christ is gifted with stability and strength, in accordance with the promise of the same Saviour, "that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. It is the loving and bountiful Lord who has thought right that I

too should be dishonoured and slain on behalf of this doctrine. For truly we have reckoned dishonour honour, and death life. We have heard the words of the apostle "For unto us it is given by God not only to believe on Him, but also to suffer for His sake. But the Lord arose like the sleeper, and stopped the mouths of them that uttered blasphemy against God and injustice against me. But He has made the tongues of the pious pour forth their fountains in their wonted message. I, however, am gathering the delightful fruits of rest; as I look at the agitation of the churches I am grieved, but I rejoice and am glad at being freed from cares.

I have ever been gratified at your admirable piety, but heretofore I have not written, not from any lack of regard for the dictates of charity, but because I have waited for some suitable occasion. Just now, having fallen in with the most pious and prudent monks who have been sent by your holiness on other business, I have lost no time in carrying out my wish. I salute your godliness. I beg you in the first place to support me with your prayers, and further to cheer me by a letter, for by God's grace I have been attacked for the Gospel's sake.

LETTER 142: TO THE SAME

I have already addressed your reverence in another letter, and have delivered it to your much respected brethren. Now again I address your holiness. I am induced to do so both by your admirable life, and by the praiseworthy zeal which you have shewn on behalf of the apostolic faith, fearless alike of imperial power and of episcopal combination. For granted that the majority of the council consented under coercion, still they did confirm the new fangled heresy by their signatures. Your holiness, however, was shaken by none of these things, but abided by the ancient doctrines which the Lord, by means of both the prophets and the apostles, has taught the churches to hold. These decrees I pray that I may preserve, and keep to the end my faith and confession in one Father, one Son and one Holy Ghost. For the incarnation of the only begotten made no addition to the number of the Trinity.Even after the incarnation the Trinity is still a Trinity. This is the teaching I have received from the beginning; this has been my faith; in this was I baptized; this have I preached; in this have I baptized, this I continue to hold. Of them that utter a lie about the Father the Lord has said "When he speaketh a lie he speaketh of his own," for what is said of the teacher is appropriate to the disciples. So these men who employ lies against me speak of their own, and do not de-

scribe what is mine. I am comforted by my Master's words "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad for great is your reward in heaven."

I entreat your piety to pray that I may not have my part among the wrong doers, but among them that suffer wrong on account of the truth of the Gospels. CXLIII. To Andrew, Monk of Constantinople. I have never seen your piety nor have we ever communicated by letter, but I have become warmly attached to you. What has wrought the charm and continues to inflame it is the report unanimously brought by the tasters of your honey. All express admiration of the orthodoxy of your faith, the brightness of your life, the constancy of your soul, the harmoniousness of your character, the attractiveness and sweetness of your society and all the other characteristics of the true foster child of philosophy. For all these reasons I am attached to your godliness, and my longing has made me even begin a correspondence; but, my dear sir, grant me as soon as possible what I desire and let me have written communication from you. For when friends are at a distance considerable comfort is given them by epistolary communication. You will write to no man of heterodox opinions, but to one nurtured in the teaching of the apostles and preacher not of a quaternity but of a Trinity, for in reality I see little difference in the impiety of those who have the hardihood to endeavour to contract into one the two natures of the Only-begotten and those who endeavour to divide our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, God the Word made man, into two sons; if such indeed there be; I cannot think so; but Arians, Eunomians, and Apollinarians too have ever shamelessly fabricated this slander against the Church, and indeed laborious students may easily perceive that our far famed Fathers, lights of the churches, laboured at the hands of the foes of the truth under this accusation which is now levelled against me by the most excellent champions of the new fangled heresy. Our wise Lord has laid bare their impiety, for He could not endure to confirm the unholy heresy by His long suffering.

Be sure then, sir, that you will be writing to one of like sentiments with your own; and of this you can easily assure yourself from my copious writings. Write then to me in return, and again your letter, by God's leave, shall serve to kindle affection. And before you write, give me the help of your prayers, and beseech our good Lord to guide my feet into the right road, that

I may travel the rest of my journey in accordance with His laws. You who have won right of access from your unstained life will easily persuade Him Who is eager to give us His good gifts. CXLIV. To the Soldiers. Human nature is everywhere the same, but pursuits in life are many and various. Some men prefer a sailor's career, some a soldier's; some men become athletes, some husbandmen; some ply one craft trod some another. To pass by all other differences, some men are zealous and diligent about divine things, and get themselves instructed in the exact teaching of the apostolic doctrines; while others, on the contrary, become slaves of the belly, and suppose that the enjoyment of base pleasures is happiness. Others again are there, lying in a mean between these two extremes, who do not exhibit this praiseworthy enthusiasm, nor embrace a life of incontinence, but still honour the simplicity of the faith. Men who attack the statement that some things are altogether impossible with God must not, I apprehend, be classed with the zealous and the well instructed in divine things, but rather either with those who have no exact knowledge of the apostolic doctrines, or those who have been enslaved by pleasures and shift hither and thither at the caprice of a moment, setting forth now one thing and now another.

You have asked me to write on these points. I should prefer at the present time to keep silence. But in obedience to the commandment of the Lord, "Give to every man that asketh of time," I am constrained briefly to reply. I say then that the God of the universe can do all things, but that in the word "all" is comprehended only what is right and good, for He who is naturally both wise and good admits of nothing that is of a contrary nature, but only what becomes his nature. If any objectors gainsay this statement, ask them if the God of the universe, the lawgiver of truth, can lie. If they say that lying is possible to God, expel them from your company as impious and blasphemous. Should they agree that lying is not possible to the God of the universe, ask them in the second place, if He who is the fount of justice can become unjust. Should they allow that this too is impossible to the God of all, you must yet again enquire if the unfathomable depth of wisdom can become unwise, God cease to be God, the Lord cease to be the Lord, the Creator be no Creator, the Good not good but evil and the true Light not light but its opposite. If they admit that all these things and the like are impossible to God, you must say to them therefore many things are impossible with God;

and that their being impossible so far from being a proof of want of power, indicates on the contrary the greatest power.

Even in the case of our own soul, when we say that it cannot die, we do not predicate weakness of it, but we proclaim its capacity of immortality. And similarly when we confess the immutability, impassibility, and immortality of God, we cannot attribute to the divine nature change, passion, or death. Suppose them to urge that God can do whatever He will, you must reply to them that He wishes to do nothing which it is not His nature to do; He is by nature good, therefore He does not wish anything evil; He is by nature just, therefore He does not wish anything unjust He is by nature true, therefore He abominates falsehood; He is by nature immutable, therefore He does not admit of change; and if He does not admit of change He is always in the same state and condition. This He Himself asserts through the prophet. "I am the Lord I change not. And the blessed David says "Thou art the same and Thy years shall have no end. If He is the same He undergoes no change. If He is naturally superior to change and mutation He has not become from immortal, mortal nor from impassible, passible, for had this been possible He would not have taken on Him our nature. But since He has an immortal nature, He took a body capable of suffering, and with the body a human soul.

Both of these He kept unstained from the defilements of sin, and gave His soul for the sake of the souls that had sinned, and His body for the sake of the bodies that had died. And since the body that was assumed is described as body of the very only begotten Son of God, He refers the passion of the body to Himself. But the four evangelists testify that it was not the divine nature but the body which was nailed to the cross, all teaching with one voice that Joseph of Arimathea came to Pilate and begged the body of Jesus; that he took down the body of Jesus from the tree and wrapped in fine linen, and laid in his own new tomb the body of Jesus; that Mary the Magdalene came to the tomb seeking the body of Jesus and ran to His disciples, and reported these things when she could not find the body of Jesus.

This is the unanimous teaching of the evangelists. But if your opponents urge that the angels said "Come see the place where the Lord lay" let the foolish folk learn that the divine Scripture says also about the victorious Stephen "And devout men carried Stephen to his burial." And yet it was the body only which was deemed proper for burial, while the soul was not buried

together with the body; nevertheless the body alone was spoken of by the common name. Similarly the blessed Jacob said to his sons "Bury me with my fathers." He did not say "Bury my body." Then he went on "There they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife; there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife; and there I buried Leah." He did not say "their bodies." The names are common to bodies or souls, but nevertheless it is only the bodies which he called by the common names. In this manner too we constantly describe the shrines of the holy apostles, prophets and martyrs, one it may be of Dionysius, another of Julianus another of Cosmas. And yet we know that only fragmentary remains of bodies lie there, while the souls in diviner regions are at rest. Precisely the same custom is to be found in common use, for such an one, We say, died; and such all one lies in this place; although we know that the soul is immortal and does not share the tomb with the body. In this sense the angel said "Come see the place where the Lord lay" not because he shut the Godhead in the tomb, but because he spoke of the Lord's body by the Lord's name.

In proof of this being the view of the holy Fathers let them mark the words of Athanasius, illustrious archbishop of Alexandria, who adorned his episcopate with confession. He exclaims "Life cannot die, but rather quickens the dead." Let them hear too the words of the farfamed Damasus bishop of Rome, "If anyone allege that on the cross pain was undergone by the Godhead and not by the body with the soul, the form of the servant which He had taken in its completeness, let him be anathema." Let them hear too the very sacred and holy bishop of the Church of the Romans, the lord Leo, who has now written "The Son of God suffered as He was capable of suffering, not according to the nature which assumed but that which was assumed. For the impassible nature assumed the passible body, and gave it for us, to the end that He might work out our salvation and at the same time preserve His own nature impassible."

And again "For He did not come to destroy His own nature but to save ours." If therefore they accuse us for saying that God can do what He wishes, but that He wishes what is becoming to His own nature, and what is unbecoming He neither wishes nor is capable of; let them accuse too these saints and all the rest who maintain this position. Let them accuse even the Apostle who say's "That by two immutable things in which it was impossible for God to lie." And again "If we believe not, yet He abideth faithful: He cannot deny

Himself." Repeat these passages to your opponents, and if they are convinced, praise the good Lord for that, by means of your zeal, He has benefited them. If they remain unconvinced, enter into no discussion with them about doctrines, for it is forbidden by the divine apostle to "strive about words to no profit but to the subverting of the hearers." But do you keep inviolate the teaching of the Gospels, that in the day of His appearing you may bring to the righteous Judge what has been entrusted to you with its due interest, and may hear the longed for words "Well done good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things I will make thee ruler over many things. Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

LETTER 145: TO THE MONKS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

There is nothing new or surprising in the fact that the men who have made their tongues weapons against our God and Saviour should also aim their shahs of falsehood against His right minded servants. It must needs be that the servants who grieve sorely at the outrage inflicted on their Master should share it. That so it should be they have been forwarned by their Lord Himself, Who consoles His holy disciples with the words "If they have persecuted me they will also persecute you. "If they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of His household. Then He cheered them by pointing out that calumny is easily detected, for He went on "There is nothing covered that shall not be revealed and hid that shall not be known. I have often seen the truth of the divine prediction, but I see it with special clearness now. The authors of the calumny against me, who have bought my destruction for large sums of money, have been distinctly seen to be involved in the unsoundness of Valentinus and Bardesanes. They had hoped to cloke their own iniquity if only they could whet their tongues on the hone of falsehood in order to wound me.

For ever since I saw that the heresy long ago extinguished had been renewed by these men I never ceased to cry aloud, hearing my testimony in private and in public, as well in social gatherings as in the temples of God, and strive to confute their conspiracy against the faith. They have consequently poured out their insults on my head, and allege that I preach two sons. But they ought to have convicted me to my face, not slandered me behind my back. They have done just the contrary. They tied me band and foot at Cyrus by the imperial decree; they compelled the very righteous judges to condemn me without a trial, and delivered their most equitable sentence

against a man who was five and thirty stages away. Such treatment was never suffered by any criminal charged with witchcraft or robbery of the dead, by murderer or by adulterer. But for the present I will leave the judges alone, for the Lord is at hand "Who judges the world with righteousness and the people with his truth; Who exacts an account not only of words and deeds, but even of evil thoughts. But think it right to refute the false charge which has been made. What proof have they of my asserting two sons?

Had I been one of the silent kind there might have been some ground for the suspicion, but my task has been to contend on behalf of the apostolic decrees, to bring the pasture of instruction to the Lord's flocks, and to this end I have written five and thirty books interpreting the divine Scripture, and proving the falsehood of the heresies. The falsehoods these men have concocted are therefore easy of refutation. Tens on tens of thousands of hearers testify that I have taught the truth of the doctrines of the Gospel, and for any one who likes to bring them to the test my writings lie before the world. Not on behalf of a duality of sons, but of the only begotten Son of God, against the heathen, against Jews, against the recipients of the plague of Arius and Eunomius, against the supporters of the madness of Apollinarius, against the victims of the corruption of Marcion, I have never ceased to struggle; trying to convince the heathen that the Eternal Son of the ever living God is Himself Creator of the Universe; the Jews that about Him the prophets: uttered their predictions, the Arians and Eunomians that He is of one substance, of one dignity and of equal power with the Father; Marcion's mad adherents that He is not only good but just; and Saviour not, as they fable, of another's works, but of His own. Once for all, fighting against each heresy, I charge men to fall clown and worship the one Son.

And what need is there of many words, when it is possible to refute falsehood in few? We provide that those who year by year come up for holy baptism should carefully learn the faith set forth at Nicaea by the holy and blessed Fathers; and initiating them as we have been bidden, we baptize them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, pronouncing each name singly. Furthermore when performing divine service in the churches, both at the beginning and the decline of day and when dividing the day itself into three parts, we glorify the Father the Son and the Holy Ghost. If, as our slanderers allege, we preach two sons, which do we glorify and which do we leave unworshipped? It were the wildest folly to believe that

there are two sons, and to give the doxology to one alone. And who is so distraught as, while hearing the words of the divine Paul "one Lord, one faith, one baptism," and again "there is one Lord Jesus Christ by Whom are all things," to lay down the law at variance with the teaching of the Spirit, and cut the one in two. But I am prating unnecessarily, for these men, nurtured in falsehood as they are, do not even dare to assert that they have ever heard me say anything of the kind;

but they affirm that I preach two sons because I confess the two natures of our Master Christ.And they refuse to perceive that every human being has both an immortal soul and a mortal body; yet no one has hitherto been found to call Paul two Pauls because he has both soul and body, any more than Peter two Peters or Abraham or Adam. Everyone recognises the distinction of the natures, and does not call one man two Pauls. Precisely in the same way, when styling our Lord Jesus Christ the only begotten Son of God, God the Word incarnate, both Son of God and Son of Man, as we have been taught by the divine Scripture, we do not assert two sons, but we do confess the peculiar properties of the Godhead and of the manhood. The party however who deny the nature assumed of us men cannot hear these arguments without irritation.

It is only right that I should point out from what sources they have derived this impiety. Simon, Menander, Cerdo, and Marcion absolutely deny the incarnation, and call the birth from a Virgin fable. Valentinus, however, Basilides, Bardesanes, and Harmonius and their following, accept the conception of the Virgin and the birth; but they deny that God the Word took anything from the Virgin, but made as it were a transit through her as through a conduit, and appeared to mankind in semblance only, and seeming to be a man, in like manner as He was seen by Abraham and certain others of the ancients: Arius and Eunomius on the contrary held that He assumed a body, but that the Godhead played the part of the soul, in order that they may attribute to it what was lowly in His words and deeds. Apollinarius did indeed assert that He assumed a soul with the body, not the reasonable soul, but the soul which is called animal or phytic. Their contention is that the Godhead took the part of the mind. He had learnt the distinction of soul and of mind from the philosophers that are without while divine Scripture says that man consists of soul and body. For we read "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the

breath of life and man became a living soul." And the Lord in the sacred Gospels said to His apostles "Fear not them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul."

So great is the divergence between the doctrines. These men have now done their best to outdo Apollinarius, Arius and Eunomius, in their impiety and have now endeavoured to plant anew the heresy sown of old by Valentinus and Bardesanes, and afterwards uprooted by most excellent husbandmen. Like Valentinus and Bardesanes they have denied that the body of our Lord was assumed of our nature. But the Church, following the footprints of the Apostles, contemplates in the Lord Christ both perfect Godhead and perfect manhood. For just as He took a body, not that He needed a body, but by its means to give immortality to all bodies; so too He took a soul, the guide of the body, that every soul by its means might share His immutability. For even if souls are immortal, they are not however immutable; for they undergo many and frequent changes, as they experience pleasure, now from one object, and now from another. Whence it cometh about that we err when we are changed and are inclined to what is worse. But after the resurrection our bodies enjoy immortality and incorruptibility, and our souls impassibility and immutability. For this reason the only begotten Son of God took both a body and a soul, preserved them free from all blame, and offered the sacrifice for the race. And this is why He is called our high priest; and He is named high priest not as God but as man.

He makes the offering as man, and accepts the sacrifice with the Father and the Holy Spirit as God. If only Adam's body had sinned, it alone should have benefited by the cure. But since the soul not only shared in the sin but was first in the sin, for first the thought forms an image of the sin and then carries it out by means of the body, it was just, I ween, that the soul too should be healed. But it is perhaps superfluous to demonstrate these points by reasoning, when the divine Scripture clearly proclaims them. This doctrine is distinctly taught by the holy David and the very divine Peter, the one foretelling from distant ages, and the other interpreting his prediction. The words of the first of the apostles are "David therefore being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, He would raise up Christ to sit on his throne; he seeing this before spake of the resurrection of Christ that His soul was not left in hell neither His flesh did see corruption."

Now he has given us much instruction on the same point in these few words. First he states that the assumed nature derives its descent from the loins of David; secondly that He took not a body only, but also an immortal soul, and thirdly that He delivered body and soul to death, and, after taking them again, raised them as He would. His own words are "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up. But we have learnt that the divine nature is immortal. What suffered was the passible, and the impassible remained impassible. For God the Word was made math not to render the impassible nature passible, but on the passible nature, by means of the Passion, to bestow the boon of impassibility. And the Lord Himself in the holy Gospels at one time says "I have power to lay down my life and I have power to take it again, no man taketh it from me but I lay it down of myself; "That I may take it again. And again "Therefore doth my Father love me because I lay down my life for the sheep," and again "Now is my soul troubled" "my soul is exceeding sorrowful even unto death.

and of His body He says "The bread that I will give is my flesh which I will give for the life of the world," and when He delivered the divine mysteries and broke the symbol and distributed it, He added "This is my body which is being broken for you for the remission of sins," and again "This is my blood which is shed for many for the remission of sins," and again "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood ye have no life in you" and "Whosoever eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life" "in himself" he adds. Innumerable passages of the same character may be quoted, both in the old Testament find the new, pointing out the assumption both of the body and of the soul, and that they are descended from Abraham and David. Joseph of Arimathea when he came to Pilate begged the body of Jesus, and the fourfold authority of the holy Gospels tells us how he received the body, wrapped it in the linen cloth, and committed it to the tomb. I do, indeed, sorrow and lament that I am compelled by the attacks of error to adduce against men supposed to be of one and the same faith with myself the arguments which I have already urged against the victims of the plague of Marcion,-of whom, by God's grace, I have converted more than ten thousand, and brought them to Holy Baptism.

What child of the church ever had any doubts on these points? Who has not cited this teaching of the holy Fathers? The works of the great Basil are full of it; as well, as those of his fellow soldiers Gregory and Amphilochius,

and of those who in the West have been illustrious teachers of grace, Damasus, bishop of great Rome, and Ambrose of Milan; and Cyprian of Carthage who for the sake of these doctrines won the martyr's crown. Five times was the famous Athanasius driven from his flock and compelled to dwell in exile; and in the cause of these doctrines strove too his master Alexander. Eustathius, Meletius, and Flavianus, luminaries of the East, and Ephraim, harp of the Spirit, who daily waters the people of Syria with the streams of grace; John and Atticus, lend heralds of the truth; and men of an earlier age than they, Ignatius, Polycarp, Irenaeus, Justin, and Hippolytus, of whom the more part not only shine at the head of the company of bishops, but also adorn the martyr's band.

He, too, who now rules great Rome and diffuses in all directions from the West the rays of right teaching, the most holy Leo, has expressed to me this distinctive mark of the faith in his own letters. All these have clearly taught that the only begotten Son of God and everlasting God, ineffably begotten of the Father, is one Son; and that after the incarnation He was called both Son of man and man, not because He was changed into manhood, for His nature is immutable, but because He took what was ours. They teach too that He was both impassible and immortal as God, and mortal and passible as man; but after the resurrection even in relation to His humanity He received impassibility and immortality, for, though the body remained a body, still it is impassible and immortal, verily a divine body and glorified with divine glory. This is distinctly told us by the blessed Paul in the words "For our conversation is in heaven from whence also we look for the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body that it may be fashioned like unto the body of His glory.

He does not say to "His glory" but to"the body of His glory," and the Lord Himself, when He had said to His apostles "There be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of man coming in His Father's glory," took them after six days into an exceeding high mountain, and was transfigured before them, and His face became as the sun, and His raiment was bright like the light. By these means He shewed the manner of the second advent. He taught that the assumed nature is not uncircumscribed (for this is characteristic of the Godhead alone) but that it shall send forth flashes of the divine glory, and emit rays of light transcending the powers of the sense of sight. With this glory He was taken up; with this the

angels said that He should come; for their words were "He who was taken from you into heaven shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven. When moreover He was seen by the divine apostles after the resurrection, He shewed them both hands and feet; and to Thomas He shewed also His side and the wounds of the nails and of the spear. For on account of those men who positively deny the assumption of the flesh, and further of those others who assert that after the resurrection the nature of the body was changed into the nature of Godhead, He preserved unaltered the prints of the nails and of the spear.

And while raising all other bodies free from every disfigurement, in His own body He left the marks of His sufferings. to the end that deniers of the assumption of the body may be convicted of their error by means of His sufferings; and holders of the notion that His body was changed into another nature may be taught by the print of the nails that it abides in its own proper qualities. Suppose any one to imagine that he has a proof that the body of the Lord did not remain a body after the resurrection in the fact that He came in to the disciples when the doors were shut, let such an one remember how He walked upon the sea while His body was still mortal, how He was born after keeping the seals of virginity intact, and how again when encircled by them that were plotting against Him He frequently escaped from their hands. But why need I mention the Lord, who was not only man, but God before the ages, and to whom it was easy to do whatsoever He would? Let them tell how Habakkuk was translated from Judaea into Babylon in a moment of time and passed through the covering of the den, and brought the food to Daniel, and returned again. without destroying the seals of the den.

It is sheer foolishness to enquire into the manner of the miracles of the Lord, but in addition to what has been said it ought also to be known that after the resurrection our bodies also will be incorruptible and immortal, and being released from what is earthly will become light and aethereal. This moreover is distinctly taught us by the divine Paul in the words "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 it is raised a spiritual body" and in another place "We shall be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air. If then the bodies of the saints become light and aethereal and easily travel through the air, we cannot wonder that the Lord's body united to the Godhead of the only begot-

ten, when, after the resurrection, it had become immortal, entered in when the doors were shut.

Countless other proofs might be quoted without difficulty from apostles and prophets. But what has been already said is enough to show the drift of my teaching. I believe in one Father, one Son and one Holy Ghost; and I confess one Godhead, one Lordship, one substance and three hypostases. For the incarnation of the only begotten did not add to the number of the Trinity, and make the Trinity a quaternity, but, even after the incarnation the Trinity was still a Trinity. And while confessing that the only begotten Son of God was made man I do not deny the nature which He took, but confess, as I have said, both the nature which took and the nature which was taken. The union did not confound the properties of the natures. For if the air by receiving the light through all its parts does not cease to be air, nor yet at the same time destroy the nature of the light, for with our eves we behold the light and by our feeling we recognise the air, as it meets us cold or hot, or moist or dry, so it were sheer folly to call the union of the Godhead and the manhood confusion.

If created natures which share at once subordinate anti temporal existence, when united and in some sense mingled, yet remain unimpaired, and, when the light withdraws, the nature of the air is left alone, much more proper is it, I apprehend, for the nature which fashioned all things, when conjoined with and united to the nature which it assumed from us, to be acknowledged to continue itself in its purity, and in like manner to preserve unimpaired that which it had assumed. Gold, too, when brought in contact with the fire, participates both in the colour and power of fire, but it does not lose its own nature, but at the same time remains gold and has the active qualities of fire. In this manner also the Lord's body is a body, but impassible, incorruptible, immortal, of the Lord, divine and glorified with the divine glory. It is not separated from the Godhead, nor yet is of any one else, save of the only begotten Son of God Himself. For it does not show to us another person, but the only-begotten Himself clad in our nature.

This is the doctrine which I am continually preaching. They on the other hand who deny the incarnation wrought on our behalf have called me a heretic, adopting a course something like that of unchaste females, who, while they sell their own charms, assail honest women with the insults of their profession, and apply language proper to their own wantonness to wo-

men who hold such wantonness in abhorrence. This is how Egypt has acted. She has herself fallen willingly into the thraldom of base desire. She has lavished her servile adulation on a man of chaste character. Then, failing to entice him by her wiles, or to trap him in the snares of her voluptuous passion, she describes one who is faithful to purity as an adulterer. But these men will be called to account by God, as well for their devices against the faith as for the snares they have laid against me. I only charge those who have been influenced by the false accusations uttered against me to keep one ear for the accused, and not to give both to the accusers. In this manner they will fulfil the divine law which lays down "Thou shall not raise a false report," and "Judge righteously between every man and his brother." In these words the divine law charges us not to believe the calumnies uttered against the absent but to judge the accused face to face.

LETTER 146: TO JOHN THE OECONOMUS

Rest and a life free from care are very grateful to me. I have therefore blocked the door of the monastery, and decline intercourse with my friends. But I have received information that fresh attacks are being made against the Faith of the Gospels, and therefore conclude that there may be danger in my silence. When wrong has been done some mortal prince, not only the guilty authors of the outrage but they also who have been standing by and made no effort to drive off the assailants, are in peril of punishment: What penalty then ought not to be undergone by men who can venture to look lightly on the utterance of blasphemy against our God and Saviour? This is the fear which has impelled me now to write and expose the innovations of which I have been informed. It is said that a common report in the city represents that after certain presbyters had offered prayer, and concluded it in the wonted manner, while some said "For to Thee belongs glory and to thy Christ and to the Holy Ghost; and others "Through grace and loving kindness of thy Christ, with whom belongs glory to Thee with thy holy Spirit," the very wise archdeacon prohibited the use of the expression, "the Christ" and said that the "only begotten" ought to be glorified. If this is true it were impossible to exceed the impiety. For he either divides the one Lord Jesus Christ into two sons and regards the only begotten Son as lawful and natural, but the Christ as adopted and spurious, and consequently unmeet for being honoured in doxology; or else he is endeavouring to support the heresy which has now burst in on us with the riot of wild revelry. Had a grievous

tempest been now oppressing us, any one might have supposed that the blasphemer suited his blasphemy to the necessity of the moment. through fear of the power of the originators of the heresy. But now that He who is blasphemed has rebuked the winds and the sea, and blessed the storm-tossed churches with a calm, while everywhere by land and sea the proclamation of the apostles is preached, what room is there for the blasphemy?

While not even they who have lately basely inserted among the doctrines of the Church that flesh and godhead are of one and the same nature have ever forbidden the offering of praise to the Lord Christ. This fact may be easily ascertained from those who have returned thence. A man holding the foremost place in the ecclesiastical rank ought to have known the divine Scripture, and to have learnt from it that just as the heralds of the truth rank the only begotten Son with the Father, so accordingly using the title of "the Christ" instead of that of "Son" they number Him sometimes with the Father and sometimes with the Holy Ghost; for the Christ is none other than the only begotten Son of God. So we may quote the divine Paul writing to the Corinthians, but teaching the world, that "There is one God the Father of whom are all things... and one Lord Jesus Christ by whom are all things. Thus he calls the same person, Christ, Jesus, Lord, and Creator of all things. And writing to the Thessalonians he says "Now God Himself and our Father and our Lord Jesus Christ direct our way unto you. And in his second epistle to the same he puts the Christ before the Father, not to invert the order, but to teach that the order of the haines does not indicate a distinction of dignity and nature.

His words are "Now our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, and God, even our Father, which hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation and good hope through grace, comfort your hearts, and stablish you in every good word and work. And at the end of his Epistle to the Romans after certain exhortations he adds "I beseech you brethren for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake and for the love of the spirit. Now if he had known the Christ as being any other than the Son he would not have put Him before the Holy Ghost. Writing to the Corinthians, at the very beginning of his letter, he mentions the name of Christ as alone sufficient to influence the faithful. "Now I beseech you brethren by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ that ye all speak the same thing" and when writing to them a second time he thus concludes "The peace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God the Father and the com-

munion of the Holy Ghost be with you all. Here he puts the name of Christ not only before the Spirit, but also before the Father and this in all the churches is the beginning of the Liturgy of the Mystery.

According, then, to this extraordinary regulation the august name of our God and Saviour, Jesus Christ, ought to be omitted from the mystic writings. But it is unnecessary to say more on this point. The opening of every one of his letters is distinguished by the divine Apostle with this address. At one time it is "Paul a servant of Jesus Christ called to be an apostle." At another "Paul called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ." At another "Paul a servant of God and an apostle of Jesus Christ." And suiting his benediction to his exordium he deduces it from the same source and links the title of the Son with God the Father, saying "Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ." And he graces the conclusion of his letters with the blessing "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, amen."

Copious additional evidence may be found whereby it may be learnt without difficulty that our Lord Jesus Christ is no other person than the Son which completes the Trinity. For the same before the ages was only begotten Son and God the Word, and after the resurrection He was called Jesus and Christ. receiving the names from the facts. Jesus means Saviour; "Thou shall call His name Jesus for He shall save His people from their sins." He is named Christ from being as man anointed with the Holy Ghost, and called our High Priest, Apostle, Prophet and King. Long ago the divine Moses exclaimed "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet, from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me." And the divine David cries "The Lord hath sworn and will not repent, Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchisedek." This prophecy is confirmed by the divine Apostle. And again "seeing then that we have a great High Priest that has passed into the heavens. Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast our profession."

That as God, He is king before the ages that prophetic minstrelsy teaches us in the words "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; the sceptre of Thy kingdom is a right sceptre." His majesty as man is also shown us. For having the sovereignty of all things as God and Creator, He assumes this majesty as man, wherefore it is added "Thou lovest righteousness and hatest wickedness, therefore God thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows." And in the second psalm the anointed one himself says "Yet was I set as king by Him upon the holy hill of Sion, I will declare the decree of the

Lord. The Lord hath said unto me `Thou art my Son this day have I begotten Thee; ask of me and I shall give Thee the heathen for thine inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.'" This He said as man, for as man He receives what as God He possesses. And at the very beginning of the psalm the gift of prophecy ranks Him with God the Father in the words "Why do the heathen rage and the people imagine a vain thing. The kings of the earth set themselves and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord and against His anointed."

Let no one then foolishly suppose that the Christ is any other than the only begotten Son. Let us not imagine ourselves wiser than the gift of the Spirit. Let us hear the words of the great Peter, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. Let us hear the Lord Christ confirming this confession, for "On this rock," He says, "I will build my church and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. Wherefore too the wise Paul, most excellent master builder of the churches, fixed no other foundation than this. "I," he says, "as a wise master builder have laid the foundation, and another buildeth thereon. But let every man take heed how he buildeth thereon. For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ. How then can they think of any other foundation, when they are bidden not to fix a foundation, but to build on that which is laid? The divine writer recognises Christ as the foundation, and glories in this title, as when he says, "I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I but Christ liveth in me. And again "To me to live is Christ and to die is gain," and again "For I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and Him crucified.

And a little before he says, "But we preach Christ crucified to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness, but unto them which are called both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God. And in his Epistle to the Galatians be writes, "But when it pleased God who separated me from my mother's womb and called me by His grace to reveal His Son in me that I might preach Him among the heathen. But when writing to the Corinthians he does not say we preach "the Son" but "Christ crucified," herein doing no violence to his commission, but recognising the same to be Jesus, Christ, Lord, only begotten, and God the Word. For the same reason too at the beginning of his letter to the Romans he calls himself "servant of Jesus Christ" and describes himself as "separated unto the gospel of God, which He had promised afore by His prophets in the Holy Scriptures,

concerning His Son Jesus Christ our Lord, which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh; and declared to be the Son of God with power" and so on. He calls the same both Jesus Christ, and Son of David, and Son of God, as God and Lord of all, and yet in the middle of his epistle, after making mention of the Jews, he adds, "whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all God blessed for ever, amen.

Here he says that He who according to the flesh derived His descent from the Jews is eternal God and is praised by the right minded as Lord of all created things. The same teaching is given us in the Apostle's words to the excellent Titus "Looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ. Here he calls the same both Saviour, and great God, and Jesus Christ. And in another place he writes, "In the kingdom of Christ and of God. Moreover the chorus of the angels announced to the shepherds "Unto you is born this day in the city of David ...Christ the Lord." But to men who meditate on God's law day and night, it is indeed needless to write all the proofs of this kind; the above are sufficient to persuade even the most obstinate opponents not to divide the divine titles. One point, however, I cannot endure to omit. He is alleged to have said that there are many Christs but one Son. Into this error I suppose he fell through ignorance. For if he had read the divine Scripture, he would have known that the title of the Son has also been bestowed by our bountiful Lord on many. The lawgiver Moses, the writer of the ancient history, says "And the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair and they took them wives of them," and the God of all Himself said to this Prophet "Thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Israel is my son even my first-born. In the great song he says "Rejoice O ye nations with His people and let all the sons of God be strong in Him; and by the mouth of the prophet Isaiah He says "I have nourished and brought up sons (children) and they have rebelled against me; and through the thrice blessed David "I have said ye are gods and all of you are children of the Most High," and to the Romans the wise Paul wrote in this manner, "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.

For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the I spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. For the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God. And if children, then heirs; heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ: if so be that

we suffer with Him that we may be also glorified together; and to the Galatians he writes "And because ye are sons God hath sent forth the spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father. Wherefore thou art no more a servant but a son; and if a son then an heir of God through Jesus Christ. The lesson he gives to the Ephesians is "in love having predestinated us into the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to Himself." If then, because the name of the Christ is common, we ought not to glorify the Christ as God, we shall equally shrink from worshipping Him as Son, since this also is a name which has been bestowed upon many. And why do I say the Son? The very name of God itself has been given by God to many. "The Lord the God of gods hath spoken and called the earth." And "I have said Ye are gods," and "Thou shalt not revile the gods." Many too have appropriated tiffs name to themselves. The daemons who have deceived mankind have given this title to idols; whence Jeremiah exclaims, "The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth even they shall perish from the earth and from under these heavens;" and again "They made to themselves gods of silver and gods of gold;" and the prophet Isaiah when he had mocked the making of the idols, and said "He burneth part thereof in the fire with part thereof he eateth flesh he warmeth himself and saith Aha I am warm I have seen the fire," went on "and the residue thereof he maketh a god and falleth down unto it and saith `Deliver me for thou art my god'" and so the prophet laments over them and says "Know that their heart is ashes." And the Psalmist David has taught us to sing "For all the gods of the nations are idols, but the Lord made the heavens."

But this common use of titles gives no offence to men who are instructed in true religion. We are aware that the daemons have falsely bestowed upon themselves and on idols the divine name, while the saints have received this honour of free grace. In reality and by nature it is the God of all, and His only-begotten Son and the Holy Spirit which are God. This is distinctly taught us by the admirable Paul in the words "For though there be that are called gods whether in heaven or in earth, as there are gods many and lords many, but to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in Him; and one Lord by whom are all things and we by Him. And the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of God and so also is the soul of man, for, it is written, "His breath goeth forth," and "O ye spirits and souls of the righteous bless ye the Lord," and the Psalmist David called the angels spirits. "Who

maketh His angels spirits and His ministers a flame of fire. Why indeed do I mention the angels and the souls of men? Even the daemons are so called by the Lord "He shall take unto him seven other spirits more wicked than himself and they shall enter in, and the last state of that man shall be worse than the first. But even this application of the name does not offend the pious reader, for the Father and His only begotten Son and His Holy Spirit are one God by nature; and the divine Word made man, our Lord Jesus Christ, is by nature one Son, only begotten of the Father;

and the Comforter who completes the number of the Trinity is one Holy Ghost. Thus though many are named fathers, we worship one Father, the Father before the ages, who Himself gave this title to men, as the Apostle says, "For this cause I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom every fatherhood in heaven and earth is named. Let us not then, because others are called christs, rob ourselves of the worship of our Lord Jesus Christ. For just as though many are called gods and fathers, there is one God and Father over all and before the ages;and though many are called sons, there is one real and natural Son; and though many are styled spirits there is one Holy Ghost; just so though many are called christs there is one Lord Jesus Christ by Whom are all things. And very properly does the Church cling to this name; for she has heard Paul, escorter of the Bride, exclaiming "I have espoused you to one husband that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ," and again "Husbands love your wives as Christ also loved the Church," and again "For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the Church.

Listen to him as he says "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us," and elsewhere "Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized unto Jesus Christ were baptized into His death," and in another place, "For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ," and again "Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lust thereof." They who are blessed by the boons of God and have learnt to know these passages and others like them, kindled with warm love for their bountiful Master, constantly carry on their lips this His dearest name and cry in the words of the Song of Songs "My beloved is mine and I am his;" "I sat down under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to my taste." And besides all this that name of ours

which we love so well we have derived from the name of Christ. We are called Christians.

Of this name the Lord of all says, "The Lord God shall call His servants by another name which shall be blessed on the earth" and the following is the reason why the Church specially clings to this name. When the only-begotten Son of God was made man, then He was named Christ, then human nature received the beams of intellectual light; then the heralds of the truth shed their beams upon the world. Teachers of the Church, however, constantly used the names of the only begotten without distinction; at one time they glorify the Father the Son and the Holy Ghost; at another the Father with Christ and the Holy Ghost; yet as far as the sense is concerned there is here no difference. Wherefore after the Lord had commanded to baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost the blessed Peter said to them who received his preaching and asked what they must do, "Believe and be baptized every one of you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ," as though this name contained in itself all the potency of the divine command. The same teaching is clearly given us by the great Basil, luminary of the Cappadocians, or rather of the world. His words are "the ham e of Christ is the confession of the whole." It indicates at once the Father, who anointed, the Son, who was anointed, and the Holy Ghost whereby He was anointed. Furthermore the thrice blessed Fathers assembled in council at Nicaea, after saying that we must believe in one God, the Father, added "and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God." Thereby they teach that the Lord Jesus Christ is Himself the only begotten Son of God.

To what has been said it must also be added that we must not affirm that after the ascension the Lord Christ is not Christ but only begotten Son. The divine Gospels and the history of the Acts and the Epistles of the Apostle himself were, as we know, written after the ascension. It is after the ascension that the divine Paul exclaims "Seeing then that we have a great High Priest that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast our profession. And again, "For Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into Heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us. And again after speaking of our hope in God he adds "which hope we have as an anchor both sure and stedfast, and which entereth into that within the veil; whither the forerunner is for us entered, even Jesus made an High Priest for ever after the order of

Melchisedec. And when, writing to the blessed Titus about the second advent he says, "Looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ. And to the Thessalonians he wrote in similar terms "For they themselves show of us what manner of entering in we had unto you, and how we turned to God from idols to serve the living and true God;

and to wait for His Son from heaven, whom He raised from the dead, even Jesus, which delivered us from the wrath to come. And again "And the Lord make you to increase and abound in love one toward another, and toward all men, even as we do toward you: to the end he may stablish your hearts unblamable in holiness before God, even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints. And again when writing to the same a second time he says, "Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him. And a little further on when predicting the destruction of antichrist he adds, "Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming. And when exhorting the Romans to concord he says, "But why dost thou judge thy brother? or why dost thou set at naught thy brother? for we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ. For it is written, as I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God. And the Lord Himself when announcing His second advent besides other things says too this "Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there; believe it not. For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be."

And after the immortality and incorruptibility of His body He called Himself Son of Man, naming Himself from the nature which was seen, inasmuch as the divine nature is indeed invisible to angels, as the Lord Himself had said "No one hath seen God at any time." And to the great Moses He said "There shall no man see me and live." The words "Henceforth know we no man after the flesh; yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh; yet now henceforth know we Him no more," were not written by the divine Apostle in order to annul the assumed nature, but for the confirmation of our own future incorruption, immortality, and spiritual life. The Apostle therefore continues "Therefore if any man be in Christ he is a new creature; old things are passed away; behold all things are become new." He speaks of

what is to be in the future as though it had already come to pass. We have not yet been gifted with immortality, but we shall be; and when so gifted we shall not become bodiless, but we shall put on immortality. "For" says the divine Apostle, "we would not be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life." And again "For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality." Thus he did not speak of the Lord as bodiless, but taught us to believe that even the visible nature is incorruptible, and glorified with the divine glory. This instruction he has given us yet more clearly in the Epistle to the Philippians; "For our conversation" he writes "is in heaven; from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ; who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body." By these words he teaches us distinctly that the body of the Lord is a body, but a divine body, and glorified with the divine glory.

Let us, then, not shun the name whereby we enjoy salvation, and whereby all things are made new, as says our teacher himself in his Epistle to the Ephesians,-"According to His good pleasure which He hath purposed in Himself; that in the dispensation of the fulness of time He might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in Him. Let us rather learn from this blessed language how we are bound to glorify our benefactor, by connecting the name of Christ with our God and Father. In his Epistle to the Romans the Apostle says "my gospel, and the preaching of Jesus Christ, according to the revelation of the mystery, which was kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest, and by the scriptures of the prophets, according to the commandment of the everlasting God, made known to all nations for the obedience of faith; to God only will be glory through Jesus Christ forever. Amen. Writing to the Ephesians he thus gives praise-"Now unto Him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto Him be glory in the Church by Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end. Amen. And a little before he says, "For this cause I bow my knee unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named.

And considerably farther on he says "Giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. And when he requites with benediction the liberality of the Philippians he says "But my

God shall supply all your need according to His riches in glory by Christ Jesus. And for the Hebrews he prayed, "Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, that great shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work, to do His will, working in you that which is well pleasing in His sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen. And not only when glorifying, but also when exhorting and protesting, the Apostle conjoins the Christ with God the Father. To the blessed Timothy he exclaims "I charge thee therefore before God and the Lord Jesus Christ. And again "I give thee charge in the sight of God who quickeneth all things, and before Jesus Christ, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession; that thou keep this commandment without spot, unrebukable, until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ; which in His times He shall shew, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords; who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see; to whom be honour and power everlasting. Amen."

These are the lessons we have learnt from the divine Apostles; this is the teaching given us by John and Matthew, those mighty rivers of the gospel message. The latter says "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ the son of David, the son of Abraham;" and the former when he shewed the things which were before the ages wrote, "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him." CXLVII. To John, Bishop of Germanicia. Immediately on receipt of your holiness's former letter I replied. About the present state of affairs, it is impossible to entertain any good hope. I apprehend that this is the beginning of the general apostasy. For when we see that those who lament what was done as they say, by violence, at Ephesus, show no signs of repentance, but abide by their unlawful deeds and are building up a superstructure at once of injustice and of impiety; when we see that the rest take no concerted action to deny their deeds and do not refuse to hold communion with men who abide by their unlawful action, what hope of good is it possible for us to entertain? Had they been expressing their admiration of what has happened as though all had been well and rightly done, it would only have been proper for them to abide by what they themselves commend. But if, as they say, they are lamenting what has been done and

stating it to have been done by force and violence, why in the world do they not repudiate what has been unlawfully done? Why is the present, which lasts for such a little time, preferred before what is sure to come to pass? Why in the world do they openly lie and deny that any innovation has been introduced into doctrine? On account of what murders and witchcrafts have I been expelled? What adulteries did the man commit? What tombs did the man violate? It is perfectly clear even to outsiders that it was for doctrine that I and the rest were expelled. Why the Lord Domnus too, because he would not accept "the Chapters" was deposed by these excellent persons who called them admirable and confessed that they abided by them. I had read their propositions, and they rejected me as the head and front of the heresy and expelled others for the same reason.

What has happened proves plainly enough that they supposed the Saviour to have laid down the law of practical virtue rather for Hamaxobians than for them. When some men had given in charges against Candidianus, the Pisidian, accusing him of several acts of adultery and other iniquities, it is said that the president of the council remarked, "If you are bringing accusation on points of doctrine, we receive your charges; we have not come here to decide about adulteries. Accordingly Athenius and Athanasius who had been expelled by the Eastern Synod were bidden to return to their own churches; just as though our Saviour had laid down no laws about conduct, and had only ordered us to observe doctrines-which those most sapient persons have been foremost in corrupting. Let them then cease to mock; let them no longer attempt to conceal the impiety which they have confirmed by blows as well as by words. If this is not the case, let them tell us the reasons of the massacres; let them own in writing the distinction between the natures of our Saviour, and that the union is without confusion; let them declare that after the union both Godhead and manhood remained unimpaired. "God is not mocked. Let the chapters be denied which they have often repudiated, and now at Ephesus have sanctioned. Do not let them trick your holiness by their lies. They used to praise my utterances at Antioch, being brethren, and when made readers, and ordained deacons, presbyters and bishops;

and at the end of my discourse they used to embrace me and kiss me, on head, on breast, on hands; and some of them would cling to my knees, calling my doctrine apostolic,-the very doctrine that they have now condemned, and anathematized. They used to call me luminary, not only of the

East, but of the whole world, and now I forsooth have been proscribed and, so far as lies in their power, I have not even bread to eat. They have anathematized even all who converse with me. But the man whom but a little while ago they deposed and called Valentinian and Apollinarian they have honoured as a martyr of the faith, rolling at his feet, asking his pardon and calling him spiritual father. Do even woodlice change their colour to match the stones or chameleons their skin to suit the leaves, as these men do their mind to match the times? I give up to them see, dignity, rank, and all the luxury of this life. On the side of the apostolic doctrines I await the evils which they deem terrible, finding sufficient consolation in the thought of the judgment of the Lord. For I hope that for the sake of this injustice the Lord will remit me many of my sins.

Now I implore your holiness to beware of the fellowship of iniquity and to insist on their repudiation of what has been done. If they refuse shun them as traitors to the faith. That your reverence should wait awhile to see if the tempest will pass, we have not thought subject for blame. But after the ordination of the primate of the East every man's mind will be made manifest. Deign, Sir, to pray for me. At this time I am sorely in want of that help that I may hold out against all that is being devised against me. CXLVIII in the Edition of Garnerius Is "the minute of the most holy bishop Cyril, delivered to Posidonius, when sent by him to Rome, in the matter of Nestorius." (Cyrill.Ep. XI.tom. lxxvii. 85.) CXLIX "Copy of the Letter Written by John, Bishop of Antioch, to Nestorius." This letter has sometimes been supposed to have been really composed by Theodoret.

LETTER 150: LETTER OF THEODORETUS, BISHOP OF CYRUS, TO JOANNES, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH

I have been much distressed at reading the anathematisms which you have sent to request me to refute in writing, and to make plain to all their heretical sense. I have been distressed at the thought that one appointed to the shepherd's office, entrusted with the charge of so great a flock and appointed to heal the sick among his sheep, is both himself unsound, and that to a terrible degree, and is endeavouring to infect his lambs with his disease and treats the sheep of his folds with greater cruelty than that of wild beasts. They, indeed, tear and rend the sheep that are dispersed and separated from the flock; but be in its very midst, and while thought to be its saviour and its guardian introduces secret error among the victims of their confidence in

him. Against an open assault it is possible to take precautions, but when an attack is made in the guise of friendship, its victim is found off his guard and hurt is easily done him. Hence foes who make war from within are far more dangerous than those who attack from without.

I am yet more grieved that it should be in the name of true religion and with the dignity of a shepherd that he should give utterance to his heretical and blasphemous words, and renew that vain and impious teaching of Apollinarius which was long ago stamped out. Besides all this there is the fact that he not only supports these views but even dares to anathematize those who decline to participate in his blasphemies;-if he is really the author of these productions and they have not proceeded from some enemy of the truth who has composed them in his name and, as the old story has it, flung the apple of discord in the midst, and so fanned the flame on high. But whether this composition comes from himself or from some other in his name, I, for my part, by the aid of the light of the Holy Ghost, in the investigation of this heretical and corrupt opinion, according to the measure of the power given me, have refuted them as best I could. I have confronted them with the teaching of evangelists and apostles. I have exposed the monstrosity of the doctrine, and proved how vast is its divergence from divine truth. This I have done by comparing it with the words of the Holy Spirit, and pointing out what strange and jarring discord there is between it and the divine.

Against the hardihood of this anathematizing, thus much I will say, that Paul, the clear-voiced herald of truth, anathematized those who had corrupted the evangelic and apostolic teaching and boldly did so against the angels, not against those who abided by the laws laid down by theologians; these he strengthened with blessings, saying, "And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them and mercy and on the Israel of God." Let then the author of these writings reap from the Apostle's curse the due rewards of his labours and the harvest of his seeds of heresy. We will abide in the teaching of the holy Fathers. To this letter I bare appended my counter arguments, that on reading them you may judge whether I have effectively destroyed the heretical propositions. Setting down each of the anathematisms by itself, I have annexed the counter statement that readers may easily understand, and that the refutation of the dogmas may he clear.

LETTER 151: LETTER OR ADDRESS OF THEODORET TO THE MONKS OF THE EUPHRATENSIAN, THE OSRHOENE, SYRIA,...

When I contemplate the condition of the Church at the present crisis of affairs,-the tempest which has recently beset the holy ship, the furious blasts, the beating of the waves, the deep darkness of the night, and, besides all this, the strife of the mariners, the struggle going on between oarsmen the drunkenness of the pilots, and, lastly, the untimely action of the bad.-I bethink me of the laments of Jeremiah anti cry with him, "my bowels, my bowels! I am pained at my very heart, my heart maketh a noise in me," and to put away despondency's great cloud by the drops from my eyes, I have recourse to founts of tears. Amid a storm so wild it is fitting that the pilots be awake, to battle wills the tempest, and take heed for the safety of the ship: the sailors ought to cease from their strife, and strive to undo the danger alike by prayer and skill: the mariners ought to keep the peace, and quarrel neither with one another nor with the pilots, but implore the Lord of the sea to banish the darkness by His rod. No one now is willing to do anything of the kind; and, just as happens in a night-engagement, we cannot recognise one another, we leave our enemies alone, and waste our weapons against our own side; we wound our comrades for foes, while all the while the bystanders laugh at our drunken folly, enjoy our disasters, and are delighted to see us engaged in mutual destruction.

The responsibility for all this lies with those who have striven to corrupt the apostolic faith, and have dared to add a monstrous doctrine to the teaching of the Gospels; with them that have accepted the impious "Chapters" which they have sent forth with anathematisms to the imperial city, and have confirmed them, as they have imagined, by their own signatures. But these "Chapters" have sprouted without doubt from the sour root of Apollinarius; they are tainted with Arian and Eunomian error; look into them carefully, and you will find that they are not clear of the impiety of Manes and Valentinus. In his very first chapter he rejects the dispensation which has been made on our behalf, teaching that God the Word did not assume human nature, but was Himself changed into flesh, thus laying down that the incarnation took place not in reality but in semblance and seeming. This is the outcome of the impiety of Marcion, Manes, and Valentinus. In his second and third chapters, as though quite oblivious of what he had stated in his preface, he brings in the hypostatic union, and a meeting by natural union,

and by these terms he represents that a kind of mixture and confusion was effected of the divine nature and of the form of the servant. This comes of the innovation of the Apollinarian heresy.

In his fourth chapter he denies the distinction of the terms of evangelists and apostles, and refuses to allow, as the teaching of the orthodox Father's has allowed, the terms of divine dignity to be understood of the divine nature, while the terms of humility, spoken in human sense, are applied to the nature assumed; whence the rightminded can easily detect the kinship with impiety. For Arius and Eunomius, asserting the only begotten Son of God to be a creature, and made out of the non-existent, and a servant, have ventured to apply to His godhead what is said in lowly and human sense; establishing by such means the difference of substance and the unlikeness. Besides this, to be brief, he argues that the very impassible and immutable Godhead of the Christ suffered, and was crucified, dead, and buried. This goes beyond even the madness of Arius and Eunomius, for this pitch of impiety has not been reached even by them that dare to call the maker and creator of the universe a creature. Furthermore he blasphemes against the Holy Ghost, denying that It proceeds from the Father, in accordance with the word of the Lord, but maintaining that It has Its origin of the Son. Here we have the fruit of the Apollinarian seed; here we come near the evil husbandry of Macedonius. Such are the offspring of the Egyptian, viler children of a vile father.

This growth, which men, entrusted with the healing of souls, ought to make abortive while yet in the womb, or destroy as soon as it is born, as dangerous and deadly to mankind, is cherished by these excellent persons, and promoted with great energy, alike to their own ruin and to that of all who will listen to them.We, on the contrary, earnestly desire to keep our heritage untouched; and the faith which we have received, and in which we have been ourselves baptized, and baptize others, we strive to preserve uninjured and undefiled. We confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, perfect God and perfect man, of a reasonable soul and body, was begotten of the Father before the ages, as touching the Godhead; and in the last days for us men and our salvation (was born) of the Virgin Mary; that the same Lord is of one substance with the Father as touching the Godhead, and of one substance with us as touching the manhood. For there was an union of two natures. Wherefore we acknowledge one Christ, one Son, one Lord; but we do not destroy the

union; we believe it to have been made without confusion, in obedience to the word of the Lord to the Jews, "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up. If on the contrary there had been mixture and confusion, and one nature was made out of both, He ought to have said "Destroy me and in three days I shall be raised.

But now, to show that there is a distinction between God according to His nature, and the temple, and that both are one Christ, His words are "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up," clearly teaching that it was not God who was undergoing destruction, but the temple. The nature of this latter was susceptible of destructions while the power of the former raised what was being destroyed. Furthermore it is in obedience to the divine Scriptures that we acknowledge the Christ to be God and man. That our Lord Jesus Christ is God is asserted by the blessed evangelist John "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was. God. He was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him and without Him was not anything made that was made. And again, "That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. And the Lord Himself distinctly teaches us, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father. And "I and my Father are one" and "I am in the Father and the Father in me," and the blessed Paul in his epistle to the Hebrews says "Who being the brightness of His glory and the express image of His person, and upholding all things by the word of His power" and in the epistle to the Philippians "Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus;

who being in the form of God thought it not robbery to be equal with God but made Himself of no reputation and took upon Him the form of a servant. And in the Epistle to the Romans, "Whose are the fathers and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came who is over all God blessed for ever. Amen. And in the epistle to Titus "Looking for that blessed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ. And Isaiah exclaims "Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon His shoulder; and His name shall be called, Angel of great counsel, Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, powerful, the Prince of Peace, the Father of the Age to come. And again "In chains they shall come over and they shall fall unto thee. They shall make supplication unto thee shying, surely God is in thee anti there is none else, there is no God. Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself, O God of Israel, the Saviour.

The name Emmanuel, however, indicates both God and man, for it is interpreted in the Gospel to mean "God with us," that is to say "God in man," God in our nature. And the divine Jeremiah too utters the prediction "This is our God and there shall none other be accounted of in comparison with him.

He hath found out all the way of knowledge and hath given it unto Jacob His servant and to Israel His beloved and afterward did He show Himself upon earth and conversed with men. And countless other passages might be found as well in the holy gospels and in the writings of the apostles as in the predictions of the prophets, setting forth that our Lord Jesus Christ is very God. That after the Incarnation He is spoken of as Man our Lord Himself teaches in His words to the Jews "Why go ye about to kill me?" "A man that hath told you the truth." And in the first Epistle to the Corinthians the blessed Paul writes "For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead," and to show of whom he is speaking he explains his words and says, "For as in Adam all die even so in Christ shall all be made alive." And writing to Timothy he says, "For there is l one God and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus." In the Acts in his speech at Athens "The times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent; because He hath appointed a day in the which He will judge the world in righteousness by that than whom He hath ordained, whereof He hath given assurance unto all men, in that He hath raised him from the dead." And the blessed Peter preaching to the Jews says, "Ye men of Israel, hear these words Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs which God did by Him in the midst of you," and the prophet Isaiah when predicting the sufferings of the Lord Christ, whom but just before he had called God, calls man in the passage "A man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." "Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows." I might have collected other consentient passages of holy Scripture and inserted them in my letter had I not known yon to be practised in the divine oracles as befits the man called blessed in the Psalms. I now leave the collection of evidence to your own diligence and proceed with my subject.

We confess then that our Lord Jesus Christ is very God and very man. We do not divide the one Christ into two persons, but we believe two natures to be united without confusion. We shall thus be able without difficulty to refute even the manifold blasphemy of the heretics: for many and various are

the errors of those who have rebelled against the truth, as we shall proceed to point out. Marcion and Manes deny that God the Word assumed human nature and do not believe that our Lord Jesus Christ was born of a Virgin. They say that God the Word Himself was fashioned in human form and appeared as man rather in semblance than in reality. Valentinus and Bardesanes admit the birth, but they deny the assumption of our nature and affirm that the Son of God employed the Virgin as it were as a mere conduit.

Sabellius the Libyan, Photinus, Marcellus the Galatian, and Paul of Samosata say that a mere man was born of the Virgin, but openly deny that the eternal Christ was God. Arius and Eunomius maintain that God the Word assumed only a body of the Virgin. Apollinarius adds to the body an unreasonable soul, as though the incarnation of God the Word had taken place not for the sake of reasonable beings but of unreasonable, while the teaching of the Apostles is that perfect man was assumed by perfect God, as is proved by the words "Who being in the form of God took the form of a servant;" for "form" is put instead of "nature" and "substance" and indicates that having the nature of God He took the nature of a servant. When therefore we are disputing with Marcion, Manes and Valentinus, the earliest inventors of impiety, we endeavour to prove from the divine Scriptures that the Lord Christ is not only God but also man.

When, however, we are proving to the ignorant that the doctrine of Arius, Eunomius and Apollinarius about the oeconomy is incomplete, we show from the divine oracles of the Spirit that the assumed nature was perfect. The impiety of Sabellius, Photinus, Marcellus, and Paulus, we refute by proving by the evidence of divine Scripture that the Lord Christ was not only man but also eternal God, of one substance with the Father. That He assumed a reasonable soul is stated by our Lord Himself in the words "Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father save me from this hour; but for this cause came I unto this hour." And again "My soul is exceeding sorrowful even unto death." And in another place "I have power to lay down my soul (life A. V.) and I have power to take it again. No man taketh it from me." And the angel said to Joseph, "Take the young child and His mother and go into the land of Israel; for they are dead which sought the young child's soul (life A. V.)" And the Evangelist says "Jesus increased in wisdom and stature and in favour with God and man." Now what increases in stature and wis-

dom is not the Godhead which is ever perfect, but the human nature which comes into being in time, grows, and is made perfect.

Wherefore all the human qualities of the Lord Christ, hunger, I mean, and thirst and weariness, sleep, fear, sweat, prayer, and ignorance, and the like, we affirm to belong to our nature which God the Word assumed and united to Himself in effecting our salvation. But the restitution of motion to the maimed, the resurrection of the dead, the supply of loaves, and all the other miracles we believe to be works of the divine power. In this sense I say that the same Lord Christ both suffers and destroys suffering; suffers, that is, as touching the visible, and destroys suffering as touching the ineffably indwelling Godhead. This is proved beyond question by the narrative of the holy evangelists, from whom we learn that when lying in a manger and wrapped in swaddling clothes, He was announced by a star, worshipped by magi and hymned by angels. Thus we reverent discern that the swaddling bands and the want of a bed and all the poverty belonged to the manhood; while the journey of the magi and the guiding of the star and the company of the angels proclaim the Godhead of the unseen. In like manner He makes His escape into Egypt and avoids the fury of Herod by flight, for He was man; but as the Prophet says "He shakes the idols of Egypt," for He was by nature God. He is circumcised; He keeps the law; and offers offerings of purification, because He sprang from the root of Jesse. And, as man, He was under the law;

and afterwards did away with the law and gave the new covenant, because He was a lawgiver and had promised by the prophets that He Himself would give it. He was baptized by John; and this shews His sharing what is ours. He is testified to by the Father from on high and is pointed out by the Spirit; this proclaims Him eternal. He hungered; but He fed many thousands with five loaves; the latter is divine, the former human. He thirsted and He asked for water; but He was the well of life; the former of His human weakness, the latter of His divine power. He fell asleep in the boat, but he put the tempest of the sea to sleep; the former of His human nature, the latter of His efficient and creative power which has gifted all things with their being. He was weary as he walked; but He healed the halt and raised dead men from their tombs; the former of human weakness, the latter of a power passing that of this world. He feared death and He destroyed death; the former shows that He was mortal, the latter that He was immortal or rather giver of life. "He was

crucified," as the blessed Paul says "through weakness. But as the same Paul says "Yet He liveth by the power of God.

Let that word "weakness" teach us that He was not nailed to the tree as the Almighty, the Uncircumscribed, the Immutable and Invariable, but that the nature quickened by the power of God, was according to the Apostle's teaching dead and buried, both death and burial being proper to the form of the servant. "He broke the gates of brass and cut the bars of iron in sunder" and destroyed the power of death and in three days raised His own temple. These are proofs of the form of God in accordance with the Lord's words "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up. Thus in the one Christ through the sufferings we contemplate the manhood and through the miracles we apprehend the Godhead. We do not divide the two natures into two Christs, and we know that of the Father God the Word was begotten and that of the seed of Abraham and David our nature was assumed. Wherefore also the blessed Paul says when discoursing of Abraham "He saith not and to seeds as of many; but as of one, and to thy seed which is Christ," and writing to Timothy he says "Remember that Jesus Christ of the seed of David was raised from the dead according to my gospel. And to the Romans he writes "Concerning His son Jesus Christ ...which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh. And again "Whose are the fathers and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came.

And the Evangelist writes "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the Son of David, the Son of Abraham," and the blessed Peter in the Acts says David "being a prophet and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him that of the fruit of his loins, He would raise up Christ to sit on his throne, he seeing this before spake of his resurrection," and God says to Abraham "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," and Isaiah "There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse and a branch shall grow out of His roots; and there shall rest upon Him the spirit of wisdom and understanding the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of piety and the spirit of the fear of the Lord shall fill Him. And a little further on "And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek; and His rest shall be glorious."

From these quotations it is made plain that according to the flesh, the Christ was descended from Abraham and David and was of the same nature

as theirs; while according to the Godhead He is Everlasting Son and Word of God, ineffably and in superhuman manner begotten of the Father, and co-eternal with Him as brightness and express image and Word. For as the word in relation to intelligence and brightness in relation to light are inseparably connected, so is the only begotten Son in relation to His own Father. We assert therefore that our Lord Jesus Christ is only begotten, and first born Son of God; only begotten both before the incarnation arid after the incarnation, but firstborn after being born of the Virgin. For the name first-born seems to be in a sense contrary to that of only begotten, because the only Son begotten of any one is called only begotten, while the eldest of several brothers is called first-born. The divine Scriptures state God the Word alone to have been begotten of tile Father; but the only begotten becomes also first-born, by taking our nature of the Virgin, and deigning to call brothers those who have trusted in Him; so that the same is only begotten in that He is God, first born in that He is Man. Thus acknowledging the two natures we adore the one Christ and offer Him one adoration, for we believe that the union took place from the moment of the conception in the Virgin's holy womb.

Wherefore also we call tile holy Virgin both Mother of God and Mother of man, since the Lord Christ Himself is called God and man in the divine Scripture. The name Emmanuel proclaims the union of the two natures. If we acknowledge the Christ to be both God and Man and so call Him, who is so insensate as to shrink from using the term "Mother of man" with that of "Mother of God"? For we use both terms of the Lord Christ. For this reason the Virgin is honoured and called "full of grace. What sensible man then would object to name the Virgin in accordance with the titles of the Saviour, when on His account she is honoured by the faithful? For He who was born of her is not worshipped on her account, but she is honoured with the highest titles on account of Him Who was born from her.

Suppose the Christ to be God only, and to have taken the origin of His existence from the Virgin, then let the Virgin be styled and named only "Mother of God" as having given birth to a being divine by nature. Bat if the Christ is both God and man and was God from everlasting (inasmuch as He did not begin to exist, being co-eternal with the Father that begat Him) and in these last days was born man of His human nature, then let him who wishes to define doctrine in both directions devise appellations for the Virgin

with the explanation which of them befits the nature and which the union. But if any one should wish to deliver a panegyric and to compose hymns, and to repeat praises, and is naturally anxious to use the most august names; then, not laying down doctrine as in the former case, but with rhetorical laudation, and expressing all possible admiration at the mightiness of the mystery, let him gratify his heart's desire, let him employ high names, let him praise and let him wonder. Many instances of this kind are found in the writings of orthodox teachers. But on all occasions let moderation be respected. All praise to him who said that "moderation is best," although he is not of our herd.

This is the confession of the faith of the Church; this is the doctrine taught by evangelists and apostles. For this faith, by God's grace I will not refuse to undergo many deaths. This faith we have striven to convey to them that now err and stray, again and again challenging them to discussion, and eager to show them the truth, but without success. With a suspicion of their probably plain confutation, they have shirked the encounter; for verily falsehood is rotten and yokefellow of obscurity. "Every one," it is written "that doeth evil cometh not to the light lest his deeds should be reproved" by the light. Since, therefore, after many efforts, I have failed in persuading them to recognise the truth, I have returned to my own churches, filled at once with sorrow and with joy; with joy on account of my own freedom from error; and with sorrow at the unsoundness of my members. I therefore implore you to pray with all your might to our loving Lord, and to cry unto Him, "`Spare Thy people, O Lord and give not Thy heritage to reproach.' Feed us O Lord that we become not as we were in the beginning when Thou didst not rule over us nor was Thy name invoked to help us. `We are become a reproach to our neighhours, a scorn and derision to them that are round about us,' because wicked doctrines have come into Thy inheritance. They have polluted Thy holy temple in that the daughters of stranger's have rejoiced over our troubles. A little while ago we were of one mind and one tongue and now are divided into many tongues. But, O Lord our God, give us Thy peace which we have lost by setting Thy commandments at naught. O Lord we know none other than Thee. We call Thee by Thy name. `Make both one and break down tile middle wall of the partition,' namely the iniquity that has sprung up. Gather us one by one, Thy new Israel, building up Jerusalem and gathering together the outcasts of Israel. Let us be made once more one flock

and all be fed by Thee; for Thou art the good Shepherd `Who giveth His life for the sheep ' `Awake,why sleepest Thou O Lord, arise cast us not off forever' Rebuke the winds and the sea; give Thy Church calm and safety from the waves."

These words and words like these I implore yon to utter to the God of all; for He is good anti full of loving-kindness anti ever fulfils the will of them that fear Him. He will therefore listen to your prayer, and will scatter this darkness deeper than the plague of Egypt. He will give you His own calm of love, and will gather them that are scattered abroad and welcome them that have been cast out. Then shall be heard "the voice of rejoicing and salvation in the tabernacles of the righteous." Then shall we cry unto Him we have been "glad according to the days wherein Thou hast afflicted us and the years wherein we have seen evil," and you when you have been granted your prayer shall praise Him in the words "Blessed be God which not turned away my prayer nor His mercy from me." Proof that after the Incarnation our Lord Jesus Christ, was one Son.

The authors of slanders against me allege that I divide the one Lord Jesus Christ into two sons. But so far am I from holding this opinion that I charge with impiety all who dare to say so. For I have been taught. by the divine Scripture to worship one Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, God the Word incarnate. For we confess the same to be both God eternal, and made man in the last days for the sake of man's salvation; but made man not by the change of the Godhead but by the assumption of the manhood. For the nature of this godhead is immutable and invariable, as is that of the Father who begat Him before the ages. And whatever would be understood of the substance of the Father will also be wholly found in the substance of the only begotten; for of that substance He is begotten. This our Lord taught when the said to Philip "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father" and again in another place "All things that the Father hath are mine," and elsewhere "I and the Father are one," and very many other passages may be quoted setting forth the identity of substance.

It follows that He did not become God: He was God. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God; and the Word was God. He was not man: He became man, and the so became by taking on Him our nature: So says the blessed Paul-"Who being in the form of God thought it not robbery to be equal with God, hut made Himself of no reputation, and took

upon Him the form of a servant. And again: "For verily He took not on Him the nature of angel's; but He took on Him the seed of Abraham. And again; Forasmuch then as the children are partaker's of flesh and blood, He also Himself likewise took part of the same.<mindy>" Thus He was both passible and impassible; mortal and immortal; passible, on the one hand, and mortal, as man; impassible, on the other, and immortal, as God. As God He raised His own flesh, which was dead;-as His own words declare: "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. And as man, He was passible and mortal up to the time of the passion. For, after the resurrection, even as man He is impassible, immortal, and incorruptible; and He discharges divine lightnings; not that according to the flesh tie has been changed into the nature of Godhead, but still preserving the distinctive marks of humanity. Nor yet is His body uncircumscribed, for this is peculiar to the divine nature alone, but it abides in its former circumscription.

This He teaches in the words He spake to the disciples even after His resurrection "Behold my hands and feet that it is I myself; handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have. While He was thus beheld He went up into heaven; thus has He promised to come again, thus shall He be seen both by them that have believed and them that have crucified, for it is written "They shall look on Him whom they pierced. We therefore worship the Son, but we contemplate in Him either nature in its perfection, both that which took, and that which was taken; the one of God and the other of David. For this reason also He is styled both Son of the living God and Son of David; either nature receiving its proper title. Accordingly the divine scripture calls him both God and man, and the blessed Paul exclaims "There is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus; who gave Himself a ransom for all. But Him whom here he calls man in another place he describes as God for he says "Looking for that blessed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ. And yet in another place he uses both names at once saying "Of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came who is over all God blessed for ever. Amen."

Thus he has stated the same Christ to be of the Jews according to the flesh, and God over all as God. Similarly the prophet Isaiah writes "A man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. ...Surely He hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows," and shortly afterwards he says "Who shall declare His gen-

eration?" This is spoken not of man but of God. Thus through Micah God says "Thou Bethlehem in the land of Judah art not the least among the princes of Judah, for out of thee shall come a governor that shall rule my people Israel, whose goings forth have been as of old from everlasting." Now by saying "From thee shall come forth a ruler" he exhibits the oeconomy of the incarnation; and by adding "whose goings forth have been as of old from everlasting" he declares the Godhead begotten of the Father before the ages.

Since we have been thus taught by the divine scripture, and have further found that the teachers who have been at different periods illustrious in the Church, are of the same opinion, we do our best to keep our heritage inviolate; worshipping one Son of God, one God the Father, and one Holy Ghost; but at the same time recognising the distinction between flesh and Godhead. And as we assert them that divide our one Lord Jesus Christ into two sons to trangress flora the road trodden by the holy apostles, so do we declare the maintainers of the doctrine that the Godhead of the only begotten and the manhood have been made one nature to fall headlong into the opposite ravine. These doctrines we hold; these we preach; for these we do battle. The slander of the libellers that represent me as worshipping two sons is refuted by the plain facts of the case. I teach all persons who come to holy Baptism the faith put forth at Nicaea; and, when I celebrate the sacrament of regeneration I baptize them that make profession of their faith in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, pronouncing each name by itself. And when I am performing divine service in the churches it is my wont to give glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost; not sons, but Son. If then I uphold two sons, whether of the two is glorified by me, and whether remains unhonoured? For I have not quite come to such a pitch of stupidity as to acknowledge two sons and leave one of them without any tribute of respect. It follows then even from this fact that the slander is proved slander,-for I worship one only begotten Son, God the Word incarnate. And I call the holy Virgin "Mother of God" because she has given birth to the Emmanuel, which means "God with us." But the prophet who predicted the Emmanuel a little further on has written of him that "Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulders; and his name is called Angel of great counsel, wonderful, counsellor, mighty God, powerful, Prince of peace, Father of the age to come." Now if the babe born of the Virgin is styled "Mighty God," then it is only with

reason that the mother is called "Mother of God." For the mother shares the honour of her offspring, and the Virgin is both mother of the Lord Christ as man, and again is His servant as Lord and Creator and God.

On account of this difference of term He is said by the divine Paul to be "without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days nor end of life." He is without father as touching His humanity; for as man He was born of a mother alone. And He is without mother as God, for He was begotten from everlasting of the Father alone. And again He is without descent as God while as man He has descent. For it is written "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ the son of David, the son of Abraham." His descent is also given by the divine Luke. So again, as God, He has no beginning of days for He was begotten before the ages; neither has He an end of life, for His nature is immortal and impassible. But as man He had both a beginning of days, for He was born in the reign of Augustus Caesar, and an end of life, for He was crucified in the reign of Tiberius Caesar. But now, as I have already said, even His human nature is immortal; and, as He ascended, so again shall He come according to the words of the Angel-"This same Jesus which is taken up from you into Heaven shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him go into Heaven."

This is the doctrine delivered to us by the divine prophets; this is the doctrine of the company of the holy apostles; this is the doctrine of the great saints of the East and of the West; of the far-famed Ignatius, who received his archpriesthood by the right hand of the great Peter, and for the sake of his confession of Christ was devoured by savage beasts; and of the great Eustathius, who presided over the assembled council, and on account of his fiery zeal for true religion was driven into exile. This doctrine was preached by the illustrious Meletius, at the cost of no less pains, for thrice was he driven from his flock in the cause of the apostles` doctrines; by Flavianus, glory of the imperial see; and by the admirable Ephraim, instrument of divine grace, who has left us in the Syriac tongue a written heritage of good things; by Cyprian, the illustrious ruler of Carthage and of all Libya, who for Christ's sake found a death in the fire; by Damasus, bishop of great Rome, and by Ambrose, glory of Milan, who preached and wrote it in the language of Rome.

The same was taught by the great luminaries of Alexandria, Alexander and Athanasius, men of one mind, who underwent sufferings celebrated

throughout the world. This was the pasture given to their flocks by the great teachers of the imperial city, by Gregory, shining friend and supporter of the truth; by John, teacher of the world, by Atticus, their successor alike in see and in sentiment. By these doctrines Basil, great light of the truth, and Gregory sprung from the same parents, and Amphilochius, who from him received the gift of the high-priesthood, taught their contemporaries, and have left the same to us in their writings for a goodly heritage. Time would fail me to tell of Polycarp, and Irenaeus, of Methodius and Hippolytus, and the rest of the teachers of the Church. In a word I assert that I follow the divine oracles and at the same time all these saints. By the grace of the spirit they dived into the depths of God-inspired scripture and both themselves perceived its mind, and made it plain to all that are willing to learn. Difference in tongue has wrought no difference in doctrine, for they were channels of the grace of the divine spirit, using the stream from one and the same fount.

LETTER 152: REPORT OF THE(BISHOPS) OF THE EAST TO THE EMPEROR, GIVING INFORMATION OF THEIR…

Report of The(Bishops) of the East to the Emperor, Giving Information of Their Proceedings, and Explaining the Cause of the Delay in the Arrival of the Bishop of Antioch

In obedience to the order of your pious letter we have journeyed to the Ephesian metropolis. There we have found the affairs of the Church in confusion, and disturbed by internecine war. The cause of this is that Cyril of Alexandria and Memnon of Ephesus have handed together and mustered a great mob of rustics, and have forbidden both the celebration of the great feast of Pentecost, and the evening and morning offices. They have shut the sacred churches and martyrs' shrines; they have assembled apart with the victims of their deceit; they have wrought innumerable iniquities, trampling under foot alike the canons of the holy Fathers, and your own decrees. And the action has been taken in face of the order given both in writing and by word of mouth by the most excellent count Candidianus, envoy of your Christ-loving majesty, that the council must await the arrival of the very holy bishops, coming from all quarters of the Empire, and then and not till then formally assemble in obedience to your piety's commands. Moreover Cyril of Alexandria had written to me, the bishop of Antioch, two days before the meeting of their synod, that the whole council was awaiting my ar-

rival. We have therefore deposed both the aforenamed, Cyril and Memnon, and have excluded them from all the services of the church. The rest, who have participated in their iniquity, we have excommunicated, until they shall reject and anathematize the Chapters issued by Cyril, which are full of the Eunomian and Arian heresies, and shall, in obedience to your piety's command, assemble together with us, and shall in an orderly manner and with all exactitude, together with ourselves, examine into the questions at issue, and confirm the pious doctrine of the holy Fathers.

As to the delay in my own arrival be it known to your piety that, in consideration of the distance of the way by land,-and this was our route,-I have come very quickly, I have travelled forty stages without pausing to rest on the way; so your Christian majesty may learn from the inhabitants of the towns on the route. Besides this I was detained many days in Antioch by the famine there; by the daily tumults of the people; and by the unusual severity of the rainy season, which caused the torrents to swell, and threatened danger to the town. CLIII. Report of the Same to the Empresses Pulcheria and Eudoxia. We had expected to be able to report to your pious majesties in different terms, but we are now compelled to make known to you the following facts, forced as we are by the irregular exercise of despotic power by Cyril of Alexandria and Memnon of Ephesus. The proper course to have been pursued, in accordance with the laws of the Church, and the command of your pious majesties, would have been to wait for the arrival of the godly bishops on the road, and in common with them to examine into the questions at issue concerning the true faith, and investigate the point offered for discussion, and, after exact enquiry, to confirm the doctrines of the apostles. They had written to me that they would wait for our arrival. They heard that we were only three stages off. Then they assembled an unconstitutional council by themselves, and have ventured on proceedings iniquitous, irregular, and bristling with absurdities. And this they have done though the most honourable count Candidianus, sent by your pious and Christian majesties for good order's sake, expressly charged them, alike in writing and by word of mouth, to wait for the arrival of the godly bishops who had been convened, and to attempt no innovation on the true faith, but to take their stand on the directions of our godly-minded sovereigns. Now in spite of their having heard the imperial letter and the advice of the most honourable count Candidianus, they have nevertheless made naught of due order. As the

prophet says "They hatch cockatrice' eggs, and weave the spider's web; and he that would eat of their eggs when he breaks them findeth rottenness, and therein is a viper," Wherefore we confidently cry "Their webs shall not become garments, neither shall they cover themselves with their works."

They have shut the churches and the martyrs' shrines; they have forbidden the celebration of the holy feast of Pentecost; besides this they have sent the minions of their disorderly despotism into bishops' private houses, uttering shocking threats, and forcing them to affix their signatures to illegal acts. We therefore considering all their preposterous conduct, have deposed the aforenamed Cyril and Memnon, and deprived them of their episcopate. Their associates in irregularity, whether influenced by sycophancy or by fear, we have excommunicated, until, coming to a knowledge of their own wounds, they shall heartily repent, shall anathematize the heretical Chapters of Cyril, which are tainted with the heresy of Apollinarius, Arius, and Eunomius, shall recover the faith of the Fathers in Council at Nicaea, and, in obedience to the pious commands of our Christian sovereigns, shall, peacefully and without any tumult, assemble in synod, be willing to examine with care the questions submitted to them, and honestly protect the purity of the faith of the Gospel.

LETTER 154: REPORT OF THE SAME TO THE SENATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

CLV. Letter of John, Bishop of Antioch and His Supporters, to the Clergy of Constantinople. CLVI. Letter of the Same to the People of Constantinople. CLVII. Report of the Council of (the Bishops Of) the East to the Victorious Emperor, Announcing a Second Time the Deposition of Cyril and of Memnon. Your piety, which shines forth for the good of the empire and of the churches of God, has commanded us to assemble at Ephesus, in order to bring about peace and gain for the Church, rather than to confuse and disturb it. And the commands of your majesty plainly and distinctly indicate your pious and peaceful intentions for the churches of Christ. But Cyril of Alexandria, a man, it would seem, born and bred for the bane of the churches, after taking into partnership the audacity of Memnon of Ephesus, has first of all transgressed against your quieting and pious decree, and has so shewed his general depravity. Your majesty had ordered an investigation and careful testing to be made concerning the faith, and that with the consent and concord of all. Cyril, challenged, or rather himself convicting himself,

on the count of the Apollinarian doctrines, by means of the letter which he lately sent to the imperial city, with anathematisms, whereby he is convicted of sharing the views of the impious and heretic Apollinarius, pays no heed to this condition of things, and, as though we were living with no emperor to govern us, is proceeding to every kind of lawlessness. He ought himself to be called to account for his unsound opinion about our Lord Jesus Christ; but, usurping an authority given him neither by the canons, nor by your edicts, he is hurrying headlong into every kind of disorder and illegality.

Moved by these things the holy Synod, which has refused to accept his devices for the damage of the faith, for the aforesaid reasons deposes him. It deposes Memnon also, who has been his counsellor and abettor through all, who has kept up constant agitation against the very holy bishops for refusing to assent to his pernicious heterodoxy; who has shut the churches and every place of prayer, as if we were living among the heathen and the enemies of God; who has brought in the Ephesian mob, so that every day we are in supreme danger, while we look not to defence, but heed the right doctrines of true religion. For the destruction of these men is identical with the establishment of orthodoxy. From his own Chapters your majesty can have no difficulty in perceiving his impious mind. He is convicted of trying, so to say, to raise from Hades the impious Apollinarius, who died in his heresy, and of attacking the churches and the orthodox faith. He is shewn in his publications to anathematize at once evangelists and apostles and them that succeeded them as forefathers of the Church, who, moved not by their own imaginations, but by the holy Spirit, have preached the true faith, and proclaimed the gospel; a faith and gospel indeed opposed to what this man holds and teaches and by inculcating which he wishes to give his own private iniquity the mastery of the world. Since this is intolerable to us we have followed the proper course, relying at once on the divine grace and on your majesty's good will.

We know that you give to nothing higher honour than to the sacred faith in which both you and your thrice blessed forefathers have been brought up. From them you have received the perpetual sceptre of empire, ever putting down the opponents of the apostolic doctrines. Such an opponent is the aforesaid Cyril, who, with the aid of Memnon, has captured Ephesus as he might some fortress, and justly shares with his ally the sentence of deposition. Justly: for, besides all that has been said, they have boldly tried

every means of assault and every violence against us, who, to come together in council in ratification of your edict, have disregarded every claim of home and country and self. We are now the prey of tyranny, unless your piety intervene and order us to assemble in some other place, near at hand, where we shall be able, from the scriptures, and from the writings of the Fathers, to refute beyond contradiction both Cyril and the victims of his ingenuity. We have mercifully expelled these men from communion with the suggested hope of salvation in case they should repent; although, as if on some campaign of uncivilized soldiery, they have up to this moment furnished him with the means of his illegality. Some were deposed long ago, and have been restored by Cyril. Some have been excommunicated by their own metropolitans, and admitted by him again into communion. Others have been impaled on various accusations, and have been promoted by him to honour. All through, the main motive of his action has been the endeavour to achieve his heretical purpose by the force of numbers, for he does not reckon as he ought that in what relates to true religion, it is not numbers that are required, but rather correctness of doctrine and the truth of the doctrine of the apostles. Men are needed who are competent to establish these points not by audacity and masterful self-assertion but by pious use of apostolic testimony and example.

For all these reasons we beseech and implore your majesty to bear prompt aid to assaulted truth, and to remedy without delay these men's masterful readiness; for, like a hurricane, it is sweeping the less moderate among us into pernicious heresy. Your piety has had care for the churches in Persia and among the barbarians; it is only right that you should not neglect those which are tossed by the storm within the boundaries of the Roman empire. CLVIII. Report of (the Bishops Of) the East to the Very Pious Emperor, Which Delivered with the Preceding. Report to the Right Honourable Count Irenaeus. On receiving the letter of your piety we entertained hopes that the Egyptian storm which has lately struck the churches of God would be driven away. But we have been disappointed. Those men have been made even yet more daring by their madness; they have given no heed to the sentence of deposition justly and in due forth passed upon them, nor have become any more moderate in consequence of the rebuke of your majesty. They have trampled down alike the laws of your piety, and the canons of the holy Fathers, and, some of them being deposed and some excommunicated,

keep festivals, and celebrate communion, in Houses of Prayer. And we, as we have already informed your Christ-loving majesty, on the receipt of your clemency's kindly letter, though our only desire was to pray in the church of the Apostles, have not only been prevented, but actually stoned, and chased for a considerable distance, so that we were compelled to effect our safety by flight at full speed. Our opponents on the contrary think that they may act just as they please. They have declined to make investigation of the questions at issue, and to undertake the defence of Cyril's heretical Chapters, rejecting the plain proofs of the impiety which they contain. They are impudent from mere impudence, while the examination of the questions before us requires not impudence, but calmness, knowledge, and skill in matters of doctrine.

Under these circumstances we have been under the necessity of sending forward the most honourable Count Irenaeus, to approach your piety, and to explain the position of affairs. He has accurate information concerning all that has occurred, and has learned from us many modes of cure, whereby it may be possible to bring about the restoration of tranquillity to the holy churches of God. We beseech your clemency to grant him patient audience, and to give orders for the prompt carrying out of whatever measures may seem good to your piety, that we be not here crushed beyond all endurance. CLIX. Letter of the Same to the Praefect and to the Master. CLX. Letter of the Same to the Governor and Scholasticus. CLXI. Report Presented to the Emperor by John, Archbishop of Antioch and His Supporters Through Palladius Magistrianus. CLXII. Letter of Theodoretus to Andreas, Bishop of Samosata, Written from Ephesus.

Writing from Ephesus I salute your holiness, I congratulate you on your infirmity, and deem you dear to God, in that you have known what evil deeds have been going on here by report, and not by personal experience. Evil indeed! They transcend all imagination and all incidents of history; they compel a continual downpour of tears. The body of the Church is in peril of dismemberment;-nay, rather I may say it has received the first incision;-unless the wise Healer restore and re-connect the unsoundand severed limbs. Once again the Egyptian is raging against God, and warring with Moses and Aaron His servants, and the more part of Israel are on the side of the foe; for all too few are the sound who willingly suffer for true religion's sake. Ancient principles are trodden under foot. Deposed men perform priestly functions, and they who have deposed them sit sighing at home. Men excommunicated

by the same sentence as the deposed have relieved the deposed of their deposition of their own free will. Such is the mockery of a synod held by Egyptians, by Palestinians, by men from the Pontic and Asian dioceses, and by the West in their company.

What players in a pantomime, in the days of paganism, even in any farce so held up religion to ridicule? Indeed what farce-writer ever performed such a play? What dramatist ever wrote so sad a tragedy? Such and so great are the troubles that have beset God's Church, whereof I have narrated but a very small part. CLXIII. First Letter of the Commissioners of the East, Sent to Chalcedon, Among Whom Was Theodoretus. On our arrival at Chalcedon, for neither we ourselves nor our opponents were permitted to enter Constantinople, on account of the seditions of the excellent monks, we heard that eight days before we had appeared (behold the glory of the most pious prince) the lord Nestorius was dismissed from Ephesus, free to go where he would; whereat we are much distressed, since verily deeds done illegally and informally now seem to have some force. Let your holiness however be assured that we shall eagerly join the battle for the Faith, and are willing to fight even unto death. To-day, the 11th of the month Gorpiaeum, we are expecting our very pious Emperor to cross over to the Rufinianum, and there to hear the trial.

We therefore beg your holiness to pray the Lord Christ to help us to be able to con firm the faith of the holy Fathers, and to pluck up by the roots these Chapters which have sprouted to the damage of the Church. We implore your holiness to think and act with us, and to abide in your ready devotion to the orthodox faith. When this letter was written the lord Himerius had not yet met us, being peradventure hindered on the road. But do not let this trouble you. Only let your piety strenuously support us, and we trust that gloom will disappear, and the truth shine forth. CLXIV. Second Epistle of the Same to the Same, Expressing Premature Triumph in Victory. Through the prayers of your holiness our most pious prince has granted us an audience, anti by God's grace we have got the better of our opponents, as all our views have beenaccepted by the most Christ-loving emperor. The reports of others were read, and what seemed unfit to be received, and had no further importance, he rejected. They were full of Cyril, and petitioned that he might be summoned to give an account of himself. So far they have not prevailed, but have heard discourses on true religion, that is on the system of the

Faith, and that the faith of the blessed Fathers was confirmed. We further refuted Acacius who had laid down in his Commentaries that the Godhead is possible. At this our pious emperor was so shocked at the enormity of the blasphemy that he flung off his mantle, and stepped back. We know that the whole assembly welcomed us as champions of true religion.

It has seemed good to our most pious emperor that anyone should explain his own views, and report them to his piety. We have replied that it is impossible for us to make any other exposition than that made by the blessed Fathers at Nicaea, and so it has pleased his majesty. We therefore offered the form subscribed by your holiness. Moreover, the whole population of Constantinople is continually coming out to us to implore us to fight manfully for the Faith. We do our best to restrain them, to avoid giving offence to our opponents. We have sent a copy of the expositing, that two copies may be made, and you may subscribe them both. CLXV. Letter of the Same to the Same. To the very pious bishops now in Ephesus: Johannes, Himerius, Paulus, Apringius, Theodoretus, greeting. For the fifth time an audience has been granted us. We entered largely into the question of the heretical Chapters, and swore again and again to the very pious emperor that it was, impossible for us to hold communion with our opponents unless they rejected the Chapters. We pointed out moreover that even if Cyril did abjure his Chapters he could not be received by us, because he had become the heresiarch of so impious a heresy. Nevertheless we gained no ground, because our adversaries were urgent, and their hearers could neither restrain them in their insolent endeavour, nor compel them to come to enquiry and argument. They thus evade the investigation of the Chapters, and allow no discussion concerning them. We, however, as you entreat, are ready to insist to the death. We refuse to receive Cyril and his Chapters; we will not admit these men to Communion till the improper additions to the Faith be rejected. We therefore implore your holiness to continue to show at once our mind and our efforts. The battle is for true religion; for the only hope we have,-on account of which we look forward to enjoying, in the world to come, the loving-kindness of our Saviour. As to the very pious and holy bishop Nestorius, be it known to your piety that we have tried to introduce a word about him, but have hitherto failed, because all are ill-affected toward him.

We will notwithstanding do our best, though this is so, to take advantage of any opportunity that may offer, and of the goodwill of the audience, to carry out this purpose, God helping us. But that your holiness may not be ignorant of this too, know that we, seeing that the partisans of Cyril have deceived everyone by domineering, cheating, flattering, and bribing, have more than once besought the very pious emperor and most noble princes both to send us back to the East, and let your holiness go home. For we are beginning to learn that we are wasting time in vain, without nearing our end, because Cyril everywhere shirks discussion, in his conviction that the blasphemies published in his Twelve Chapters can be openly refuted. The very pious emperor has determined, after many exhortations, that we all go every one to his own home, and that, further, both the Egyptian and Memnon of Ephesus are to remain in their own places. So the Egyptian will be able to go on blindfolding by bribery. The one, after crimes too many to tell, is to return to his diocese. The other, an innocent man, is barely permitted to go home. We and all here salute you and all the brotherhood with you.

LETTER 166: FIRST PETITION OF THE COMMISSIONERS, ADDRESSED FROM CHALCEDON, TO THE EMPEROR

It had been much to be desired that the word of true religion should not be adulterated by ridiculous explanations, and least of all by men who have obtained the priesthood and high office in the churches, and who have been induced, we know not how, by ambition, by lust of authority, and by certain poor promises, to despise all the commandments of Christ. Their only motive has been the desire to pay court to a man who has the presumption to hope that he and his abettors will be able to manage the whole business with success; I mean Cyril of Alexandria. Of his own frivolity he has intruded into the holy churches of God heretical doctrines which he believes himself able to support by argument. He expects to escape the chastisement of sinners by the sole help of Memnon and the bishops of the aforesaid conspiracy. We are lovers of silence; in general we advise a philosophic course of action. Now, however, sensible that to be silent and to cultivate philosophy would be to throw away the Faith, we turn in supplication to you who, next to the Goodness on high, are the sole preserver of the world. We know that it specially belongs to you to be anxious for true religion, as having, up to this present day, continually protected it, and being in turn protected by it.

We beg you therefore to receive this treatise, as though our defence were to be pleaded in the presence of the most holy God; not because we are less active in the sacred cause, but because we are devoted to true religion, and are speaking in its behalf. For in Christian times the clergy have no more bounden duty than to bear testimony before so faithful a prince, however ready we might have been to yield our bodies and to lay down our lives a thousand times in the battle for the faith. We therefore beseech you by God who seeth all things, by our Lord Jesus Christ who will judge all men in righteousness, by the Holy Ghost by whose grace you hold your empire, and by the elect angels who are your guardians and whom one day you shall see standing by the awful throne, and ceaselessly offering unto God that dread doxology which it is now sought to corrupt; we beseech your piety, besieged as you now are by the craftiness of certain men who are forbidding access to you, and are supporting the introduction into the faith of heretical Chapters, utterly at variance with sound doctrine, and tainted with heresy, to order all who subscribe them, or assent to them, and wish, after your promised pardon, to dispute further, to come forth and submit to the discipline of the Church.

Nothing, sir, is more worthy of an emperor than to fight for the truth, for which you hurried to join battle with Persians and other barbarians, when Christ granted you to win fair victories in acknowledgment of your zeal towards Him. We beseech you that the questions at issue may be put before your piety in writing, for thus their purport will be more easily perceived, and the transgressors will be convicted for all future time. If however anyone, heedless of the utterances for which he shall be at fault, shall wish by his teaching to prevail over the right faith, it will be the part of your justice and judgment to consider whether the very name of teachers has not been thrown away by men who are reluctant to run any risks concerning the doctrines which they introduce, refusing to be obedient to your orders, that they may escape conviction for having done wrong; nor reckoning them worth refutation, that their mutual conspiracy be not proved fruitless. For now it is clear, from those that have been ordained by them that some of them, in return for this impiety, have bethought them of obliging certain persons by the concession of dignities and have devised certain other means. This will become still more clear; and your piety will soon see that they will distribute

the rewards of their treachery, as though they were the spoils of the faith of Christ.

But we, of whom some were long ago ordained by the very pious Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, have kept silence, although it was our duty to contend for the canon, that we might not seem to be troubled for our own reputation's sake. We are now perfectly well aware of his active trickery through Phoenicia Secunda and Arabia. We really have not time to attend to such things. We are men who have preferred rather to be deprived of the very places of which the ministry has been entrusted to us, and so of our life, than of our ready zeal for the faith. To the attempts of those men we will oppose the sentence of God and of your piety. Now also we beg that true religion may be your one and primary care, and that the brightness of orthodoxy, which at length with difficulty blazed forth in the days of Constantine of holy name, was maintained by your blessed grandfather and father, and was extended by your majesty among the Persians and other barbarians, be not allowed to grow dim in the very innermost courts of your imperial palace, or, in your serenity's days, to be dispersed.

You will not send, sir, a divided Christianity into Persia; nor here at home will there be anything great, while we are distressed by disputes, and while there is no one existing on their side to settle them; no one will take part in a divided Word and Sacraments; no one without loss of faith will cut himself off from such famous fathers and saints who have never been condemned. No imperial successes will be permitted to a people at variance among themselves; a burst of derision will be roused from the enemies of true religion; and all the other noxious consequences of their malignant controversy are too numerous to reckon. If there is anyone who thinks little of the science of theology, let that one be any one in the world rather than he to whom the Lord has given the supreme government of the world. Our petition is that your piety will give judgment, for God will guide your intelligence into exact comprehension. Finally, should this be impracticable (and all the engagements of your piety we cannot know) we beseech your serenity to give us leave to travel safely home. We are aware that to the dioceses entrusted to us cause of offence is given by so protracted a delay, on account of those men who even in sacred matters look out for opportunities of dissension whence no advantage can be derived.

LETTER 167: SECOND PETITION OF THE SAME, SENT FROM CHALCEDON TO THEODOSIUS AUGUSTUS

Your piety has been informed on several occasions, both by ourselves in person and by our emissaries, that the doctrine of the true faith seems to stand in danger of being corrupted, and that the body of the Church is apparently being rent asunder by men who are turning everything upside down, trampling upon all church order, and all imperial law, and throwing everything into confusion that they may confirm the heresy propounded by Cyril of Alexandria. For when we were first summoned by your piety to Ephesus, to enquire into the question which had arisen and to confirm the evangelic and apostolic faith laid down by the holy Fathers, before the arrival of all the bishops who had been convened, the holders of their own private Council confirmed in writing the heretical Chapters, which are at one with the impiety of Arius, Eunomius and Apollinarius. Some they deceived; some they terrified; others already charged with heresy, they received into communion; and others who had not communicated with them were bribed into so doing; others again were fired with the hope of dignities for which they were unfit; so these men gathered round them a great crowd of adherents, as though they had no idea that true religion is shewn not by numbers, but by truth.

The dispatch of your piety was read a second time by the most honourable Count Candidianus, ordering that the questions recently raised be examined in a quiet and brotherly manner. When however all the pious bishops were assembling, the reading had no effect. Then came the noble Palladius Magistrianus, bringing another dispatch from your majesty, to the effect that all enactments passed privately and apart must be rescinded that the Council must be assembled afresh and the true doctrine ratified; but, as usual this your pious mandate was treated with contempt by these unscrupulous persons. Then again arrived the right honourable Master John, at that time "Comes Largitionum," bringing another pious letter to the effect that the depositions of the three had been decreed, that the offences which had sprung up were to be removed, and the faith laid down at Nicaea by the holy and blessed Fathers was to be ratified by all. As usual these universal mockers transgressed this law too.

For after hearing the letter they did not change their mode of action; they held communion with the deposed; spoke of them as bishops, and re-

fused to allow the Chapters, which had been propounded to the loss and corruption of the pious faith to be rejected; notwithstanding their having been frequently summoned by us to discussion. For we had ready to hand a plain refutation of the heretical Chapters. In evidence of these statements we have the right honourable Master, who when both sides had been summoned a third and a fourth time, not venturing to make this conduct an excuse on account of their disobedience, thought it worth while to summon us hither. We came at once; on our arrival we allowed ourselves no rest making our petition, both before your piety and before the illustrious assembly, that they would take up the quarrel for the Chapters and enter into discussion concerning them, or on the other hand reject them as contrary to the right faith, abiding by the faith as laid clown by the blessed fathers in council at Nicaea.

They refused to do anything of the kind; they persisted in their heretical procedure; yet they were allowed to attend the churches, and to perform their priestly functions. We, however, alike at Ephesus and here, have been for a long time deprived of communion; alike there and here we have undergone innumerable perils; and while we were being stoned and all but slain by slaves dressed up as monks, we took it all for the best, as willingly enduring such treatment in the cause of the truth. Afterwards it seemed good to your majesty that we and the opposite party should assemble once again, that the recalcitrant might be compelled to examine the doctrines. While we were waiting for this to come to pass your piety set out for the city, and ordered the very men who were being accused of heresy and had been therefore some of them deposed by us, and others excommunicated and thereafter to be subjected to the discipline of the Church, to come to the city and perform priestly functions, and ordain. We however who in the cause of true religion have undertaken a struggle so tremendous; we who have shrunk from no peril in our battle for right doctrine, have neither been bidden to enter the city to serve the cause of the imperilled Faith and strive for orthodoxy; nor have we been permitted to return home; but here we are in Chalcedon distressed and groaning for the Church oppressed by schism.

Wherefore since we are in receipt of no reply we have thought it necessary to inform your piety by this present letter, before God and Christ and the Holy Ghost, that if any one shall have been ordained (before the settlement of right doctrines) by these men of heretical opinions, he must necessarily be

cut off from the whole church, as well from the clergy as the dissentient laity. For none of the pious will endure that communion be granted to heretics, and their own salvation be nullified. And when this shall have come to pass, then your piety shall be compelled to act against your will. For the schism will grow beyond all expectation, and thereby the champions of true religion will be saddened, unable to endure the loss of their own souls, and the establishment of those impious doctrines of Cyril which the contentious are desirous of defending.

Many indeed of the supporters of true religion will never allow the acceptance of Cyril's doctrines; we shall never allow it, who all are of the diocese of the East of your province, of the diocese of Pontus, of Asia, of Thrace, of Illyricum and of the Italies, and who also sent to your piety the treatise of the most blessed Ambrose, written against this nascent superstition. To avoid all this, and the further troubling of your piety, we beg, beseech, and implore you to issue an edict that no ordination take place before the settlement of the orthodox faith, on account of which we have been convened by your Christ-loving highness. CLXVIII. Third Demand of the Same, Addressed from Chalcedon to the Sovereigns. We never expected the summons of your piety to meet with this result. We were honourably convoked, as priests by prince; we were convoked to ratify the faith of the holy Fathers; and therefore, in due obedience to a pious prince, we came. On our arrival we were no less faithful to the Church, not less respectful to your edict. From the day of our arrival at Ephesus till the present moment we have without intermission followed your behests.

As it seems, however, our moderation, in these times, has not been of the slightest use to us; nay, rather, so far as we can see, it has stood very much in our way. We indeed who have thus behaved have been up to the present time detained in Chalcedon; and now we are told that we may go home. They however who have thrown everything into confusion, who have filled the world with tumult, who are striving to rend churches in twain, and who are the open assailants of true religion, perform priestly functions, crowd the churches, and as they imagine have authority to ordain, though in truth it is illegally claimed by them, stir up seditions in the church, and what ought to be spent upon the poor they throw away upon their bullies. But you are not only their emperor; you are ours too. For no small portion of your empire is

the East, wherein the right faith has ever shone, and, besides, the other provinces and dioceses from which we have been convened.

Let not your majesty despise the faith which is being corrupted, in which you and your forefathers have been baptized; on which the Church's foundations are laid; for which most holy martyrs have rejoiced to suffer countless kinds of death; by aid of which you have vanquished barbarians and destroyed tyrants; which you are needing now in your war for the subjugation of Africa. For on your side will fight the God of all if you struggle on behalf of His holy doctrines and forbid the dismemberment of the body of the church: for dismembered it will be if the opinion prevail which Cyril has introduced into the Church and other heretics have confirmed. To these truths we have often already borne testimony before God both in Ephesus and in this place. I have furnished information to your holiness, giving an account as before the God of all. For this is required of us, as is taught in the divine Scripture both by prophets and apostles; as says the blessed Paul "I give thee charge in the sight of God, who quickeneth the dead, and of Lord Jesus Christ, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession;" and as God charged Ezekiel to announce to the people, adding threats and saying, "when thou givest him not warning, ...his blood will I require at thine hand."

In awe of this sentence, once again we inform your majesty that they who have been permitted to hold churches, and who teach the doctrines of Apollinarius, Arius, and Eunomius, perform all sacred functions irregularly and in violation of the canons, and destroy the souls of all who approach them; if, indeed, any shall be found willing to listen to them. For by the grace of God whose Providence is over all, and who wishes all men to be saved, the more part of the people is sound, and warmly attached topious doctrines. It is on their account that we grieve. And in our anguish and alarm lest the plague creeping on by little and little should attack more, and the evil become general, we thus instruct your serenity, and continue to give you exhortation; we implore your majesty to yield to our prayers and to prohibit any addition to be made to the Faith of the holy Fathers assembled in council at Nicaea.

And if after this our entreaty your piety reject this doctrine, which was given in the presence of God, we will shake off the dust of our feet against you, and cry with the blessed Paul, "We are pure from your blood." For we cease not night and day from the moment of our arrival at this distinguished

council to bear witness to prince, nobles, soldiers, priests and people, that we hold fast the Faith delivered to us by the Fathers. CLXIX. Letter Written by Theodoretus, Bishop of Cyrus, from Chalcedon to Alexander of Hierapolis. We have left no means untried, of courtesy, of sternness, of entreaty, of eloquence before the most pious emperor, and the illustrious assembly, testifying before God who sees all things and our Lord Jesus Christ who shall judge the world in justice, and the Holy Spirit and his elect angels, lest the Faith be despised which is now being corrupted by the maintainers and bold subscribers of heretical doctrines: and that charge be given for it to be laid down in the same terms as at Nicaea and for the rejection of the heresy introduced to the loss and ruin of true religion. Up to this time however we have produced not the slightest effect, our hearers being carried now in one direction and now in another.

Nevertheless all these difficulties have not been able to deter me from urging my point, but by God's grace I have pressed on. I have even stated to our pious emperor with an oath that it is perfectly impossible for Cyril and Memnon to be reconciled with me, find that we can never communicate with any one who has not previously repudiated the heretical Chapters. This then is our mind. The object of men who "seek their own not the things which are Jesus Christ's" is to be reconciled with them against our will. But this is no business of mine, for God weighs our motives and tries our character, nor does He inflict chastisement for what is done against our will. Be it known to your holiness that if ever I said a word about our friend either before the very pious emperor or the illustrious assembly, I was at once branded as a rebel. So intensely is he hated by the court party. This is most annoying. The most pious emperor, especially, cannot bear to hear his name mentioned and says publicly "Let no one speak to me of this man." On one occasion he gave an instance of this to me. Nevertheless as long as I am here I shall not cease to serve the interests of this our father, knowing that the impious have done him wrong.

My desire is that both your piety and I myself get quit of this. No good is to be hoped from it, in as much as all the judges trust in gold, and contend that the nature of the Godhead and manhood is one. All the people however by God's grace are in good case, and constantly come out to us. I have begun to discourse to them and have celebrated very large communions. On the fourth occasion I spoke at length about the faith and they listened with such

delight that they did not go away till the seventh hour but held out even till the midday heat. An enormous crowd was gathered in a great court, with four verandahs, and I preached from above from a platform near the roof. All the clergy with the excellent monks are on the contrary utterly opposed to me, so that when we came back from the Rufinianum, after the visit of the very pious emperor, stone throwing began and many of my companions were wounded, by the people and false monks.

The very pious emperor knew that the mob was gathered against me and coining up to me alone he said, "I know that you are assembling improperly." Then, said I, "As you have allowed me to speak hear me with favour. Is it fair for excommunicated heretics to be doing duty in churches, while I. who am fighting for the Faith and am therefore excluded by others from communion, am not allowed to enter a church?" He replied "What am I to do?" I said, "What your comes largitionum did at Ephesus. When he found that some were assembling, but that we were not assembling, he stopped them saying, `If you are not peaceful I will allow neither party to assemble.' It would have become your piety also to have given directions to the bishop here to forbid both the opposite party and ourselves to assemble before our meeting together to make known your righteous sentence to all." To this he replied "It is not for me to order the bishop;" and I answered "Neither shall you command us, and we will take a church, and assemble. Your piety will find that there are many more on our side than on theirs." In addition to this I pointed out that we had neither reading of the holy Scripture, nor oblation; but only "prayer for the Faith and for your majesty, and pious conversation." So he approved, and made no further prohibition. The result is that increased crowds flock to us, and gladly listen to our teaching. I therefore beg your piety to pray that our case may have an issue pleasing to God. I am in daily danger, suspecting the wiles of both monks and clergy, as I witness alike their influence and their negligence.

LETTER 170: LETTER OF CERTAIN EASTERNS, WHO HAD BEEN SENT TO CONSTANTINOPLE, TO BISHOP RUFUS

To our most godly and holy fellow-minister Rufus, Joannes, Himerius, Theodoretus, and the rest, send greeting in the Lord. True religion and the peace of the Church suffer, we think, in no small degree, from the absence of your holiness. Had you beenon the spot you might have put a stop to the disturbances which have arisen, and the violence that has been ventured on,

and might have fought on our side for the subjection of the heresies introduced into the orthodox Faith, and that doctrine of apostles and evangelists which, handed down from time to time from father to son, has at length been transmitted to ourselves. And we do not assert this without ground, for we have learnt the mind of your holiness from the letter written to the very godly and holy Julianus, bishop of Sardica, for that letter as is right charged the above named very godly bishop to fight for the Faith laid down by the blessed fathers assembled in council at Nicaea, and not to allow any corruption to be introduced into those invincible definitions which are sufficient at once to exhibit the truth and to refute falsehood. So your holiness rightly, justly, and piously advised, and the recipient of the letter followed your counsel. But many of the members of the council, to use the word of the prophet, "have gone aside," and have "altogether become filthy," for they have abandoned the Faith which they received from the holy Fathers, and have subscribed the twelve Chapters of Cyril of Alexandria, which teem with Apollinarian error, are in agreement with the impiety of Arius and Eunomius, and anathematize all who do not accept their unconcealed unorthodoxy. To this plague smiting the Church vigorous resistance has been offered by us who have assembled from the East, and others from different dioceses, with the object of securing the ratification of the Faith delivered by the blessed Fathers at Nicaea. For in it, as your holiness knows, there is nothing lacking whether for the teaching of evangelic doctrines, or for the refutation of every heresy.

For the sake of this Faith we continue to struggle, despising alike all the joys and sorrows of mortal life, if only we may preserve untouched this heritage of our fathers. For this reason we have deposed Cyril and Memnon; the former as prime mover in the heresy, and the latter as his aider and abettor in all that has been done to ratify and uphold the Chapters published to the destruction of the Church. We have also excommunicated all that have dared to subscribe and support these impious doctrines till they shall have anathematized them, and returned to the Faith of the Fathers at Nicaea. But our long-suffering has done them no good. To this day they continue to do battle for those pernicious doctrines and have impaled themselves on the law of the canon which distinctly enacts "If any bishop deposed by a synod, or presbyter or deacon deposed by his own bishop, shall perform his sacred office, without waiting for the judgment of a synod, he is to have no opportun-

ity for defending himself, not even in another synod: but also all who communicate with him are to be expelled from the church." Now this law has been broken both by the deposed and the excommunicate. For immediately after the deposition and the excommunication becoming known to them, they performed sacred functions, and they continue to do so, in plain disbelief of Him who said "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven."

With this we have thought well to acquaint your holiness at once, but in expectation of some favourable change, we have waited up to the present time. But we have been disappointed. They have continued to fight for this impious heresy, and pay no attention to the counsels of the very pious emperor. On five separate occasions he has met us, and ordered them either to reject the Chapters of Cyril as contrary to the Faith, or to be willing to do battle in their behalf, and to shew in what way they are in agreement with the confession of the Fathers. We have our proofs at hand, whereby we should have shewn that they are totally opposed to the teaching of orthodoxy, and for the most part in agreement with heresy. For in these very Chapters the author of the noxious productions teaches that the Godhead of the only begotten Son suffered, instead of the manhood which He assumed for the sake of our salvation, the indwelling Godhead manifestly appropriating the sufferings as of Its own body, though suffering nothing in Its own nature; and further that there is made one nature of both Godhead and manhood,-for so he explains "The Word was made flesh," as though the Godhead bad undergone some change, and been turned into flesh.

And, further, he anathematizes those who make a distinction between the terms used by apostles and evangelists about the Lord Christ, referring those of humiliation to the manhood, and those of divine glory to the Godhead, of the Lord Christ. It is with these views that Arians and Eunomians, attributing the terms of humiliation to the Godhead, have not shrunk from declaring God the Word to be made and created, of another substance, and unlike the Father. What blasphemy follows on these statements it is not difficult to perceive. There is introduced a confusion of the natures, and to God the Word are applied the words "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me;" and "Father, if it be possible let this cup pass from me," the hunger, the thirst, and the strengthening by an angel; His saying "Now is my soul troubled," and "my soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death," and all

similar passages belonging to the manhood of the Christ. Any one may perceive how these statements correspond with the impiety of Arius and Eunomius; for they, finding themselves unable to establish the difference of substance, connect, as has been said, the sufferings, and the terms of humiliation, with the Godhead of the Christ.

And be your reverence well assured that now in their churches the Arian teachers preach no other doctrine than that the supporters of the "homousion" at present hold the same views as Arius, and that, after long time, the truth has now at last been brought to light. We on the contrary abide in the teaching, and follow in the pious footprints, of the blessed Fathers assembled at Nicaea, and of their illustrious successors, Eustathius of Antioch, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory, John, Athanasius, Theophilus, Damasus of Rome, and Ambrose of Milan. For all these, following the words of the apostles, have left us an exact rule of orthodoxy, which all we of the East earnestly desire to preserve unmoved. The same is the wish of the Bithynians, the Paphlagonians, of Cappadocia Secunda, Pisidia, Mysia, Thessaly, and Rhodope, and very many more of the different provinces. The Italians too, it is evident, will not endure this new-fangled doctrine; for the very godly and holy Martinus, bishop of Milan, has written a letter to us, and has sent to the very pious emperor a work by the blessed Ambrose on the incarnation of the Lord, of which the teaching is opposed to these heretical Chapters.

And be it known to your holiness that Cyril and Memnon have not been satisfied with corrupting the orthodox Faith, but have trampled all the canons underfoot. For they have received into communion men excommunicated in various provinces and dioceses. Others lying under charges of heresy, and of the same mind as Celestius and Pelagius, (for they are Euchitae, or Enthusiasts) and therefore excommunicated by their diocesans and metropolitans, they have, in defiance of all ecclesiastical discipline received into communion, so swelling their following from all possible quarters, and shewing their eagerness to enforce their teaching less by piety than by violence. For when they had been stripped bare of piety they devised, in their extremity, another sort of force,-walls of flesh, with the idea that by their showers of bribery they might vanquish the faith of the Fathers. But so long as your holiness puts forth your strength, and you continue to fight, as you are wont, in defence of true religion, none of these devices will be of the least avail. We exhort you therefore, most holy sir, to beware of the communion

of the unscrupulous introducers of this heresy; and to make known to all, both far and near, that these are the points for which the thrice blessed Damasus deposed the heretics Apollinarius, Vitalius, and Timotheus; and that the Epistle in which the writer has concealed his heresy and coloured it with a coating of truth, must not in simplicity be received. For in the Chapters he has boldly laid bare his impiety, and dared to anathematize all who disagree with him, while in the letter he has vilely endeavoured to harm the simpler readers.

Your holiness must therefore beware of neglecting this matter, lest when, too late, you see this heresy confirmed, you grieve in vain, and suffer affliction at being no longer able to defend the cause of truth. We have also sent you a copy of the memorial which we have given to the most pious and Christ-loving emperor, containing the faith of the holy Fathers at Nicaea. wherein we have rejected the newlyaeinvented heresies of Cyril, and adjudged them to be opposed to the orthodox faith. Since in accordance with the orders of the very pious emperor only eight of us travelled to Constantinople, we have subjoined the copy of the order given us by the holy synod, that you may be acquainted with the provinces contained in it. Your holiness will learn them from the signatures of the metropolitans. We salute the brotherhood which is with you. CLXXI. Letter of Theodoret to John, Bishop of Antioch, After the Reconciliation.

God, who governs all things in wisdom, who provides for our unanimity, and cares for the salvation of His people, has caused us to be assembled together, and has shewn us that the views of all of us are in agreement with one another. We have assembled together, and read the Egyptian Letter; we have carefully examined its purport, and we have discovered that its contents are quite in accordance with our own statements, and entirely opposed to the Twelve Chapters, against which up to the present time we have continued to wage war, as being contrary to true religion. Their teaching was that God the Word was carnally made flesh; that there was an union of hypostasis, and that the combination in union was of nature, and that God the Word was the first-born flora the dead. They forbade all distinction in the terms used of our Lord, and further contained other doctrines at variance with the seeds sown by the apostles, and outcome of heretical tares. The present script, however, is beautified by apostolic nobility of origin. For in it our Lord Jesus Christ is exhibited as perfect God and perfect man; it shews two natures, and

the distinction between them; an unconfounded union, made not by mixture and compounding, but in a manner ineffable and divine, and distinctly preserving the properties of the natures; the impassibility and immortality of God the Word; the possibility and temporary surrender to death of the temple, and its resurrection by the power of the united God; that the holy Spirit is not of the Son, nor derives existence from the Son, but proceeds from the Father, and is properly stated to be of the Son, as being of one substance. Beholding this orthodoxy in the letter, we have hymned Him who heals our stammering tongues, and changes our discordant noises into the harmony of sweet music.

LETTER 172: LETTER OF THEODORETUS TO NESTORIUS

To the very reverend and religions lord and very holy Father, Nestorius, the bishop Theodoretus sends greeting in the Lord. Your holiness is, I think, well aware that I take no pleasure in cultivated society, nor in the interests of this life, nor in reputation, nor am I attracted by other sees. Had I learn, this lesson from no other source, the very solitude of the city over which I am called to preside would suffice to teach me this philosophy. It is not indeed distinguished only for solitude, but also by very many disturbances which may check the activity even of those who most delight in them. Let no one therefore persuade your holiness that I have accepted the Egyptian writings as orthodox, with my eyes shut, because I covet any see. For really, to speak the truth, after frequently reading and carefully examining them, I have discovered that they are free from all heretical taint, and I have hesitated to put any stress upon them, though I certainly have no love for their author, who was the originator of the disturbances which have agitated the world. For this I hope to escape punishment in the day of Judgment, since the just Judge examines motives. But to what has been done unjustly and illegally against your holiness, not even if one were to cut off both my hands would I ever assent, God's grace helping me and supporting my infirmity. This I have stated in writing to those who require it. I have sent to your holiness my reply to what you wrote to me, that you may know that, by God's grace, no time has changed me like the centipedes and chameleons who imitate by their colour the stones and leaves among which they live. I and all with me salute all the Brotherhood who are with you in the Lord.

LETTER 173: LETTER TO ANDREAS, MONK OF CONSTANTINOPLE

"God is faithful who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will with the temptation also make a way to escape that ye may be able to bear it," and convicts falsehood,-although now refuted assertion of the falsehood is approved,-and the power of truth has been shewn. For, lo, they, who by their impious reasoning had confused the natures of our Saviour Christ, and dared to preach one nature, and therefore insulted the most holy and venerable Nestorius, high priest of God, their mouths held, as the prophet says, with bit and bridle and turned from wrong to right, have once again learnt the truth, adopting the statement of him who in the cause of truth has borne the brunt of the battle. For instead of one nature they now confess two, anathematizing all who preach mixture and confusion. They adore the impossible Godhead of Christ; they attribute passion to the flesh; they distinguish between the terms of the Gospels, ascribing the lofty and divineto the Godhead, and the lowly to the manhood. Such are the writings now brought from Egypt.

LETTER 174: TO HIMERIUS, BISHOP OF NICOMEDIA

We wish to acquaint your holiness that on reading and frequently discussing the letter brought from Egypt we find it in harmony with the doctrine of the Church. Of the twelve Chapters we have proved the contrary, and up to the present time we continue to oppose them. We have therefore determined, if your holiness has recovered the churches divinely entrusted to you, that you ought to communicate with the Egyptians and Constantinopolitans and others who have fought with them against us, because they have professed to hold our faith, or I should rather say the faith of the apostles; but not to give your consent to the alleged condemnation of the very holy and venerable Nestorius. For we hold it impious and unjust in the case of charges in which both appeared as defendants to lavish favour on the one and shut the door of repentance on the other. Far more unjust and impious is it to condemn an innocent man to death. Your holiness should be assured that you ought not to communicate with them before you have recovered your churches. For this not only I but all the holy bishops of our district decreed in the recent Council.

LETTER 175: TO ALEXANDER OF HIERAPOLIS

I have already informed your holiness that if the doctrine of the very holy and venerable bishop, my lord Nestorius, is condemned, I will not communicate with those who do so. If it shall please your holiness to insert this in the letter which is being sent to Antioch so be it. Let there then, I beseech you, be no delay! CLXXVI. Letter to the Same Alexander After He Had Learnt that John, Bishop of Antioch, Had Anathematized the Doctrine of Nestorius. Be it known to your holiness that when read the letter addressed to the emperor I was much distressed, because I know perfectly well that the writer of the letter, being of the same opinions, has unwisely and impiously condemned one who has never held or taught anything contrary to sound doctrine. But the form of anathema, though it be more likely than his assent to the condemnation, to grieve a reader, nevertheless has given me some ground of comfort, in that it is laid down not in wide general terms, but with some qualification. For he has not said "We anathematize his doctrine" but "whatever he has either said or held other than is warranted by the doctrine of the apostles."

LETTER 177: LETTER TO ANDREAS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

The illustrious Aristolaus has sent Magisterianus from Egypt with a letter of Cyril in which he anathematizes Arius, Eunomius Apollinarius and all who assert Christ's Godhead to be passible and maintain the confusion and commixture of the two natures. Hereat we rejoice, although he did withhold his consent from our statement. He requires further subscription to the condemnation which has been passed, and that the doctrine of the holy bishop Nestorius be anathematized. Your holiness well knows that if any one anathematizes, without distinction, the doctrine of that most holy and venerable bishop, it is just the same as though he seemed to anathematize true religion. We must then if we are compelled anathematize those who call Christ mere man, or who divide our one Lord Jesus Christ into two sons and deny His divinity, etc. CLXXVIII. Letter to Alexander of Hierapolis. I think that more than all the very holy and venerable bishop, my lord John, must have been gratified at my refusing either to give my consent to the condemnation of the very holy and venerable bishop Nestorius or to violate the pledges made at Tarsus, Chalcedon and Ephesus.

He remembers also what was frequently received from us at Antioch after our departure. Let no one therefore deceive your holiness into the belief that I should ever do this, for God is without doubt on my side and strengthening me. CLXXIX. Letter of Cyril to John, Bishop of Antioch, Against Theodoret. CLXXX. Letter of Theodoretus, as Some Suppose, to Domnus, Bishop of Antioch, Written on the Death of Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria. At last and with difficulty the villain has gone. The good and the gentle pass away all too soon; the bad prolong their life for years. The Giver of all good, methinks, removes the former before their time from the troubles of humanity; He frees them like victors from their contests and transports them to the better life, that life which, free from death, sorrow and care, is the prize of them that contend for virtue. They, on the other hand, who love and practise wickedness are allowed a little longer to enjoy this present life, either that sated with evil they may afterwards learn virtue's lessons, or else even in this life may pay the penalty for the wickedness of their own ways by being tossed to and fro through many years of this life's sad and wicked waves.

This wretch, however, has not been dismissed by the ruler of our souls like other men, that he may possess for longer time the things which seem to be full of joy. Knowing that the fellow's malice has been daily growing and doing harm to the body of the Church, the Lord has lopped him off like a plague and "taken away the reproach from Israel." His survivors are indeed delighted at his departure. The dead, maybe, are sorry. There is some ground of alarm lest they should be so much annoyed at his company as to send him back to us, or that he should run away from his conductors like the tyrant of Cyniscus in Lucian. Great care must then be taken, and it is especially your holiness's business to undertake this duty, to tell the guild of undertakers to lay a very big and heavy stone upon his grave, for fear he should come back again, and show his changeable mind once more. Let him take his new doctrines to the shades below, and preach to them all day and all night. We are not at all afraid of his dividing them by making public addresses against true religion and by investing an immortal nature with death. He will be stoned not only by ghosts learned in divine law, but also by Nimrod, Pharaoh and Sennacherib, or any other of God's enemies.

But I am wasting words. The poor fellow is silent whether he will or no, "his breathgoeth forth, he returneth to his earth, in that very day his

thoughts perish." He is doomed too tosilence of another kind. His deeds, detected, tie his tongue, gag his mouth, curb his passion, strike him dumb and make him bow down to the ground. I really am sorry for the poor fellow. Truly the news of his death has not caused me unmixed delight, but it is tempered by sadness. On seeing the Church freed from a plague of this kind I am glad and rejoice; but I am sorry and do mourn when I think that the wretch knew no rest from his crimes, but went on attempting greater and more grievous ones till he died. His idea was, so it is said, to throw the imperial city into confusion by attacking true doctrines a second time, and to charge your holiness with supporting them. But God saw and did not overlook it. "He put his hook into his nose and his bridle into his lips," and turned him to the earth whence he was taken. Be it then granted to your holiness's prayers that he may obtain mercy and pity and that God's boundless clemency may surpass his wickedness. I beg your holiness to drive away the agitations of my soul. Many different reports are being bruited abroad to my alarm announcing general misfortunes. It is even said by some that your reverence is setting out against your will for the court, but so far I have despised these reports as untrue. But finding every one repeating one and the same story I have thought it right to try and learn the truth from your holiness that I may laugh at these tales if false, or sorrow not without reason if they are true.

LETTER 181: LETTER TO ABUNDIUS, BISHOP OF COMO

To my dear lord and very holy brother Abundius Theodoretus sends greeting in the Lord. I have discovered that your piety religiously preserves the true and apostolic faith; and I have thanked Almighty God that the truth which was in peril has been renewed and brought to light by your holiness. Of old, after the flood, it came to pass that Noah and his sons were left for seed of the human race. Just so in our own day are reserved the fathers of the West, that by them the holy churches of the East may be able to preserve that true religion which has been threatened with devastation and destruction by a new and impious heresy. Well may we quote those words of the prophet "Except the Lord of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant we should have been as Sodom and we should have been like unto Gomorrah." So upon us from this impious heresy the wrath of God has fallen like a flood and invasion.

Now we acknowledge the presence of our Saviour in a human body, and one Son of God, His perfect Godhead and His perfect manhood. We do not divide our one Lord Jesus Christ into two sons for He is one; but we recognise the distinction between God and man; we know that one is of the Father, the other of the seed of David and Abraham, according to the divine Scriptures, and that the divine nature is free from passion, the body which was before subject to passion being now itself too free from passion; for after the resurrection it is plainly delivered from all passion. This we have learnt from the letter of the very holy and religious Archbishop our lord Leo. For we have read what he wrote to Flavianus, of holy and blessed memory, and have thanked the loving-kindness of the Lord because we have found an advocate and defender of the truth. To this letter I have given my adhesion, and have subjoined a copy of it to my present epistle, which I have also subscribed and have thereby proved that I obey the apostolic rules, that is true doctrines; that I abide in them to this day, and am suffering in their cause.

Assent has also been given by my lord Ibas and my lord Aquilinus against whom the inventors of the new heresy have armed the imperial power. It remains for you with your very holy colleagues to bring aid to the sacred Church, and to drive away the war that threatens it. Banish the impious party which has been roused against the truth; give back the churches their ancient peace; so will you receive from the Lord, Who s promised to grant this boon, the fruits of your apostolic labours. All the very religious and godly presbyters and reverend deacons and brethren by your holiness I greet; and I and all who are with me salute your reverence.

PART FOUR

Commentary on Romans

Theodoret's commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.

Commentary on Romans

THEODORET OF CYRUS

c. AD 393–458

Bishop of Cyrus; theologian, historian and exegete.

INTRODUCTION

1 COMMENTARY OF THEODORET, BISHOP OF CYRUS IN SYRIA, ON ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS. Theodoret was born at Antioch, A.D. 386. His studies were pursued under Theodore of Mopsuista and Chrysostom, from the works of the latter of whom the present commentary is by many esteemed little more than an abridgement. This, however, on comparing the writings of both those Fathers, can hardly perhaps be admitted in its fullest sense, but rather in that in which Theodoret himself represents it, when in his preface to St. Paul's Epistles, speaking not of Chrysostom, or Theodore, who himself also had composed an exposition of those Epistles, but generally, he says, Τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐκ τῶν μακαρίων συλλέξω πατέρων, συντομίας δὲ ὅτι μαλιστα φροντιῶ. At the death of his parents he distributed his whole inheritance to the poor, reserving nothing for himself. About the year 420 he was, against his own will, appointed to the bishopric of Cyrus, to which diocese he became a great benefactor, both spiritually and temporally; extirpating heresy oftentimes at the risk of his life; in private charity and public improvements expending almost all his church revenues; neither receiving himself, nor permitting his domestics to receive any thing of any man to conciliate favour; but throughout fulfilling the part of a good and active shepherd in all his doings and conduct. Although in those troublous times of mutual accusation and recrimination, suffering awhile under suspicions in the matters of Nestorius, his innocence and orthodoxy were finally established at the council of Chalcedon, under the emperor Marcian, A. D. 451, from whence retiring to his diocese he passed the rest of his life in quiet, engaged in his labours on the holy Scriptures, and at length died A. D. 457.

2 "Of all the Fathers, who have composed works of different kinds, Theodoret is one of those," says Dupin (tom. iii. part 2,) "who has been very happy in every one of them. There are some who have been excellent writers in matters of controversy, but bad interpreters. Others have been good historians, but bad divines. Some have good success in morality, who have no skill in doctrinal points. And very rare is it for those who have addicted themselves to works of piety to be good critics. Theodoret had all these qualities, and it may be said, that he has equally deserved the name of a good interpreter, divine, historian, writer of controversies, apologist for religion, and author of works of piety. But he has principally excelled in his compositions upon the holy Scripture, in which, according to the judgment of the learned Photius, be has outdone almost all other commentators. 'He passes over nothing,' says that writer, 'which needs explication, nor can we find any who unfolds all manner of difficulties better, and leaves fewer things obscure.'"

3 It may be remarked, in conclusion, that the points of divinity which he chiefly urges, and of which indeed he seems never to lose sight, are those connected with that leading mystery of our religion, the divinity and consubstantiality of our Lord, both because this was the specific point on which the heretics of his day chiefly erred, and against the denial of which consequently he directed his arguments: and that he distinctly maintained the procession of the Holy Spirit from the [Greek]. Rom. viii. 11. [Greek]. Answer to Cyril's Anathem. &c. Pearson on the Creed. Art. VIII.

ARGUMENT

1 Various and comprehensive is the doctrine which the holy apostle unfolds in the present epistle. Its general scope is this:—worthy of all awe and adoration to the sincere believer as is the mystery of the divine incarnation, clearly manifesting, as it does, the loving mercy of God; they nevertheless who are involved in the darkness of infidelity, and have not admitted the light of intellectual illumination, scorn that which not even the company of angels can worthily celebrate, as the inspired apostle distinctly says in his Epistle to the Corinthians (I Cor. i. 18). "For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness, but to them that are saved it is the power of God." In this Epistle to the Romans, therefore, he exhibits the indispensable necessity of this saving gospel, together with its utility and advantage to all mankind, Jews or Greeks. In order to which, in the first place he convicts the Greeks of

having palpably corrupted the moral sense of good and evil, implanted in their constitution by their Maker, and transgressed the natural law; and secondly, the Jews of having, although in the enjoyment of the written instructions of the divine laws, yet rejected the benefit arising from them, and rendered themselves thereby obnoxious to the heavier retribution. After this, he shows that our God and Saviour came not for the condemnation and punishment of sinners, but to bring pardon for their offences, to promise victory over death, and proclaim eternal life.

2 Again, perceiving that the Jews clung but too much to the law, and those who savoured of the errors of Marcion and Valentine, with the Manichees, too much altogether undervalued and condemned it, as an expert general surrounded on all sides by his enemies strikes down first one, and then the other, so does the holy apostle break in pieces, by divine grace, the band of the heretics, and all the array of the Jews. For how does he conduct the argument? By neither elevating the law too high, because of the extravagance of the Jews, nor giving any occasion for reproach to the profane heretics, but demonstrating that it taught all that was needful, and brought in the doctrine of justification, although incompetent to convey justification itself by reason of the infirmity of those under it; and showing that faith brings to effect the design of the law, and what it fain would do, but cannot, it perfects through the grace of the thrice holy Spirit. By all which we learn, how continually regardful of mankind is God our Creator, in that not only did he implant in our nature the power of discriminating between good and evil, but also by the very works of his creation led such as were willing to piety and holiness, for although all were not thus willing to see the truth, they who were had full enjoyment of it, as they desired.

3 He next further instructs us, that the God of all turned not to this plan of our salvation, as though in a change of council from any of his former designs, but as having long ago foretold it in the ancient prophets; he sets forth the cause of the rejection of the Jews; and admonishes the believing Gentiles not to boast over them; exhorting them to lead the way in the gospel. With these doctrinal lessons he joins recommendations to practical virtue, at once displaying the truth, and reforming the morals. Such then is the general argument of the epistle, all the particulars in which the interpretation of the separate passages will now clearly make known to us.

CHAPTER I.

1. Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called an Apostle. Governors and generals superscribe their letters with the designations of their respective dignities, priding themselves thereon, and puffed up in fancied greatness by each fresh tide of honour; the holy apostle is content to call himself "one born out of due time," and "the chief of sinners," and to pronounce himself " unworthy the apostleship;" while yet, for the benefit of such as should receive his epistles, he prefixes to them the appellations which by grace he had obtained, that so, by seeing the honours belonging to the writer, they might the more readily and zealously welcome them. And he begins by Paul, not as having been so named of old by his parents, but as preferred to it after his call, as was Simon to that of Peter, and the sons of Zebedee to those of Sons of Thunder, Jacob to that of Israel, and Abram to that of Abraham. Next, servant of Jesus Christ, whom infidels reviled as dead and crucified, and a mere carpenter's son, and yet whose service the apostle notwithstanding chose above any sovereignty.

2 Then he speaks of himself as called, alluding to his divine call, and adds the name an apostle, teaching us that this also he had gained. For since our Lord gave this designation to the twelve, so the holy apostle here also places it, not as in a presumptuous self-assumption thereof, but as having had it bestowed upon him by his Master himself. "For depart," said he unto him, "because I will send thee for hence unto the Gentiles," (Acts xxii. 21;) and this be farther proves by what follows, namely; separated unto the gospel of God. I am not self-elected, exclaims he, but have been entrusted with the ministry of the word by God himself. Now it was the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, who thus set him apart; for that the Father did so, he himself declares in his Epistle to the Galatians (i. 15, 16). " It pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace, to reveal his Son in me; that I might preach him among the heathen and that, again, the only- begotten Son did this likewise, is evident where the apostle tells us in the Acts (xxiii. 21) how the Lord was seen of him in the temple, commanding him to hasten and go out, because the Jews would not receive his preaching, adding, "Depart, for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles."

3 And the very same thing he said to Ananias, when he was hesitating and drawing back, (Acts ix. 15;) "Go thy way, for this man is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Is-

rael." And so St Luke also tells us, (xiii. 2,) that "as the prophets were ministering unto the Lord, and fasting, the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them." Evident therefore from hence is the equality of the Trinity. And so also the gospel he now speaks of as the gospel of God, and a little onward as the gospel of the Son, saying, " for God is my witness, whom I serve with my spirit in the gospel of his Son." This I have not noted on idly, or to no purpose, but in order to point out how indifferently the teachers of the truth mention the same things, sometimes as those of the Father, and sometimes as those of the Son.

4 The doctrines also preached he designates as the gospel, because they promise the supply of so many blessings, announcing reconciliation with God, the overthrow of the devil, forgiveness of sins, conquest over death, the resurrection of the deceased, eternal life, and the kingdom of heaven. Having then thus stated that he had been separated to the gospel of God, the holy apostle next proceeds immediately to prove in the first place its antiquity, lest any should be foolish enough to except against it as a novelty, and so reject it; and says, 2. Which he has promised afore by his prophets in the holy Scriptures, for the Old Testament is full of predictions concerning the Lord. Nor does he call them holy for no reason, but firstly to show that he acknowledged their inspiration; secondly, as excluding all other writings, for the inspired book alone contains all things we can need. And he adds the nature of the promise,— 3: Concerning his Son, which was made of the seed of David, according to the flesh. By all the prophets, says he, God has prophesied of the things relating to his Son, who, in his nature begotten of him before all eternity, yet made himself the son of David, inasmuch as he took his human nature, of the seed of David. Having then thus mentioned David, it was necessary that he should subjoin, according to the flesh, lest he should be considered as by nature the son of David, and by grace only the Son of God;

5 for the addition, according to the flesh, indicates that as to his divinity he is in truth the Son of God the Father. For indeed this phrase we can never find applied to those who simply are such as they appear; as St. Matthew the evangelist witnesses, when saying, Abraham begat Isaac, and Isaac begat Jacob, and Jacob begat Judah, and so going through the whole genealogy in order, he never yet uses this expression, according to the flesh, seeing that it suited not them which were mere men; and so then the divine incarnate

Word of God being not only man, but God also from eternity, the apostle, having mentioned David, necessarily adds according to the flesh, clearly to teach us how he was indeed the Son of God, and how yet made to be of David; 4. And declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead of Jesus Christ our Lord.

6 Before his cross and passion, not only to the other Jews, but even to the apostles themselves, our Lord Christ did not seem to be God; for they were misled by his perfect humanity, when they saw him eating and drinking, and sleeping, and becoming fatigued; nor could even his miracles bring them to this conviction; and thus, for instance, when they beheld the miracle at the sea of Tiberias (Matt. viii. 27,) they cried out, "What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him!" In full accordance with which, our Lord said unto them, (John xvi. 12,) "I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them yet. Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth and again, (Luke xxiv. 49,) "Tarry ye here in this city, until ye shall be endued with power from on high, the holy Ghost coming upon you."

7 Before his passion, then, such were the ideas they entertained of him; but after his resurrection and ascension to heaven, and the illumination of the thrice holy Spirit, and the various miracles which by the invocation of his sacred name they performed, all the faithful knew that be is God, and the only-begotten Son of God. This then the holy apostle teaches here, that he, who according to the flesh was designated as the son of David, was proved and set forth as the Son of God, in the power exercised by the thrice holy Spirit, after the resurrection from the dead of the same our Lord Jesus Christ; 5. By whom we have received grace and apostleship, for obedience to the faith among all nations, for his name. For he himself sent us forth as teachers, committing to us the salvation of all nations, and giving grace suitable to that preaching, that they who hear it may hearken unto us, and believe the word. 6. Among whom are ye also called of Jesus Christ. Of which nations, whose husbandry is thus entrusted to me, ye are part; for think not that I am appropriating what belongs to another, or seizing on fields allotted to some one else, for the Lord hath constituted me the minister of all the Gentiles; 7. To all that are beloved of God in Rome, called saints.

8 He at the same time honours them with such high and divine appellations, and represses every rising of arrogance. For, in the first place, instead of

making any distinction between them as the masters of the world, and the other nations, he joins them with them; and, secondly, he writes to all, without respect of persons, addressing together, servants, beggars, and working-people; the wealthy, and the powerful; for that there were some of the latter who believed, he shows in the Epistle to the Philippians, (iv. 22,) saying, "They that are of Caesar's household salute you." It is evident, indeed, that he writes not to the unbelieving, but to those already converted, wherefore he calls them both called, and saints, exalting them with such spiritual appellations, and inflaming thereby their love towards their great Benefactor. Grace be unto you, and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.

9 Thus then he completes the introduction to his letter, "Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, to all that in Rome are beloved of God, called saints; grace be unto you, and peace, from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ;" the rest which intervenes he threw in between, in order to mark whose messenger be had been constituted, and what were the tidings wherewith he had been entrusted, and to whom he had been commissioned to bring them. And he invokes on them first God's grace, because by this it was that believers obtained salvation; and next peace, by which he indicates the full establishment of virtue, since he alone has peace with God who has embraced an evangelical course, seeking ever to serve him in all things. And of these gifts he shows that not the Father only, but the Son also is the giver, in saying, from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ; by which expression he plainly teaches the equality of the Father and the Son. 8. First, I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all, that your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world.

10 The apostle speaks not thus to flatter them, but in strict truth. For it was impossible that what happened at Rome should not be known throughout all the world; since there anciently the Roman emperors had their palaces, and from thence the monarchs proceeded, and the collectors of tribute throughout the different cities, and there resorted all who sought the favour of royalty, by all of whom it was spread abroad, that Rome bad received the doctrine of Christ; which was of the greatest benefit to those who heard it, on which account the holy apostle returns thanks to God for the same. And now, since he had declared that he had been appointed the teacher of all the gentiles, and yet during so long a time had neither come himself unto

them, nor instructed them in the truth by letters, he is constrained to speak in his own defence, and calls God to witness his affection towards them. 9. For God is my witness, whom I serve with my spirit in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I make mention of you always in my prayers; 10. Making request, if by any means now at length I might have a prosperous journey by the will of God to come unto you.

11 There are many kinds of service; for he who prays to God is serving him, and he who fasts; and he who applies himself to the diving oracles; and indeed even he who busies himself in providing hospitality to strangers; and here then the holy apostle speaks of serving God in bringing the gospel of his Son to the gentiles, and serving in the spirit, that is, in the spiritual gift conferred on him; so pleasing to God did he feel was the glory of his Son. And, expressing himself critically, he does not simply say that he begged for this entrance unto them, but according to the will of God, that is, if it so please the Ruler of all things. If then where the salvation of so many thousands was concerned, the apostle yet asked not any thing absolutely, but to his petition joined the Divine will, how inexcusable must ourselves be, if busied about, and praying for, the mere objects of sense, we rest not at once all things concerning us on the Divine good pleasure. 11. For I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift. What he says is full of humility; his words are not, that I may "give," but that I may "impart; that is, of what I myself have received I may communicate unto you. Inasmuch, moreover, as the great Peter had already conveyed to them the doctrines of the gospel, he necessarily adds, to the end ye may be established;

12 for I desire, says he, not to bring you some other doctrine, but to confirm that already preached among you, and to water trees already planted. And full of modesty again is what he adds, 12. That is, that I may be comforted together with you, by the mutual faith both of you and me; for not only do I wish to give, but to receive also from you, for the zeal of the disciple comforts and invigorates the master. 13. Now I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that often times I purposed to come unto you, but was prevented hitherto. 13 He shows what he had intended, and how Providence had overruled that intention; for Divine grace, says he, orders me even as he will; and having thus thrown in the "I have hitherto been prevented," he shows the more clearly on what account he had been anxious to come to them— that I might have some fruit among you also, even as among other gentiles. 14. I

am a debtor both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians; both to the wise and to the unwise; 15. So that as much as in me lies, I am ready to preach the gospel to you that are at Rome also. I have been appointed the teacher of all nations, wherefore I owe the debt of an evangelist not to the Greeks only, but to the Barbarians also. For this was it that the grace of the Spirit conferred on us the gift of other tongues; and it behoves us to discharge our debt both to those who boast in their wisdom, and to those who are unlearned likewise. By wise he means those who prided themselves on their eloquence; by unwise, those who for their ignorance were so denominated by such as were called philosophers, or wise men. And, as not all would receive the preaching of the gospel, fitly has he added, as much as in me lies; for it is mine to preach, but the believing depends on the hearers.

14 And as he frequently calls this preaching by the name of the gospel, and the gospel contains an account of our Lord's passion, cross, and death, all which to the unbeliever seemed full of dishonour, he seasonably adds, 16. For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek. I look not, says he, to the apparent disgrace, but to the blessing arising therefrom, namely, that from it believers obtain salvation. 15 And thus of mere outward objects many have their own property bidden within them; as pepper, for instance, has a cold appearance, and to those that are unacquainted with it shows no sign of heat, while he that bites it with his teeth perceives its fiery nature; on which account physicians rank it among hot things as to its quality, as though not looking so, and yet capable of being proved to be such. And thus also corn may become the root, and the stock, and the ear, which yet it could never seem, until it has been sown in the furrows of the field. Justly then does the holy apostle call the saving gospel the power of God, as exhibiting its power, and bestowing salvation, only on believers. And this he says is offered to all, both Jews and Greeks; and the Jews he puts first, before the Greeks, inasmuch as our Lord Christ sent the holy apostles as preachers to them first; for thus God proclaims by the prophet (Is. xlii. 6,) "I have appointed thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the gentiles calling the Jews the people, since of them he sprung according to the flesh. 17. For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith; not to all is it revealed, but to those who have the eyes of faith.

16 The holy apostle here teaches us how from of old God has thus provided for us, and predicted the same by the prophets; and even before the prophets, had his own determination concerning these things secretly within himself, for this also he states in another place, (Eph. iii. 9,) saying, "The mystery which hath been hidden in God, who created all things; "and again, (1 Cor. ii. 7,) "We speak the wisdom hidden in a mystery, which God foreordained before the world, unto our glory." And here therefore he says not that righteousness is given, but revealed; for that which had been so long hidden is now made known to believers. From faith to faith, says he; for we ought to believe the prophets, and by them be brought to the faith of the gospel. But this may bear another sense also; for he who believes in our Lord Christ, and has received the grace of the most holy baptism, and enjoys the free gift of adoption, is led on to believe in yet further coming blessings; the resurrection of the dead, I mean, eternal life, and the kingdom of heaven. By the righteousness of God, revealed in the gospel, he speaks not only of that which is hereby supplied to us, but that also which is so plainly set forth in the mysterious scheme of this his dispensation. For he effected not our salvation by mere power, nor destroyed the strength of death by his mere voice and command, but by combining pity with justice. For the very only-begotten Word of God, by putting on the nature of Adam, and keeping it free from all sin, obtained this for us, and paying the debt of nature, discharged the common forfeit of mankind.

17 But all this the holy apostle teaches more clearly below, and it were better for us to follow on our exposition passage by passage. Having then said that this salvation was offered to both Jews and Greeks, provided they were themselves duly disposed towards it, he confirms the assertion by the testimony of Scripture, saying, Even as it is written, The just shall live by faith. This he subjoins for the sake of the Jews, in order to teach them not to cling still to the dispensation of the law, but listen rather to their own prophets, who from of old set forth salvation through faith. And here, quitting his first point—the censure of the Jews, he commences his charge against all the gentile nations, that they had recklessly violated the law implanted in their nature by their Maker. And this blame of them includes a vindication of the Creator; for when he formed them, he suffered them not to live like the irrational creation, but dignified them with reason, and gave them judgment, and established in them the power of discriminating between good and evil;

which position is evidenced by such as, before the coming of the Mosaic law, were illustrious for holiness and virtue, as well as by such as followed the opposite course. For so Adam, the instant he had transgressed the commandment, and eaten the forbidden fruit, attempted to hide himself, under the stings of conscience;

18 and when called to account, neither denied what had been done, nor pretended ignorance in his defence, but threw the blame of the accusation on the woman; which plainly shows that our nature possessed the power of discerning the true character of things. And thus again Cain, having privily slain his brother, when examined, "Where is thy brother Abel? denied it, and attempted to conceal what had been done, but when convicted, confessed that his punishment was just, and owned the equity of his judge, acknowledging that he had sinned beyond pardon; and a thousand other similar instances are to be found in the holy Scriptures: wherefore the holy apostle adds, 18. For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness, and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in ungodliness. For nature taught them both that God was the Maker of all things, and that they ought to avoid unrighteousness, and seek righteousness; but they used not the instructions which it gave as they ought to have done; wherefore he threatened them with future punishment.

19 He here puts the word revealed, in that disbelievers who hearkened not to those threats were the very persons who should experience the truth of what he said. And vengeance he calls the wrath of God; not that God punishes with any passion of mind, but that by giving it so awful a name he might alarm the gainsayer. And he says, is revealed from heaven, because our God and Saviour will appear from thence, as the Lord himself declares, (Mark xiii. 26,) "Then shall ye see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory." 19. Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them: who then gave them this knowledge? for God hath showed it unto them. 20. For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead. Creation, says he, and all things made in that creation, the succession of time, the change of seasons, the alternations of day and night, the labourings of the clouds, the blasts of the winds, the fruitfulness of plants and seeds, and the various other similar phenomena, plainly point out to us, that God is both the Maker of all things,

and that He wisely holds the keys of the creation; for He who framed all things of His alone lovingkindness, can never leave neglected what He hath brought into being; wherefore the holy Apostle says not the invisible thing, but invisible things;

20 that is, His creation, His providence, His just sentence on each person, and all His various dispensations; most unpardonable then are they who, enjoying such a multitude of teachers, yet have received no improvement from so many lessons, for this he adds, so that they are without excuse, for the works of creation themselves almost cry out against them, that they have nothing to plead in arrest of the threatened evils. 21. Because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful. For that they were aware of the existence of God, they themselves testify by their continual use of His adorable name, while yet rejecting all suitable sentiments concerning him. But became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened, for they followed senseless notions, and welcomed in the darkness of infidelity. 22. Professing themselves wise, they became fools. He increases their reprobation by the very name they gave themselves, in that, while calling themselves wise, they proved by their works that they were void of understanding. 23. And changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like unto corruptible man. For not choosing to perceive that the Maker of all things is superior to decay, and far above all that is seen, they called the likenesses of their own bodies, gods; for indeed it was not intelligences, which are invisible, (ch. i. 23-27,) that their statuaries, sculptors, and painters, endeavoured to convey representations of, but perishable mortal bodies;

21 nor was this impiety enough, but they must needs, moreover, worship the images of birds, beasts, and creeping things; and while they should rather have considered that some of these men eat as food, some loathe as unclean, and some avoid as noxious, in their excess of madness and folly they made the likeness of these very things —which men thus ate, loathed, or killed—into gods. 24. Wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness, through the lusts of their own hearts, to dishonour their own bodies between themselves. He puts gave them up for permitted; and he means, that, seeing them willing neither by the works of creation to be led up to the Creator, nor by the judgment of reason to choose the better and avoid the worse in practice, he deprived them of his special providence, and suffered

them to be carried about like an unsteady vessel, no longer enduring to direct those, who had fallen into the grossest impiety, productive of a lawless life. 25. Who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen. Impiety, he says, was the foundation of their iniquities, and by both they became stripped of the Divine grace. The name "God" is what he here means by the truth of God, an idol made with hands by a lie; because that when they ought to have worshipped the true God, they offered the adoration belonging to Him to the creature instead.

22 And to the same reproach do they lie open, who call the only-begotten Son of God a creature, and yet worship Him as God; for they ought either, admitting His divinity, to rank Him not with created things, but with God who begat Him; or else, pronouncing Him a created being, not to pay adoration to Him as divine.—But let us pursue the order of our exposition. 26. For this cause, God gave them up to infamous passions, for even their women did change the natural use into that which is against nature. 27. And likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one towards another, men with men working that which is unseemly. Iniquity walks hand in hand with impiety, so that as they had changed the truth of God into a lie, so did they in like manner exchange the proper object and exercise of the passions for that which was abominable. And receiving in themselves that recompense of their error which was meet. For infamy is the severest penalty of such affections. And thus, what not even a victorious enemy had ever attempted to inflict on them, they themselves willingly ran into; and punishment thereby, heavier than that which any judge would impose, do they voluntarily bring on themselves. And what then was the cause of all these evils? 28. And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient.

23 For if they had been willing to know Him, they would have followed the Divine laws; but now, choosing to deny their Maker, they were altogether stripped of his protecting care, whereby they wrecklessly ventured on every kind of wickedness. 29. Being filled with all unrighteousness. By unrighteousness he means that (disposition) which is diametrically opposed to righteousness, for from this springs every kind of reprehensible conduct. And he proceeds to detail its natural fruits. Fornication, wickedness, covetousness,

maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers, 30. Backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, 31. Without understanding, covenant- breakers, without natural affection, faithless, unmerciful. By fornication he signifies intercourse independent of marriage. By wickedness, a savage disposition. By covetousness, the desire of getting more and more, and the carrying off of what does not belong to oneself. By maliciousness, the bent of the mind to evil, and the planning of injury to a neighbour. Full of envy. Bitter is the passion, and unable to bear the prosperity of a neighbour. It is the parent of murder, and conceives deceit. Wounded by envy, and calling in deceit as an helpmate, Cain led his brother forth into the field, and feared not to slay him. By malignant, he means such as exercise their thoughts in laying snares, and designing mischief to those around them. By whisperers, such as privily murmur into the ear abuse of others standing by. By backbiters, such as recklessly indulge in the scandal of the absent.

24 By haters of God, such as are inimically disposed towards him. By despiteful, such as are given to petulance and insolence. By proud, such as are overmuch elevated by every superiority they possess. By boasters, such as are vainly puffed up, while haying no just cause for so exalted self- complacency. By inventors of evil things, such as not only fearlessly run through all existing ordinary evil, but devise yet further means of ill-doing in addition. Disobedient to parents; and baseness indeed is this, of the grossest kind, nature herself condemning it. Without understanding; for they who have fallen upon so lawless a life have lost all marks of reason. Covenant breakers; such as have embraced an unsocial and depraved state. Without natural affection; such as will not learn the laws of friendship. Faithless; such as fearlessly break through all engagements. Unmerciful; such as imitate the ferocity of the brute creation. 32. Who, knowing the judgment of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in those that do them. We have shown how nature teaches us to choose good, and avoid evil; but these, says he, nevertheless, think it not enough to commit such things, unless they also commend such as do so likewise: which is the last excess of wickedness, seeing that they ought not only to hate the transgressions of others, but with loathing to reprobate even their own.

CHAPTER II.

1 He proceeds now in another way to prove our possession of the power of discriminating between good and evil. 1. Therefore thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art that judgest: for wherein thou judgest another thou condemnest thyself for thou that judgest doest the same things. But, although thus situated, if you had received authority from any one to pass sentence, you would punish the transgressors of the law as guilty, so perfect a distinguishment have you between good and its opposite. It becomes you then to be aware, that in the very judgment you pronounce on others as sinners, you involve yourselves in the same condemnation, for you have not hesitated to fall into the same transgressions. 2. But we answer that the judgment of God is according to truth against them which commit such things: but it is evident to those who think rightly, that by the divine law all who transgress are obnoxious to punishment. 3. And thinkest thou this, O man, that judgest them which do such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God? 4. Or despisest thou the riches of His goodness and forbearance and long-suffering? We know indeed that in His own due time the righteous Judge will inflict vengeance on every sinner, but you, says he, who are so ready to punish others, and to shut your eyes to your own transgressions, imagine that you will escape the divine tribunal. Not so.

2 God bears with you, and has long-suffering, because He yet waits your repentance, as he subjoins, not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance. 5. But after thine hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up to thyself wrath against the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God; 6. Who will render to every man according to his deeds. For since you have an obdurate spirit, and remain still in your iniquity, you are passing against yourself the sentence of punishment, which God in mercy indeed yet delays, but will in the last day set forth, allotting to each a recompense correspondent to their own works. 3 Well does he adopt the expression, treasurest up unto thyself in order to show, that nothing of ours, whether word or deed, is consigned to oblivion, but that they who love virtue are laying up for themselves a store of good, and the workers of evil-doing the same (of evil). 7. To them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory, and honour and immortality, eternal life. He teaches the difficulties of virtue, and displays its crown, for the patient continuance in welldoing is expressive of those difficulties, in that we must persevere in and

carry through our virtue, and so expect its crown: but the labour is but for a time, the gain eternal; and this eternal he joins not to the life only, but to the glory, the honour and the immortality also, being desirous to illustrate the reward of our good deeds in as many ways as possible. 8. But unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, 9. Tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that worketh evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile.

4 As with respect to the former party, it was not simply to any chance person, nor to such as follow virtue sluggishly, that he promised those blessings, but to those who are contented to undergo its difficulties and labours, in like manner does he now threaten the heavy denunciations upon sin not to such as are betrayed into it on some chance occasion, but such as determinately pursue it, as is evident from the are contentious, the obey not the truth, and the work evil. Jews and Gentiles equally, says he, he will punish if transgressors, and deem worthy of the crown if zealous after holiness and righteousness. By the Gentiles he means not such as had become converts to the divine preaching, but such as had lived antecedently to our Lord's incarnation; nor to those among them who were idol-worshippers; but those who, being beyond the Mosaic polity, yet had embraced true piety, and sought after righteousness, does he promise eternal life. 10. But glory, honour, and peace to every man that doeth good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile.

5 He speaks thus, not without a distinct design, but with a view to what follows, where he enters upon the accusation of the Jews. 11. For there is no respect of persons with God. 12. For as many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law, and as many as have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law. God, says he, is the Maker of all, and therefore the Judge of all; and the Jews then will he take account of, and condemn, according to the Mosaic code, but those that have never received it, whom he means by the without law, and their sin, He will justly punish according to the knowledge of good and evil implanted in their nature. 13. For not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified. For the law was not sent to us to gratify our ears, but to lead us to the practice of what is right. 14. For when the Gentiles which have not the law do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves.

6 For that the divine law demands such a practical obedience they also testify, who, antecedently to the Mosaic code, exercised themselves in holy thoughts, and adorned their lives with virtuous deeds, and became their own lawgivers. 15. Which show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also being witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another. 16. In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to my gospel. He shows that the law of nature was written in their hearts, and that the self-condemnation or self-vindication of conscience was according to truth. 7 And I think it worth while to illustrate this by some example. When then the admirable Joseph was bringing his plot to bear concerning Benjamin, and attempting to take him for a slave, as if he had stolen the cup, in order to prove the temper of his brethren as it were in the fire, then was clearly manifested the strength of the testimony of conscience. For then they were least inclined to turn their minds to that tragedy, and yet could not but remember the sin themselves had committed two and twenty years before, so that they cried one to another, (Gen. xlii. 21, 22,) that the blood of our younger brother is required at our hands, while Reuben reminded them of his entreaties among them. Agreeably then to this instance may we describe the future judgment and conscience of those who lived beyond the polity of the law, now as pleading their defence, and alleging ignorance, and now again admitting the justice of the accusation, and confessing the equity of the sentence passed upon them. And thus, again, Abimelech, (Gen. xx. 4, 8,) having the testimony of his own conscience, cried to God, "Lord, wilt thou slay an unconscious and righteous nation? Said he not unto me, She is my sister, and she, even she herself said, He is my brother? with an innocent heart have I done this thing."

8 Having thus then laid down these matters, the holy apostle now turns his discourse to the Jews, and says, 17. Behold, thou art entitled a Jew, for this title was from of old a general and honourable one, wherefore he says not merely named, but entitled; and restest in the law, for thou weariest not thyself, like him who is a stranger to the law, in searching after what is right and fitting in practice, but hast the law itself teaching thee all things plainly; and makest thy boast of God, as of one, who has honoured thee above all the nations on the earth, dignified thee with his especial providence, bestowed on thee the law, and led thee by the prophets. 18. And knowest the will, that is, the will of God: and discernest the differences, that is, between things

which are opposite to each other, righteousness and unrighteousness, justice and injustice, temperance and excess, piety and impiety; Being instructed out of the law, for this it is, which was thy teacher in these matters; 19. And art confident that thou thyself art a guide of the blind, a light of them in darkness, 20. An instructor of the foolish, a teacher of babes. He here points out their arrogant self- opinion, and lays bare the superciliousness they exhibited towards proselytes; which hast the form of knowledge, and of the truth in the law, for the divine law has furnished thee with the characters of all these things. 21. Thou therefore that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?

9 thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? 22. Thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? thou that abhorrest idolst dost thou commit sacrilege? 23. Thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking the law dishonourest thou God? He shows that they had drawn no benefit from the establishment of the law among them, but being content to pride themselves on its mere letter, and endeavouring to teach others, while by their deeds contradicting their words, so boasted in the law in vain; and he adds a proof to confirm the accusation, 24. For the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you, as it is written; not only art thou not the cause of glory being given to God, but through thee many tongues are excited to speak evil of his name, in that when they witness thy wicked life, they openly reproach the God who hath chosen thee for his own.

10 Having, thus shown that they had taken no advantage from the Mosaic legislation, he turns his discourse to circumcision, and proves that it also is deprived of its object, when separated from the other works belonging, thereto; 25. For circumcision verily profiteth, if thou keep the law; but if thou be a breaker of the law, thy circumcision is made uncircumcision. The holy apostle follows in the train of the ancient prophecies, the God of all says by the prophet Jeremiah, (ix. 26;iv, 4.) "All the Gentiles are uncircumcised in the flesh, but the house of Israel are uncircumcised in their hearts;" and again, "Circumcise yourselves to God;" adding, in order to show what is the circumcision which he speaks of as pleasing to God, "take away the hardened foreskin of your hearts." 11 Starting from this point, the holy apostle shows that circumcision is idle, if the circumcision of the heart be wanting, for it was instituted in order to that, which if absent the other is of no avail, since it bears but the part of a sign. For where we put gold, or silver, or precious

stones, or valuable raiment, we are in the habit of affixing a mark, but, when none of these is within, the inscription of such a mark is idle. 26. Therefore if the uncircumcision keep the righteousness of the law, shall not his uncircumcision be counted for circumcision? The law, says he, demands practice; when then thou who art circumcised hast not this, but the uncircumcised has, oughtest not thou justly to be, called a sinner, and he receive thine honourable name instead; no longer, acceding to your reproaches, being named uncircumcised, but rather circumcised, as having cut off the evil of his heart. 27. And shall not uncircumcision which is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee who by the letter and circumcision dost transgress the law? Worthy of all admiration is the exceeding greatness of the apostle's wisdom, in that it is not the natural, which he opposes to the written, law, but the despised name to the honoured, uncircumcision to circumcision. And this he says is free from blame, for no one is born so of his own choice, but so the Creator formed his nature, wherefore neither can any injury arise from thence to such as love virtue; while thou hast received from thine ancestors the sign of circumcision, and hast the law teaching thee what thou shouldest do, and yet in thy works actest contrary to all that the law points at.

12 Having thus demonstrated that circumcision was given for a sign, and had afterwards become idle, he then proves that neither has the name a Jew any advantage, 28. For he is not a Jew, which is one outwardly, neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh; 29. But he is a Jew, which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter, whose praise is not of men, but of God. He falls back here upon the testimony of the prophetic writings, which we have above quoted, for "Circumcise" says he, "the hardened foreskin of your hearts."

CHAPTER III.

1 Having thus checked the pride of the Jew, and shown that he boasted in vain in circumcision, and in the law, and in the name of a Jew; lest any one should suppose that he spoke thus from an angry or hostile feeling, he continues, 1. What more then had the Jew, or what profit was there in circumcision? If then, says he, some among heathen and alien nations, who were adorned with piety and virtue, share in the divine favour, to what good did God separate Israel from the Gentiles, and give them the rite of circumcision? for by the more of the Jew he means advantage above the Gentiles. 2. Much in every way. For He chose their ancestors, He freed them from the

dominion of the Egyptians, He made them the wonder of nations by miracles of all kinds, He gave the law for their assistance, and set over them His prophets; for this is what he means by much in every way: while yet omitting the specific enumeration of all these, he is content to mention the institution of the law alone—Chiefly that unto them were committed the oracles of God. For this was the highest honour: while the other nations possessed only that knowledge which nature gives, themselves to have received the gift of the law in addition. 3. For what if some did not believe, shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect? God forbid.

2 Well knew the God of all, says be, from of old, both who would keep His law, and who would break it. They, therefore, who did not believe, by no means invalidated the divine mercies; nay, for even though all mankind should prove ungrateful towards Him, this their ingratitude could not diminish the glory of God; as he explains in what follows, 4. Yea, let God be true, but every man false. For granting, says he, for argument's sake, that no one soul of man offered to Him the praise and honour due, but all were infected with ingratitude, which is what he means by every man being false, what diminution would God's glory suffer from hence? 3 And the same thing has the blessed Apostle observed in another place, "For if we believe not," says he, (2 Tim. ii. 13,) "yet He abideth faithful. He cannot deny Himself." And here he subjoins the testimony of scripture, as it is written, that Thou mightest be justified in Thy sayings, and mightest overcome when Thou judgest. The word that here denotes not the reason, but the result; for we do not therefore sin in order that we may set forth the loving-kindness of God, but Himself supplies the streams of His mercies to bring salvation to all; while men being free agents, some prefer the service of God, and some walk in the contrary direction; and so each find their end correspondent with the path they have chosen. But still God's mercies having been extended to them (the latter) also, thus is He fully justified in afterwards judging them, by His previous care bestowed on them. And thus He Himself speaks to Israel, (Micah vi. 3,) "O My people, what have I done unto thee, or how have I grieved thee, or wherein have I wearied thee, testify against Me?" and then enumerates His blessings one by one in order. And thus again in Jeremiah (ii. 5,) does He cry out, "What iniquity have your fathers found in Me, that they are gone far from Me, and have walked after vanity, and are become vain?" and again subjoins a list of His past kindnesses. And here the holy apostle in-

troduces a conclusion in the person of his adversary: 5. But if our unrighteousness commend the righteousness of God, what shall we say, is not God unrighteous, who taketh vengeance? I speak as a man. 6. God forbid.

4 It was necessary that he should bring forward the objection raised by others, and he shows its absurdity by his disavowal of it; for not I, says he, speak thus, but have only stated the position of others, which is what he means by as a man. For then how shall God judge the world? 7. For if the truth of God hath more abounded through my falseness unto His glory, why yet am I also judged as a sinner? It is one of the most absurd things thus to speak; for the sentence of God is just. Nor can my own unworthiness advance at all the glory arising to God for His kindness, for it were the extremest injustice that they who advanced His glory should yet suffer vengeance from Him, and expect eternal punishment; this indeed is what not even the most unjust of men would do, how far less then He, from whom flow the very fountains of righteousness! 8. And not also, as we be slanderously reported, and as some affirm that we say, Let us do evil that good may come? whose damnation is just. None of these things, says he, we ourselves maintain, but are calumniously reported so to speak by others, who will suffer the due reward of their calumny.

5 For we must know that, as the holy apostles had declared that where sin abounded, grace did yet more abound, some who themselves were zealous in piety, yet uttering false accusations against them, had published, that they had said, Let us do evil that good may come. But not such indeed was the object of the apostolic doctrine, for they laid down exactly contrary rules, that all should abstain from every iniquity, while only exhorting such as came to their thrice-holy instructions to be of good cheer, in the pardon vouchsafed by God for past offences. And here, ceasing from our exposition awhile, and resting our mind, let us laud and magnify Him, from whose gift it cometh, that man hath a mouth to speak withal, or remaineth mute and dumb; and pray to Him that we may fully comprehend the mind of the apostolic doctrines. For He assuredly will grant it, who hath said, "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. With whom, to the Father, together with the thrice-holy Spirit, belong glory and majesty, now and for ever, unto endless ages. Amen.

BOOK II.

1 We have already said, that the holy apostle was desirous of showing the necessity of the incarnation of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ; on which account he began by speaking of those, who were strangers to, as well as those also who were under, the law, and convicted the former of having transgressed the natural, and the latter the Mosaic, law, and become worthy of the deepest punishment. Herein does he imitate a skilful physician, who first points out to his patients the virulent nature of their disorder, and then so offers the assistance of his healing remedies. For this he also does; having exhibited the sin of both parties, and proved them deserving of, and obnoxious to, punishment, he next produces his medicine of faith, and sets forth the loving-kindness of the divine dispensation, and says, 9. In what then are we better than they? for we have proved before both Jews and Gentiles, that they are all under sin: 10. As it is written, There is none righteous, no, not one: 11. There is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. 12. They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no, not one. 13. Their throat is an open sepulchre; with their tongues have they used deceit; the poison of asps is under their lips: 14. Whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness: 15. Their feet are swift to shed blood: 16. Destruction and misery are in their ways: 17. And the way of peace have they not known: 18. There is no fear of God before their eyes.

2 In the part above explained, where he was comparing the case of the circumcision with that of the uncircumcision, he subjoined, "What more then had the Jew?" and here, wishing to show the pre-eminence of the grace of the gospel, he says, In what then are we better than they? for we have demonstrated that those without the law, and those within it, have both gone astray, and he adds the testimony of David as exactly adapted to the matter in hand; and he does so, as being particularly studious of brevity, since otherwise he might have called in all the prophets to the condemnation of the Jews, who allege the same, and even worse, things against them; whence he goes on, 19. Now we know that what things soever the law saith, it saith to them who are under the law. He words this with the greatest accuracy of expression, in that he puts it not "concerning" those who are under the law, but to those who are under the law; for it speaks much concerning the Babylonians, and Persians, and Medes, and Egyptians, and many other nations, but,

nevertheless, even these predictions concerning them it addresses to the Jews. That every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God. And again, he employs the word that according to his favourite idiom, (or use of it,) for the God of all did not therefore bestow laws, and send forth His exhortations among men, in order that He might render them obnoxious to punishment, but consulting for their salvation has He done this; themselves it is who, by pursuing an opposite course, have drawn this vengeance on themselves.

3 Being now about to enter on the privileges of faith, he first demonstrates that all have need of it, and especially, above others, those who boasted in the law: 20. Because that by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in His sight. Some of the injunctions of the Mosaic law agreed with the knowledge of nature, such as, "Thou shalt not commit adultery;" "Thou shalt do no murder;" "Thou shalt not steal;" "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour;" "Honour thy father and mother and others of this kind: for they who had never received that law, were yet fully aware that each of these was deserving not only of condemnation, but of punishment likewise. And some, again, the Lawgiver imposed on the Jews as suitable to them for that present time only; such, I mean, as circumcision, and the sabbath, and sacrifices, and sprinklings, and the rites respecting the leper, and the seminally unclean, and such-like; which are the symbols of other things, and when fulfilled, are not in themselves sufficient to make the doer just. Wherefore the holy apostle says, therefore by the works of the law there shall no flesh be justified in His sight; and then, lest any one should suppose that he was passing a censure on the law, he adds, For by the law is the knowledge of sin. The law, says he, has given to man a more accurate discrimination of sin, and made the condemnation lying on it the heavier; but for the establishment of virtue it is not competent to be sufficient for men.

4 Having thus shown that the law was only the teacher of good, he proceeds to exhibit the power of grace: 21. But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets. Who can sufficiently admire the power of the apostle's wisdom, who shows at once that the law had come to an end, and that it consented to (the covenant of) grace. And aptly does he say manifested, for it has now laid clearly before all the hidden mystery of the dispensation; while in this comparison between grace and the law, by proving that both the law and the prophets were wit-

nesses to the former, he exhibits the greatness of its conquest over the latter: 22. Even the righteousness of God, which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all that believe. What had been before put down is here repeated, that what was wanting might be added; for having said the righteousness of God is manifested, and then interrupted the sentence to speak of its character, it was necessary that he should resume the phrase again, and show that it was by faith in the Lord Christ that all who desired to do so enjoyed it, whether Jews or Greeks; the unto all refers to the Jews, the upon all to the other nations; and this he goes on to set forth more clearly—For there is no difference: 23. For all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God. He briefly shows that all are guilty, and need (the covenant of) grace: 24. Being justified freely by His grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus. For by bringing faith alone, we have received remission of our sins, in that the Lord Christ has offered up His own body for us, to be, as it were, the price of redemption.

5 25. Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiatory, through faith in His blood. The propitiatory was a golden plate, which lay over the ark, having at either end the figure of a cherub, (Exod. xxv.) and from thence the mercy of God was manifested to the high priest in his ministrations. The holy apostle here then teaches, that the Lord Christ was the true propitiatory, for that ancient one was but a type of this. This name, however, is applied to Him as man, and not as God; for as God He Himself speaks from the propitiatory; while as man He receives this appellation even as others, such as "sheep" and "lamb," and "sin" and "curse," and the like. (See John i. 29, 36. Acts viii. 32. 2 Cor. v. 21. Gal. iii. 13.) And the ancient propitiatory was bloodless in itself, inasmuch as it was also inanimate, and received only the sprinklings of the blood of the victims; but the Lord is God, and propitiatory, and high priest, and lamb, arid in His own blood hath worked out our salvation, demanding faith only from us.—To declare His righteousness for the remission of sins that are past: 25. Through the forbearance of God, to declare, I say, at this time His righteousness. God has both exhibited His own mercy in so long bearing with sinners, and has made manifest His righteousness to all men; for that it was not without any further view that He thus bore with sinners, but as preparing for them this mean of salvation, the next sentence shows—that He might be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus. For both these things should we learn from hence, that the God of all has

ordered His dispensations concerning ourselves with justice equally as with mercy; and that whosoever believes in the Lord Christ is made partaker of the righteousness which is by faith.

6 Thus briefly having stated the free gifts conferred by (the covenant of) grace, he returns to his discourse respecting the law, and shows that it yielded the victory to grace. 27. Where is boasting then? This must be read interrogatively, and then comes the answer, It is excluded. He says not destroyed, but excluded; that is, has no longer any place. By boasting he means the haughty self-esteem of the Jews, who exalted themselves as the only possessors of God's favour; while now, divine grace having appeared abroad, and been shed among all nations, this arrogance had been put out of the question, in that God had given to man a short and easy mean of salvation in faith; for this the apostle continues to show forth in the following sentences also, By what law? of works? Nay, but by the law of faith. He calls faith here a law, not from inconsideration, but as recollecting the prophecy of Jeremiah (xxxi. 31, 32,) "For in those days, saith the Lord, and at that time, I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah, not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers."

7 If then the Mosaic law is thus styled a covenant, and the new covenant again bears also the same name, and faith in Christ be the law it enacts, in strict accordance with the phraseology of the prophet does the holy apostle here apply the name of the law to faith. And then he subjoins the conclusion concerning faith: 28. We conclude therefore that a man is justified by faith, without the works of the law. By law here he means that of Moses; but at the same time he says not, we conclude that by faith a Jew is justified, but a man, the common name of the whole human race; as he goes on to reason, 29. Is He the God of the Jews only; is He not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also. And then, as a position which cannot be disputed, he confirms it by the assertion, 30. Seeing that it is one God which shall justify the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith. It is one God, who is the God of all; one, who is the Maker of all; nor is it possible that He should be careful for some, and leave others uncared for; wherefore He extends His salvation to all that believe. By circumcision he means the Jews, by uncircumcision the Gentiles. And he next resolves the objection which might be raised, 31. Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid; yea, we establish the law. For of old both the law and the prophets prophesied of the

things concerning the faith, and in receiving therefore the faith we confirm the law. He then brings forward evidences of all this, and, while having it in his power to adduce a vast variety of testimonies from the prophets, prefers going at once to the very root of the Jews, and demonstrates that the righteousness of the patriarch Abraham himself was that which is of faith.

CHAPTER IV.

1. What shall we then say that Abraham our father hath found, as pertaining to the flesh? What righteousness, says he, before he believed in God, have we heard that Abraham our father had as his own by works? for as pertaining to the flesh means that which is of works, inasmuch as it is by our fleshly bodies that works are done. 2. For if Abraham were justified by works he hath whereof to glory, but not before God. The full performance of good works crowns the doers with the prize, but does not exhibit the loving-kindness of God; while faith sets forth both the disposition of the believer towards God, and the loving-kindness of God, who by accepting such faith proclaims him who has acquired it, victorious. And this he confirms by the testimony of Scripture, 3. For what saith Scripture? Abraham believed in God, and it was counted to him for righteousness. For the blessed Abraham obtained not the divine attestation by living according to the law, but enjoyed the riches of justification by believing on Him that called him. 4. Now to him that earneth it by his works the reward is not reckoned of grace, but of debt. For the doer of righteousness demands his reward, while the righteousness which is of faith is the free gift of the God of all, as is further exhibited in what follows, 5. But to him that earneth it not by his works, but believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness.

2 Having thus, in the instance of the patriarch Abraham, demonstrated that faith was older than the law, he now again calls in another trustworthy witness of this,—David the prophet and king, to whom the God of all renewed the promises made to Abraham. For as he had promised to Abraham, (Gen. xxii. 18,) that "in his seed He would bless all nations," in like manner did He proclaim to the most excellent David, (Ps. lxxxix. 35, 38,) "Once have I sworn in my holiness that I will not fail David. His seed remaineth for ever, and His throne as the sun before Me, and as the moon established for ever, and faithful is the witness in heaven:" and again, (v. 25,) "I will set His hand also in the sea, and His right hand in the rivers:" and again, (Ps. lxxii. 11,)

"Yea all kings shall fall down before Him, all nations shall serve Him:" and such like.

3 And since then he had shown that the blessed Abraham had obtained justification by faith, but then Abraham lived before the establishment of the law, it was necessary that he should now show that David, who lived under the law, himself also bore witness to (the covenant of) grace; and accordingly he says, 6. Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man, unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works, 7. Saying, Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. 8. Blessed is the man, to whom the Lord will not impute sin. The law, says he, brought punishment on such as sinned, but the prophet speaks of the blessedness of those, who have received forgiveness of their sins. It is evident, therefore, that he is speaking of the blessedness of our own condition, and foretelling the free gifts of grace; and this grace be shows is open to all, saying interrogatively, 9. Cometh this blessedness then upon the circumcision only, or upon the uncircumcision also? And then again he establishes his position by the case of the patriarch Abraham, For we say that faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness. 10. How was it then reckoned? when he was in circumcision, or in uncircumcision? Not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision. He proves that faith is older not merely than the law, but than circumcision itself, and that while circumcision was yet unestablished, the patriarch received the testimony of his righteousness, the righteousness which is of faith.

4 How then could he need circumcision, while having already obtained the righteousness which is of faith? This he clearly explains, 11. And he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had yet being uncircumcised. Circumcision itself, says he, is not righteousness, but a testimony of righteousness, and a seal and sign of that faith, which he bad exhibited before he was circumcised. That he might be the father of all them that believe, though they be not circumcised; that righteousness might be imputed unto them also. 12. And the father of circumcision. Here we must make a full stop. For herein he shows that the patriarch first was the father of such as believed, being uncircumcised, inasmuch as he himself, while uncircumcised, offered to God the tribute of faith; and then of the Jews also, as of those who were sharers with him in the circumcision; and this he lays down again, yet more clearly, in what follows, Not to them

only who are of the circumcision, but to them also who walk in the steps of that faith of our father Abraham, which he had while yet uncircumcised. For if any one sprung from the Gentiles, and not having received circumcision, should follow in the footsteps of that faith of the patriarch, which he had before his own circumcision, he would not fail of relationship to him;

5 in that the God of all, foreseeing, as God, that He would hereafter gather together one people of the Gentiles, and the Jews, and extend to them salvation through faith, represented both of old in the patriarch Abraham. And thus then he calls him the father of the Gentiles, in having shown that he had acquired, before his circumcision, the righteousness which is of faith, and after his circumcision, had not walked under the Mosaic law, but continued under the guidance of the same faith; in order that both Jews and Greeks, looking to him, might in common aim at his faith, neither the one anxious for his circumcision, nor the other his uncircumcision, for it is neither circumcision nor uncircumcision, but faith which the holy Scripture speaks of as (the mean of v. 3, 5, 9, &c. righteousness. 6 Having thus shown that faith was both older and more excellent than the law, he now also shows that the law was subsequent to the promise given to Abraham, in order thereby to make it manifest that (the covenant of) grace was itself also anterior to the law, seeing that of this it was, that the promises were given to Abraham; for the promise was, that "in his seed all the nations should be blessed," which promise received its accomplishment in Christ. 13. For the promise, that he should be the heir of the world, was not to Abraham or to his seed, through the law, but through the righteousness of faith: for it was by believing in God, and not by walking according to the Mosaic law, that he received the promise of the blessing of the nations. 14. For if they which are of the law be heirs, faith is made void, and the promise made of none effect; for if they who live according to the law obtain the promised blessings, in vain did Abraham believe in God, and false and not true were the promises made to him by God. 15. Because the law worketh wrath; for it is the character of the law to punish the transgressors thereof; by wrath he means punishment; for where no law is there is no transgression, for the law punishes the violators of it, for with the law are connected observance and violation; some through zeal for virtue preferring to keep it, and some through love of ease carelessly suffering themselves to violate it.

7 16. Therefore it is of faith, that it might be by grace; to the end the promise might be sure to all the seed; not to that only which is of the law, but to that also which is of the faith of Abraham, who is the father of us all. He puts down the arrogance of the Jews by applying the name, seed of Abraham, to such as imitated the faith of Abraham, however aliens in blood. But if then, while the law punishes transgressors, (the covenant of) grace gives forgiveness of sins, it confirms thereby the promise made by God, in bringing that blessing on the nations. And as He had called Abraham, the father both of the nations, and of the Jews, he supports the expression by testimony from Scripture, 17. As it is written, I have made thee a father of many nations, and then he strengthens this testimony by an evidence, Before Him whom he believed, even God who quickeneth the dead, and calleth those things which be not as though they were. For as, says he, God is the Maker of all, and the God, and carer for, all, so did He constitute Abraham, the father of all, not of the Jews only, but of all who believe.

8 And he (next) exhibits the greatness of Abraham's faith, 18. Who against hope believed in hope, that he might become the father of many nations, according to that which was spoken, "So shall thy seed be." 19. And not being weak in faith so as to consider his own body now dead, being about an hundred years old, neither the deadness of Sarah's womb; for while he saw that his wife was barren, that the impotency of old age lay upon both, and that there appeared not, according to human calculation, the smallest hope of child-bearing, and was unable to produce a single similar instance from earlier times for his encouragement, he yet welcomed the divine promise with confidence; for against hope means hope from nature; in hope, confidence in the divine promise. 20. But he staggered not at the promise of God, through unbelief; but was strong in faith, giving glory to God: 21. And being fully persuaded that, what He had promised, He was able also to perform. For he looked not to the impotence of nature, but trusted, without doubting, in the Creator of that nature. 22. Wherefore also it was imputed unto him for righteousness; that is, faith was.

9 Having thus shown that faith flourished among those, who were under the law, and those also who lived before it, he turns his discourse to the object proposed. 23. Now it was not written for his sake alone, that faith was reckoned unto him for righteousness, 24. But for us also, to whom it shall be reckoned, if we believe on Him that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead.

Thus then the patriarch, while he saw the womb of his wife dead, yet believed that it was easy for God to fulfil his promise; and thus then we, while we hear the Jews declaring that our Lord Christ is dead, believe that He is risen again; wherefore we, in our turn, gather the fruits of faith, and enjoy the righteousness springing therefrom. For not for nothing were recorded the things which the Lord God did regarding the patriarch Abraham, but that we, beholding them, might exhibit the like faith ourselves. He that raised up our Lord Christ is spoken of His humanity, for, in the nature in which He suffered, in that it was that He arose, and the suffering was of the flesh, and not of the impassible Godhead. 25. Who was delivered up for our offences, and was raised again for our justification; for for our offences He underwent His passion, that He might pay off our debt, and that His resurrection might work out the common resurrection of all; for by it we both gain the means of our own justification, and, being buried with Him in baptism, receive remission of sins.

10 Having thus shown the power of faith, and displayed the gifts of (the covenant of) grace, he now turns his discourse to exhortation, bidding us also take heed to the practice of virtue; for having said that, when (the covenant of) faith was revealed, the law became superseded, and that the patriarch had attained the righteousness which is of faith, it was necessary that he should add moral counsels, lest such as lived at ease should take occasion from hence to neglect practical virtue, under the plea that faith alone was sufficient for justification.

CHAPTER V.

1. Therefore, having been justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, 2. By whom now we have access, by faith, into this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God. Faith then has given us remission of sins, and made us blameless and just by the regeneration of the baptismal font, and it is incumbent on you to preserve the peace thus effected. For the only-begotten by His incarnation has reconciled you, while you were in hostility with Him, and sin it was that produced this hostility, righteousness therefore it must be which will maintain the peace commenced; and this then we are in every way bound to pursue by the consideration of the hopes held out, and the glory promised by God to be given to us. For the recompense of our labours he calls not payment, but glory, to show the excess of our reward. And as they had at that time to endure many

troubles, being beaten, tortured, and subjected to a thousand kinds of death, he most fitly brings forward the sources of consolation connected with these things, 3. And not only so, but we even glory in tribulations. He has displayed brightly his own insuperable magnanimity, for it is not, we patiently endure afflictions, which he says, but we even rejoice in afflictions; we are exalted, he exclaims, and take pride to ourselves, as fellow-sharers with the Lord of sufferings;

but this he says not openly, because they alone could so feel, who with himself had arrived at completeness in the faith; the rest he encourages by what should come hereafter. 4. Knowing that tribulation worketh patience, and patience proof, and proof hope. 5. And hope maketh not ashamed. When misfortunes surround a man, and he bears their attack nobly, he is thereby shown to stand his proof, and leans on the hope of the future; and this is not a fallacious hope, but one based on truth; which is what he means by maketh not ashamed, they who hope, and then are disappointed, being confounded and ashamed. Because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts, by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us. For the grace of the thrice holy Spirit, which we received through baptism, has kindled the love of God within us. And he then sets forth the causes of this love. 6. For when we were yet without strength, in time Christ died for the ungodly. 7. For scarcely for a righteous man will one die; yet peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die. For we reflect, that when we were yet transgressors, and suffering under the infection of impiety, the Lord Christ endured that death, which was inflicted on our behalf; and hence we learn the depth of His loving-mercy, for for a just man it might be, that some might face death, but He, through the excess of His love, welcomed the death which was in behalf of sinners; as he also goes on to say, 8. But God commendeth his love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. God then makes manifest the greatness of His love towards us, in the death of Christ having been undergone, not for such as had been just, but for such as were yet transgressors. For we now have been justified by faith in Him, but, when He undertook that death for us, we were still subject to every kind of sin;

the words, in time, mean, at the fit time, in due time, and this he says also in his epistle to the Galatians, (iv. 4, 5. "But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth His 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." 9. Much more then, having now been justified by His blood, shall we be saved from wrath through Him. Having encountered that accursed (see Gal. iii. 13) death for the ungodly and transgressors, it is evident that He will free from the future punishment those, that believe in Him; for that future (eternal) punishment is what he here calls wrath. 10. For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God, by the death of His Son, much more, having been reconciled, shall we be saved in His life. If while we were antagonists, and enemies, He thought fit to treat us with so great consideration, as to give up His Son to die for us, how is it possible, now that reconciliation has been effected, that we should not share in everlasting life? And here again he calls the Lord Christ, the Son, who, the same, is both God and man; it must be evident therefore, I apprehend, even to the most determined heretics, as to which nature His passion took place.

11. And not only so, but we joy also in God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the reconciliation. For not only do we expect immortal life, but even as to the present existence, glory in having been brought near unto God, while we reflect upon the things concerning the Lord Christ, who, being our mediator, has effected peace. From hence he proceeds to explain the mystery of the dispensation, and show the reasons of the incarnation, 12. Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, in that all have sinned. The Lord God having formed Adam, and dignified him with reason, imposed on him one single law for the exercise of those rational faculties; for indeed it was not meet that one who had received reason, and possessed the power of discriminating between good and its opposite, should live without any law at all. He, having been beguiled, transgressed the command. But, from the first, the lawgiver had to the command affixed the threat of retribution, and thus, falling under the sentence of death, he so begot Cain, Seth, and the rest. All therefore, as having sprung from him, inherited a mortal nature. Now such a nature has need of many things, food, and drink, and clothing, and houses, and various arts, and the use of these oftentimes excites the passions into excess, and excess begets sin; and therefore the holy apostle says, that Adam having sinned, and become mortal through that sin, both descended to his race, for death came upon all men, in that all have sinned, for not on account of our first father's transgression, but for his own, each receives the sentence of death. 13. For until the law sin was in the world, but

sin is not reckoned (such) where there is no law. He accuses not, as some suppose, those who lived before the law, but all alike; for the until the law means, not until the commencement of, but until the end of, the law; that is, while the law reigned sin had power, for where there is no law, neither can there be transgression.

14. But death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, who is the type of Him that would come after. By Moses he means the law, as we also find in the Gospels (Luke xvi. 29,) "They have Moses and the prophets; and so also the holy apostle speaks in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (iii. 15,) " But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the vail is upon their hearts," that is, the law. Death then, says he, reigned from Adam until the manifestation of the Saviour, for then the law received its end, "for the law," says he, "and the prophets, prophesied until John; but from the days of John the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force. (Matt. xi. 12, 13. And death, moreover, reigned over those also, who had not sinned after the likeness of Adam's transgression, for although they had not transgressed that particular commandment, they had nevertheless ventured on other sins. And he calls Adam the type of Christ, for the latter he designates as Him that would come after, on this account, that as Adam first, by his sin, became subject to the sentence of death, and thus the whole race followed their first parent, so the Lord Christ, having fulfilled the most perfect righteousness, destroyed the power of death, and first rising from the dead shall restore the whole race of man to life.

And as he had called Adam the type of Christ, he shows the pre-eminence (of the latter.) 15. But not as the offence, so also is the free gift. And how then is this? For if through the offence of one, many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many. As regards punishment, says he, the Lord God preserved the strict law of justice, and Adam, having sinned, and been given over to death, the whole race followed him; how much more right then that, as regards God's loving-mercy, justice should also be preserved, and all men share in the resurrection of our Lord Christ! He here calls the Lord Christ a man, to show clearly the type in Adam, that as there by one man (came) death, so here by one man the dissolution of death. 16. And not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift; for the judgment was by one to con-

demnation, but the free gift is of many offences unto justification. The munificence of grace, says he, goes beyond the limits of justice, for then, one having sinned, the whole race received punishment, but now, all mankind having been unholy, and transgressors, it has brought, not punishment but, the free gift of life.

17. For if by one man's offences death reigned by one; much more they which receive the fulness of grace, and of the gift, and of righteousness, shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ. If the transgression of one man established the dominion of death, it is evident that they, which enjoy the plenteous gifts of God, shall be conquerors over death, and share with Christ in the imperishable kingdom and life eternal.18. Therefore as by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. Doubt not, says he, concerning what I have said, while looking to Adam; for if those things be true, as indeed they are true, and when he had sinned the whole race received the sentence of death; it is plain, that the righteousness of the Saviour gains life to all men. And again he puts the same thing in another form, varying his phrase, and again and again re-stating it, in order the more clearly to open the mystery of the dispensation. 19. For as by one man s disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous. With great nicety does he here, in the case of those under Adam, and that of those under grace, adopt the word many, for indeed among the former we find some, who were superior to the grosser sins, as Abe1, and Enoch, and Noah, and Melchisedek, and the patriarchs, and even those who became illustrious under the law; and after (the covenant of) grace there are many who embrace a sinful life.

Having thus shewn us, from what took place through Adam, the reasons for the divine incarnation, he brings forward the objection which might arise, and offers a solution. The objection is with regard to the law, which was given in the interim between Adam and the appearance of the Saviour; wherefore the holy apostle says, 20. But the law came in between, that the offence might abound. He means not, by that it might, that such was its object; but uses the words according to his familiar mode of expression. But what he is shewing is, that neither in time past did God leave men neglected, but gave the law to the Jews, and by their means showed forth the light of religion on the rest of the nations also. And aptly has he put intervened, in

that Christ was the end of the promise made to the patriarch; for "in thy seed," says He, "shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," and the law intervened between Abraham and Christ. And it taught the more clearly how evil a thing sin was, while yet it was incompetent to put a stop thereto, but only the more increased it, seeing that, in proportion as more commandments were given, so many the more became the violations of them. But where sin abounded, grace did much more abound. It invalidated not, says he, the mercy of God, but rather displayed the vastness of His loving-kindness. 21.

That as sin had reigned unto death, even so might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord. Here he finishes the argument, shewing that as sin, begetting death, had reigned in our mortal bodies, exciting the passions to excess; so grace, conveying to believers the justification which is of faith, has her dominion also, one not coeval with that of sin, but eternal and endless; for the former reigns over our bodies, but at their death ceases from her power, "for he who is dead," according to the holy apostle, "is freed from sin; while, after the resurrection, our bodies having become imperishable, and immortal, grace will reign in them, sin having no longer any place; for when the passions have ceased, there will be no room for sin. And then again he proposes another objection arising from the subject, and with ease resolves it.

CHAPTER VI.

1. What shall we say then? shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid. By the reprobation of this, he shows its inconsistency, but the question itself be put down, because of what had been just before said, "Where sin abounded, grace did much more abound. Nor is he contented with this bare condemnatory disavowal, but proceeds to treat the subject in another way also:—2. How shall we, that have died to sin, live any longer therein? And how have we died thereto? 3. Know you not, brethren, that as many of us as have been baptized into Jesus Christ have been baptized into His death? Thou hast renounced sin, and hast become dead to it, and buried with Christ; how is it possible then that thou shouldst admit this same sin? 4. Therefore we are buried with Him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. The very sacrament of baptism has taught thee to fly from sin, for baptism carries in it the representation of our Lord's death, for

in that thou hast communicated both in the death and in the resurrection of Christ. It becomes thee therefore to lead a new life, as it were, and one suited to Him in whose resurrection thou hast partaken. The divinity of Christ is what he here calls the glory of the Father, for thus also in another epistle he speaks, (Eph.

2 i. 17,) "That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory . . . . . and the Lord in the gospels (John ii. 19,) "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up again. Nay, and if heretics will not receive this interpretation, neither so can they injure the glory of the Only-begotten, for, even granting that it was the Father who raised Him up, as man it was that He raised Him, for as man it was that He also endured the passion. 5. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of His death, we shall be also in the likeness of His resurrection. Since he had called baptism, which places us in a state of salvation, a type of death, by this change of name He plainly points out the resurrection, for whatever is distinctly planted springs up again. 6. Knowing this, that our old man has been crucified with Him, that the body might be rendered inoperative as regards sin, so as that we should no longer serve sin. Not our nature, but our evil inclination, is what He here calls the old man, and this he says has been put to death in baptism, that the body may be idle as regards sin, for this it is which He means by that the body might be made to cease from sin, so that it should in no wise serve sin. And this He shows more plainly by another similitude:—7.

3 For he that is dead is freed from sin. For who ever yet saw one that was dead either invading the marriage-bed of another, or imbruing his hands in bloodshed, or committing any other of the catalogue of iniquities? 8. For if we have died with Christ, we believe we shall also live with Him. It becomes us, therefore, also, having been buried with Christ, to be dead indeed unto sin, but to await the resurrection. 9. Knowing that Christ, having been raised from the dead, dieth no more: death hath no more dominion over him. 10. For in that he died, he died unto sin once; but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Amply, by these words, has he proved his wish to make believers abstain from sin. Once, says he, Christ died; and that He should a second time die were impossible, for He now possesses an immortal body. On this account, therefore, we all also enjoy one baptism; expect not then any second forgiveness by (means of any second) baptism. He has indeed well said that He died unto sin, for He was not subject to death, inasmuch as He had done

no sin, but received death for our sin. 11. And thus indeed reckon ye also yourselves to be dead unto sin, but alive unto God, through Jesus Christ. And do you, therefore, display your bodies dead to the inworking of sin, but embrace the life which is after Christ, by which you shall obtain the life eternal.

4 To this advice it behoves us all to take heed, flying from the snares of sin, and calling to our aid Christ who has saved us; for, if called, He will appear, and extend to us His own strength: in conjunction with whom, to the Father, with the thrice-holy Spirit, belong glory and majesty, now and for ever, unto endless ages. Amen.

BOOK III.

1 12. Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof. A reign differs from a tyranny in this, that a tyranny is exercised over those who unwillingly submit to it; a reign, over subjects who are consenting thereto. He exhorts us therefore no longer to agree to the government of sin, for the Lord in His incarnation has overthrown its reign; and as one legislating for mere mortals, and such as possess a body liable to passions, he enjoins things consistent with their infirmities, and says, not Let not sin tyrannize, but, let it not reign; for the former is its own property, the latter rests on our will; the motions and tumult of the passions being engendered in us by nature, while the performance of what are forbidden depends on our own volition. And he shows, moreover, the short duration of the warfare by denominating the body mortal, in that when it has undergone the termination of death the attack of the passions ceases likewise. He exhorts us then, not to put a stop to the tyranny of sin, but, not to obey it when intemperately inflaming the desires of the body. 13. Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin. Having spoken of a reign, in strict keeping herewith, he mentions its artillery also, and teaches us the way of victory, for the weapons which sin uses against us are our own members. But yield yourselves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead.

2 And, indeed, just before he had said the very same thing— "And so reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God, through Jesus Christ; that is, ye have been buried with Christ, and have risen again with Him, wherefore ye are dead to sin, and aspire to another life. And your members, as instruments of righteousness, unto God. He shows that the body is not evil, but the work of a God of goodness, for it is competent to

serve God, if well and properly governed by the soul; wherefore it is the inclination of our own free will to the worse that offers the members for weapons, as it were, to sin; and again the love arising from our knowledge of good, which prepares the members to obey the divine laws. For thus the tongue of the musician, when he is in the right mind, offers up fitting melody to the God of all, but when he is drunken and disordered, madly sends forth the horrid sounds of impiety; and thus also it is both adorned by the words of truth, and disgraced by falsehoods; and thus the eye likewise can look abroad both modestly and lasciviously, both savagely and benevolently; and thus also the hand both kills and pities; and, in short, all the members of the body become the instruments of holiness when the Spirit is so minded, and of sin, on the reverse, when it has embraced the governance of sin.

3 But in another way also does the holy apostle demonstrate the easiness of the victory: 14. For sin shall no longer have dominion over you, says he. For nature no longer fights singly, but has for her assistant the grace of the Spirit; for this he adds, for ye are not under the law, but under grace. He shows that before the coming of (the covenant of) grace, the law taught only what was to be done, but afforded no help to those under it, while (the covenant of) grace, in addition to the imposition of duties, extends assistance also, on which account the legislative constitution of grace is also more complete than the law, as removing the impediments by this succour. And here again he answers an objection arising. 15. What then, shall we sin because we are not under the law, but under grace? He notes this objection because of the gainsayers, and first reprobates it, pointing out its absurdity, and says, God forbid, and then more at length demonstrates the contrary. 16. Know ye not that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are whom ye obey, whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness? Whomsoever ye choose to submit yourselves unto, his commands you are bound to comply with, for it is not possible at the same time to obey two lords, but righteousness and sin are diametrically opposed to each other; and this also the Lord says in the holy gospels, (Matt.

4 vi. 24,) "No man can serve two masters." 17. But God be thanked that ye were the servants of sin, but ye have obeyed from the heart that form of doctrine which was delivered you. He both points out the change in themselves, and exhibits the joy arising therefrom, giving praise to God; for ye were, says

he, the servants of sin, but by your own voluntary choice you have shaken off its sovereignty, and embraced the divine polity. 18. Having then been freed from sin, ye were made servants of righteousness. Ye have cast away the slavery of sin, and taken upon you the yoke of righteousness; it is not possible therefore that bearing the latter you should yield to the commands of the former. 19. I speak after the manner of men, because of the infirmity of your flesh. I suit my exhortations to your nature, for I am well aware of the passions which contend in a mortal body. For as ye have yielded your members servants to uncleanness and to iniquity unto iniquity; even so now yield your members servants to righteousness, unto holiness. By this also be shows that it is not the (natural, see ver. 13,) body that deserves reprobation, but the disposition that leads it astray. And he demands indeed from us nothing impossible, but that what we did give to sin, the same we should afford to righteousness; and to the former we subjected ourselves while it enjoined iniquity, the latter, if we obey it, will bring us to holiness. 20.

5 For when ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness, for ye fulfilled its precepts only, while as to the laws of righteousness ye received not them at all. And then again, in another way, he exhibits the difference. 21. What fruit had ye then from those things? Tell me yourselves the gains of sin; or rather it were idle to ask, for in silence you confess its injury, for ye are covered with shame, as he adds, whereof ye are now ashamed; for although any one be barefaced indeed, he yet cannot but experience shame, when his enjoyment is over. And he subjoins, in addition to this, the greater and more bitter fruit of sin —for the end of those things is death. Death, he means not the present, which is merely temporal, but that which is eternal. 22. But now having been freed from sin, and made servants of God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life. In these words he opposes God to sin, holiness to shame, and life everlasting to everlasting death. 23. For the wages of sin is death. As (according to the metaphor throughout adopted, be had said that) it formerly reigned, and now tyrannizes, and he had called its weapons our own badly-disposed members, consistently also does he denominate the reward wages, for so he was in the habit of naming the pay of soldiers; as in the epistle to the Corinthians, he says, (1 Cor.

6 ix. 7,) "Who goeth a warfare at any time on his own wages? But the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Here he says, not reward, but free gift, for eternal life is the gift of God; for though any one

should carry through the highest virtue, still those eternal blessings could not justly be weighed as a requital for such present labours. Having said these things to them that lived under (the covenant of) grace, respecting the obligation lying on them to avoid sin, he again turns his discourse to the comparison between the (covenant of) law and grace, and shows the strength of the latter and the weakness of the former, and teaches that on the entrance of the one, the other ceased.

CHAPTER VII.

1. Know you not brethren (for I speak to them that know the law) how that the law hath dominion over a man, as long as he liveth? You well know, says he, you I mean who have been brought up in the law, that the law has its authority over those who are yet alive; and he adduces an example also in accordance with this proposition. 2. For the woman which hath an husband is bound by the law to her husband, so long as he liveth; but if the husband be dead, she is made to cease from the law of her husband. And then he shows this yet more clearly: 3. So then if, while her husband liveth, she be married to another man, she is called an adulteress; but if her husband be dead, she is free from the law, so that she is no adulteress, though she be married to another man. The law, says he, calls her an adulteress, not who after the death of her husband is united to another, but, who while her husband is yet alive, joins herself to any one else, for such an one it orders to be punished as insolently rebelling against the law of matrimony; it is evident, therefore, that when her husband has brought his life to an end, the widow not illegally, but with the distinct permission of the law, may marry another.

2 Nor indeed was the holy apostle ignorant, that the law gave permission to the living also to dissolve a marriage when it should be no longer agreeable, but he was mindful of our Lord's assertion, which declared that Moses gave them that law on account of the hardness of the heart of the Jews, but that the law of nature had added no such terms, for one man, says he, and one woman did God make, establishing the law concerning marriage in their very creation: wherefore leaving this unnoticed, he passed on to the law as regarded the dead, and subjoins, 4. Wherefore, my brethren, ye also are become dead to the law by the body of Christ; that ye should be married to another, even to Him who is raised from the dead. It would have been indeed in strict consistency with the example adduced, to have said, "the law is dead," that is, has ceased, but in consideration of the spiritual weakness of

the Jews, for they greatly exalted the law, and from a desire not to afford an opportunity of finding fault with it to the heretics who denounced the Old Testament, he avoids saying that the law had ceased, but declares that we have become dead to the law by baptism which saveth us, and then rising again have been united, to Him who hath Himself risen from the dead, that is Christ.

3 And as he had called the faith which is in the Lord a marriage and union, in strict keeping herewith does be show the fruits also arising from marriage, that we should bring forth fruit unto God, says he. What then is this fruit-bearing? That our members become the instruments of righteousness. And most aptly does he show that the law itself leads us to be joined to Christ, for it forbade not, says he, a woman to be married to a second husband after the death of the first. And then he goes on to point out the difference. 5. For when we were in the flesh, that is, under the polity of the law, for the legislative ordinances concerning the flesh, as of foods and drinks, of leprosy, and such like, are what he here calls the flesh; the motions of sins, which were by the law, did work in our members. He says not "in" the law but by the law, for it does not itself bring about sin, but it condemns sin, while that, which was good, sin uses for evil; neither indeed do our members themselves bring about sin, but only by our members has the inclination of the soul to the worse brought its operations to effect. And what then springs from hence? To bring forth fruit unto death.

4 In these words he has taught us that before the coming of (the covenant of) grace, while we were living under the polity of the law, the attacks of sin to which we were subjected were the more powerful, in that the law showed indeed what ought to be done, but offered no help to do it. 6. But now we are made to cease from the law. He still continues in the same cautious mode of expression, and says not, "the law is made to cease," but we are made to cease from the law, that is, it is inoperative as regards ourselves, we are no longer under its polity. And how are we made to cease from it? Being dead to that wherewith we had been held. For when we were subjects of the law we came to baptism, and dying with Christ, and with Him rising again, we were united to our Lawgiver, and no longer need the polity of the law, for we have received the very grace itself of the Spirit, as what follows proves, that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter. He here puts the spirit in opposition to letter, and the new against the old, that by

the word letter he might point out the law, and by the old its having come to a conclusion.

5 For indeed by Jeremiah (xxxi. 31, 32) God says, "I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah, not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt so that the difference was shown even by the prophet; and on the appearance of the new covenant, the old must yield. Having thus spoken, and foreseeing as one honoured with the gifts of the Spirit, that some of the heretics would understand this in derogation of the old covenant, and conceive that the old law came from some other than the one same God, the holy apostle necessarily states the objections and subjoins the answers to them. 7. What shall we say then? Is the law sin? 6 He had in the former parts of this epistle laid down many positions, which might have given an opportunity of finding fault with the law, to such as were desirous of speaking evil of it, unless he had offered the present solution of such questions, (as) "the law entered in between that the offence might abound; and "the law worketh wrath; and "by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in His sight; and the like; wherefore, for the resolution of these very things he proposes the objection. And first he shows that the interrogation is profane, and adds the expression of disavowal, God forbid, and then he teaches the utility of the law. Nay but I should not have been aware of what was sin, but by the law. Not only, says he, is the law not the teacher of sin, God forbid, but on the contrary it is the condemner of sin, for I should not have known what was evil, unless it had shown me. For I should not have known that lust was, except the law had said Thou shall not lust. The words I should not have been aware, and I should not have known, are not here indicative of a total ignorance, but mean this, that I received from the law a knowledge more complete than the mere discrimination of nature. 8. But sin taking occasion by the commandment wrought in me all manner of concupiscence.

7 In every way he endeavours to show that it was free from blame, for having said that by the imposition of the law sins had been increased, lest any one should suppose that the law had been the cause, he most seasonably sets forth its way, that sin making use of the imposition of the law as a mean for battle, beat down the weaker powers of judgment. For without the law sin were dead, for where there is no law pointing out what should be done,

and forbidding What should not be done, sin has no place. And he makes this evident by an example; 9. For I was alive without the law once, for Adam before his transgression had no fear of death, but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died. For when God had imposed the commandment respecting the trees, immediately the devil came to the woman in the serpent, and uttered those deceitful speeches, and she being enticed, and beholding the beauty of the fruit, was overcome by desire and broke the commandment. And with Adam she immediately received the sentence, for he also had shared in that food.

8 10. And the commandment which was ordained to life I found to be unto death. In every way he vindicates the law, and the commandment, but proves the evil of sin; for the commandment, says he, was the minister of life, but the turning aside to evil begot death, wherefore he most properly says, found, to show that the intention of the law, and the end brought about by sin, were widely different things. 11. For sin, taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it slew me. The same thing he had said before, only in different words. 12. Wherefore the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just and good. It is the Mosaic which he here speaks of as the law, and that given to Adam as the commandment. And the reason why he honours the latter with the greater praises, is that it commonly meets with the greater censures. For they who live in idle ease, and will not undergo the labours of virtue, cry out even against God Himself, for imposing this commandment. For if He were ignorant, say they, of what would happen, how can He be God who foreknows not the future? but if while foreseeing the transgression, He yet imposed the commandment, Himself is the cause of the transgression! But such should be aware, that the power of discriminating between good and its opposite is the property of those that are gifted with reason, for the nature of the irrational creatures possesses no such faculty of distinguishment of these things;

9 for the wolf is ravenous, and the lion feasts on its prey while scarce dead, and bears and leopards follow in the same train; and they have no sense of sin, nor a conscience to be pricked at what has been done; while men, though no one be present at their actions, are ashamed and afraid on account of what they have dared to commit, for conscience supplies the accusation. How then were it possible that they who possess such a nature, should yet live without any law at all? Wherefore God enjoined the commandment,

that man might thereby learn to understand his own nature, and to fear his Lawgiver. And well indeed may we perceive the loving-kindness of that Lawgiver, for He enjoined, not some law which was difficult of observation, but one which could have been easily kept. He allowed to him the enjoyment of all the trees, of one alone He forbade him the use; not that He grudged him that one, for how could He do so, who had already given him power over all? but in order to teach him the terms of submission, and to render him well-affected towards his Creator, and afford a mean for the exercise of his rational faculties. And if then, by not keeping the commandment he came under sentence of death, this can be no cause for blame to the Lawgiver, but to him who transgressed the law.

10 For so neither, when a physician orders his patient to abstain from cold drinks, does he do this because he invidiously grudges them to him, but in order to bring about his health; and if he not observing the injunction will take water, he draws the injury on himself, but the physician is free from blame altogether. But indeed the Lord God has treated with every possible consideration and kindness, both Adam himself and all his race, and, to pass by all other, and come at once to the noblest instance, for him, and his race, the only-begotten Word became incarnate, and put an end to the power of death, which from him had received its beginning, and promised the resurrection, and prepared the kingdom of heaven: so that He both foreknew his transgression, and made ready before-hand the mean of remedy to follow; wherefore the holy apostle calls the commandment holy, just, and good; holy, as teaching what we ought to do; just, as rightly pronouncing judgment on the transgressors; good, as appointing life to such as observed it. And then again he states the objection that might arise, 13. Did then that which is good become death unto me? and again according to his wont he denies it, God forbid, and shows us the cause of these evils, but sin, that it might appear to be (indeed) sin, in its working death to me by that which is good. There is an obscurity here, arising from the extreme brevity made use of;

11 what he means is this, that by that which is good, to wit the law and commandment, sin is made apparent to me, namely, as being bad and evil; and how is it so made apparent? by its working unto death, for from the fruit I know the tree, and seeing death I hate its parent; but of all this is the law the teacher; it is not then the law, which thus instructs, that is evil, but sin,

which brings death; and it is the inclination of our own free will to the worse, that is the author of sin. That sin might by the commandment become exceeding sinful. For though nature points out sin, its excessive turpitude the law has more clearly manifested. The expression that it might become is incomplete, the word "apparent" being understood, for so also we explained it in the preceding sentence, "but sin, that it might be seen to be sin indeed by its working out death to me by that which is good, that sin might by the commandment become exceeding sinful," that is, that it might become by the commandment " apparent" that sin is exceeding sinful, that is evil. And then, like some skilful painter, he portrays the contest between nature and sin. 14. For we know that the law is spiritual. Again be crowns the law with praise, for what can be more holy than this designation? for it was written, says he, by divine inspiration, being a partaker of this grace the blessed Moses indited the law.

12 But I am carnal, sold under sin. He brings before us the man who lived before the coming (of the covenant) of grace, beset by his passions, for by carnal he means one who had not yet received the spiritual help (offered in that new covenant, see verse 5 ad fin. and ch. vi. 14 ad fin. &c.); but the sold under sin we shall understand by comparing it with that passage of the prophet, (Isaiah 1. 1,) "For your iniquities have you sold yourselves. And the same thing does he here say, I have delivered myself up to sin, and sold myself to it. 13 15. For that which I do I know not: for he who is overcome by pleasure, and indeed he also who is intoxicated by the passion of anger, has no clear perception of sin, but after such passion has subsided receives a knowledge of the evil. For what I would that I do not, but what I hate that I do. This is the perfection of the law, to point out what is evil and implant a hatred of it in the soul. The words what I would not and what I hate do not denote compulsion, but weakness; for we sin not because driven thereto by some necessity or force, but being beguiled by pleasure we fall into those things which yet we cannot but hate and denounce as wicked. 16. If then I do that which I would not, I content unto the law that it is good. For the very hatred I have for sin, I have received from the law, wherefore I bear testimony to the law, and acknowledge its excellence. 17. Now then it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. This needs elucidation somewhat more at length. The body then after the transgression of the commandment becoming mortal received passions and appetites, since by these it is that our

present state of existence is carried on. For thus it needs desire, not only for the provision thereby of food, but for the procreation of children also, and for agriculture's sake, and the various other arts, none of which could exist were desire altogether wanting. Thus it also contributes to our perseverance in well-doing, for nothing but such an affection for and desire of virtue could qualify us to bear its attendant difficulties. And so also does it work within us the Divine love.

14 The proper measure of desire then is an auxiliary to good, but its disorder brings forth intemperance, in that it leads us to lay snares against the marriage-bed of others, and to covet what does not belong to us, and to steal, and to break open tombs (in order to spoil the dead), and to commit manslaughter, and become guilty of other the like crimes; wherefore has the God of all added side by side to it (an uncalculating) impetuosity, that the latter might repress the extravagance of the others, while itself also needing a check on its own excesses. As then we dilate with what is too cold, that which is hot, and again correct what is too cold by what is hot, even so has God our Creator, by implanting in us these two passions directly opposed to each other, taught us to check each reciprocally by the other. For over them He has placed the mind, like a charioteer over his horses, and imposed the yoke of submission on them, enjoining both to bear it evenly together; if then it happen that desire springs forward beyond the line, He bids her goad up impetuosity, that this rushing onward may again bring the yoke straight; and, if that admit the overworkings of its own temper, again in its turn He orders desire to be pressed forward, that it may correct the excess of impetuosity.

15 The mind then, if watchful and prudent, thus keeps under and directs them, while if negligent, and letting the reins go, she becomes the means of her horses breaking away, and is herself dragged onward, and with them falls into pits and down precipices. This then is what the holy apostle means by now it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me, by sin intending the enslavement of the mind, and the usurpation of the passions; and he then doeth it not, for he hates what is done, but this usurpation of the passions is the author of the action.18. For I know that in me, that is in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing. He speaks of the dominion of the passions, which the mortality of the body introduced, and the indolence of the mind has strengthened. For to will is present with me, but how to perform that

which is good I find not, for, as regards a willingness towards that which is good, this I have received from the teaching of the law, but at the same time, as regards action I am impotent from want of further help. 19. For the good that I would I do not, but the evil that I would not, that I do. 20. Now if I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me.

16 He makes the same assertion, only in a clearer manner. 21. I find then the law with me in wishing to do what is right,—here we must put a stop,—(and yet) that evil is present to me. Again he has stated this obscurely through brevity: what he means is, that the law appears to me to be good, for I approve all that it recommends, as being right and excellent; and in unison with it I also love all good, and hate its opposite; but nevertheless evil is ever at hand with me, that is, sin, by reason of my possessing a mortal body, one subject to passions and appetites, as well as through the indolence and weakness of the soul. And thence he proceeds to describe more clearly the conflict between the mind and the passions. 22. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man. By the inward man he means the mind. 23. But I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members. By the law of sin he means sin itself, and this works within me by the passions of the body leaping about at pleasure, while the soul is unable to restrain them, in consequence of the sluggishness fallen into at first by her; she having cast off her own freedom, and allowed herself to be subjected to them;

17 while yet not the less does she, even though thus obeying them, hate that servitude, and approve that (the law) which condemns it. Having thus laid down all this, in order to show us what we were before receiving grace (through the new covenant), and what we have become since that grace; and personating, as it were, the character of those besieged by sin before grace appeared; he now, as one in the midst of his enemies, taken captive and compelled to obey, while perceiving help from no other quarter, groans bitterly, and cries out, proving that the law could not succour him, and says, 24. O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from this body of death? I thank my God through Jesus Christ our Lord. He calls it a body of death, as being bom subject to death; that is, mortal, for the soul is immortal. Christ alone, says he, has freed us from this bitter bondage, by putting an end to death, and promising us immortality, and that life which is without either labour or pain, and apart from warfare and sin; the full enjoyment whereof

we shall receive in the existence to come; while in the present we are blessed with the grace of the thrice holy Spirit, and thereby not only do we set ourselves against the passions, but by the possession of such an Helper are enabled to triumph over them.

18 And then he brings forward the resolution of all that had been said, So then I myself, the same person, with the mind serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit: for our passions can no longer get the mastery over us without our own consent, now that we have received the grace of the Spirit of God. 2. For the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death. As he had just before called sin "the law of sin," so now does be call the life-giving Spirit, the law of the spirit of life. His grace, says he, by faith in Christ has bestowed on you a double freedom; for not only has it overthrown the power of sin, but put an end also to the tyranny of death, and he shows how He has thus overthrown it 3. For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh. The law then was not evil, but good, though impotent; and that weakness arose from its injunctions being given to those encumbered with a mortal nature, for now by the thrice-holy baptism we have received the pledge of immortality. God sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful fleshy and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh. He says not in the likeness of flesh, but in the likeness of sinful flesh, for He received actually the human nature, but human sin he received not;

2 wherefore that which He thus assumed, he calls not the likeness of flesh, but the likeness of sinful flesh, because though He had the same nature with ourselves, He yet had not the same character or disposition. He means, then, that the law having been unable to bring to effect its own design, by reason of the weakness of those beneath its covenant, possessing as they did a mortal nature, and one obnoxious to infirmities and passions; the only-begotten Word of God, becoming incarnate, by that human flesh overthrew sin, in having fulfilled all righteousness, and admitted no taint of sin; and by enduring the death of sinners, as though Himself a sinner, manifested the injustice of sin, in that it delivered up to death a body over which death had no just claim. And this then both overthrew it and put an end to death; for in

thus submitting to death through the unjust sentence of sin, while not at all obnoxious to it, in that He never committed sin, did He become the price of redemption of those justly subjected unto death, as one free among the dead: for so he also teaches in what follows, 4. That the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. For He has paid, says he, our debt, and fulfilled that which the law aimed at: and what then was this? to render them righteous that had received that law.

3 If then the dispensation of Christ Jesus has brought to effect the intention of the law, the law deserves not blame, but praise. 4 And having thus touched upon the subject of righteousness, he goes on to an exhortation to it, and having said, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit, adds, 5. For they that are after the flesh, do mind the things of the flesh; but they that are after the Spirit, the things of the Spirit; and in like manner in another place, (Gal. v. 25,) "If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit," meaning here by the Spirit, the grace of the Spirit, and teaching that he who follows it, both thinks and does the things agreeable thereto, and he that is enslaved to the flesh, that is, to the passions of the body, has deprived himself of his freedom. 6. For the inclination of the flesh is death. He says not the flesh, but the inclination of the flesh, that is, the breaking forth of the passions, for the recompense of sinners is death; but the inclination of the Spirit is life and peace, for he who lives after the Spirit gains peace with God; 7. Because the inclination of the flesh is enmity against God. Again he condemns the inclination of the flesh, that is, the tyranny of the passions which he declares are at variance with God. For they are not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be; for how is it possible that he who has admitted the tyranny of the passions, should embrace the service of God, while yet choosing to serve sin? 8.

5 So then they that are in the flesh cannot please God. He does not bid us go out of the body, but be freed from the inclination of the flesh, as is shown by what follows: 9. But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. For it is evident that they who received these his instructions were not devoid of the body itself, but what he means is, that they were conquerors over the fleshly passions, and enjoyed the grace of the thrice-holy Spirit resident within them; and so in a similar sense does our Lord say that His disciples are "not of the world," (John xv. 19,) not that they came from elsewhere, but that they were dead to the world. 6 Now if any

man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His. As he had said if so be that, which implies an alternative, he aptly subjoins that he who is wanting in this grace, has no fellowship with Christ And as this was enough to warn and alarm them that received this Epistle, he proceeds again to re-assure them, 10. And if Christ be in you, the body indeed is dead, with regard to sin, but the spirit is life, as regards righteousness. He makes clear what had been ambiguous, and shows that it was not the mere flesh itself that he is condemning, but sin; for he bids the body be dead to sin, that is not to commit sin; and the soul is what he here speaks of as the spirit, in its having become already spiritual; here he enjoins to follow after righteousness, whose exceedingly desirable fruit is life. 11. But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth in you. He invigorates them by hope of the future, and inspires them with willing readiness, sufficient for present contests; for ere long, says be, your bodies will be immortal, and superior to the passions that now molest them; and this will He do, the same, the (rod of all, who now so liberally bestows on us the earnest of the Spirit.

7 And He has given us also a pledge of this resurrection, in the resurrection of Christ. And he teaches by all this, the unity of nature in the Godhead, for he calls the thrice-holy Spirit, the Spirit of the Father and of the Son; not that, as the infamous heretics say, He was created of the Father by the Son, but that He is of one substance with the Father and the Son, and proceeds from the Father, according to the teaching of the gospels. His grace it is, that is extended by Christ to such as are worthy. And he continues showing how we ought to triumph over the fleshly passions. 12. Therefore we are debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh, for having received salvation of Christ Jesus, and been made partakers of the grace of the Spirit, to Him we owe the debt of service. 13. For if ye live after the flesh ye shall die; after the flesh, that is, following the passions of the flesh: the death he means is that which is eternal; but if ye through the Spirit do put to death the deeds of the body, ye shall live. This superiority has (the covenant of) grace over (that of) the law, that the latter points out what is right; the former has the grace of the Spirit in addition, as an helpmate.

8 And here indeed the holy apostle, foreseeing the corruptions of Marcion, Valentine, and Manes, uses the greatest accuracy of expression in his in-

structions, saying not, put to death the body, but the deeds of the body, that is, the desires of the flesh, the burstings forth of the passions, for ye have for an assistant the grace of the Spirit, and the fruit of victory is life. 14. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God, for they who live under the Spirit obtain the privilege of adoption; and here he strikes at the Jews, teaching them not to think too highly of themselves, forasmuch as that they also had been called sons, for they are wanting in the glory of the thrice-holy Spirit, being aliens from grace. 9 15. For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear, but ye have received the spirit of adoption. Again, he compares (the covenants of) grace and the law, and calls the institutions of the latter, bondage, while at the same time showing that it was written by the grace of the Spirit. Not, therefore, the thrice-holy Spirit itself does he here call the spirit of bondage, but the imposition of the law as effected by that holy Spirit; for had be by the spirit of bondage meant the thrice- holy Spirit itself, then truly must there have been another Spirit, of adoption; but not so is it, for the thrice-holy Spirit is One, while different and varying are His gifts; "for to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit and so forth. And having shown that in truth we have received the privilege of adoption, he subjoins, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.

10 For when we offer up to the Lord the prayer of the initiated, we are bidden to address Him as our Father, and we say, "Our Father which art in heaven and he has added the word, Abba, to point out the confidence wherewith we call upon Him, for so little children, using the greater boldness towards their parents, in that they have not as yet a clear knowledge of the difference between them and themselves, the oftener and oftener go on lisping out the same word towards them; and so in like manner we, by reason of His unspeakable kindness, and immeasurable goodness, call the Maker of all our Father, as we are commanded, while yet we are unconscious how great is the difference between Him and ourselves, not understanding our own selves clearly, and of His nature being altogether ignorant. 16. For the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God. By the Spirit he means the Holy Ghost himself, by our spirit, the grace (or spirit of adoption) given to us, for both are here expressed by the same common word, and what he means is, that we put forth this prayer, (thus claiming sonship therein) as led by the teaching of the Spirit, and in so doing then we cannot

be blameworthy, in that we do it according to the divine law. 17. And if children, then heirs.

11 Nor was it enough that we should have been freed from bondage and enjoyed the grace of liberty, but moreover have we been blessed with the privilege of the adoption; nay, and not only are we called sons, but heirs also of God, and joint heirs with Christ, for so he subjoins, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ. Since not every son becomes the heir of his father, well has the holy apostle joined the heirship with the sonship; and since frequently even a servant receives some portion from his master, and yet is not left an equal partner with the child itself, it was necessary, in order to point out the ineffable magnitude of the divine love, that he should subjoin, joint heirs with Christ,—if so be that we suffer with Him, that we may be also glorified together. For not all who have been blessed by baptism, which places us in a state of salvation, will enjoy these good things, but they, who in addition thereto, have undergone their share of suffering with their Saviour. And this he subjoins not without a distinct object, but for the support of those to whom his letters were addressed; for they were subjected to the attacks of temptations of all sorts, being beaten, tortured, and imprisoned, and exposed to a thousand kinds of death; wherefore he sends them comforting words, supporting them by the future, and exhorting them to bear the present with fortitude. 18.

12 For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to he compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. The crowns exceed the contests; the reward cannot be put in the same scale with the afflictions; small is the affliction, but vast the looked for gain; wherefore he calls the things thus hoped for, not payment, but glory. 19. For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. Perceive ye not, says he, the heaven, the earth, the sea, the air, the sun, the moon, the whole visible creation, and besides these, such as are invisible—angels, archangels, powers, dominions, principalities? all these are waiting for your full perfection. 20. For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of Him who hath subjected the same in hope. Corruption is what he here speaks of as vanity, for so he teaches presently, "because that the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption. And he declares that the whole visible creation had obtained a mortal nature, because the Maker of all had foreseen Adam's transgression, and

the sentence of death, which would be passed on him. For neither was it fit nor right, that what was created for him should possess an incorruption, and yet himself, for whose sake all these were made, be mortal, and a prey to passions and sufferings; but the rather, by the resurrection receiving immortality, they in like manner inherit incorruption.

13 Wherefore he says that the visible creation waits for such a change of things, for it was made changeable not of its own accord, but in submission to the decree of the Creator, and beholding the care exhibited in our behalf has a hope of such change, that itself also, the creation, shall be freed from the slavery of corruption; to which mutability of the universe the holy David also witnesses, when, mentioning the heaven and the earth he adds, (Ps. cii. 26,) "they shall perish, but Thou remain." 21. Because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the children of God. For when these latter appear such as now they are called, and in their immortality are manifested to be the sons of God, the former also will obtain a total release from corruption. And all this he says, not meaning that the visible creation really was gifted with reason, but by a prosopopoeia, as was common with the prophets, so that one represents the pines as groaning, and another the woods as rejoicing, and the mountains leaping, and the rivers exulting.

14 22. For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now. Here he includes the invisible creation also, for the whole creation, says he. But for the clearer understanding of the passage, I must bring to remembrance what the gospels state, for there the Lord declared, (Luke xv. 10. that "even the angels in heaven rejoice over one sinner that repenteth; if then they joy over penitent sinners, then must they also of a truth be cast down on beholding our transgressions. 23. And not only they, but ourselves also, which have the first- fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves. And what wonder if creation is so affected on our account? for even ourselves who have already received many pledges of the future, and above all others the grace of the Spirit, groan in our longings after freedom; as what follows shows that he means, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body. He had said, indeed, that we have received the spirit of adoption; but without infringement thereof, he here shows us more precisely that now we have obtained the name, but then shall be made partakers of the full reality, when our bodies shall have been released from

corruption, and have put on immortality; while by the word first- fruits, he points out that in the future life, we shall receive a far larger measure of the grace of the Spirit;

15 since if what is now offered is called first-fruits, and earnest, manifest is it that that shall far exceed it in greatness. 24. For we are saved by hope, for not yet have we attained unto the resurrection, but having received the promise are comforted by our hopes; but hope that is seen is not hope; for what a man seeth, how doth he yet hope for? 25. But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it. Be not cast down, says he, while looking on (present) distresses, for we have brought you no false promises, in that we said you must yet awhile wait, ere you should enjoy these good things, but good things thus expected are not seen with the bodily eyes, since if seen they would cease to be expected, while if expected, we should be content in confidence to wait for them, and never throw away the anchor of hope. And he shows that in addition to all this, there is also another source of help given, 26. Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities, we have a sufficient assistance in the grace of the Spirit, for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings that cannot be uttered. Ask not, says he, to be delivered from affliction, for ye know not what is profitable to you, as does God your Governor. Resign yourselves into His hands, who holds the helm of all things;

16 for He, though you should ask nothing, but groan only as moved by the Spirit dwelling in you, wisely orders every thing relating to you, and will grant that which shall prove to your advantage; as he subjoins, 27. For He that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because it maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God. By the Spirit here he means not the Holy Ghost himself, but the grace given to the faithful: for stirred up by this we pray the more earnestly, and with sighings inexpressible by words implore God our Saviour. And this the holy apostle writes from what himself had experienced, for he himself not once only or twice, but even thrice, had besought release from his own trials, and beseeching had failed of obtaining his prayer; for he heard in reply, (2 Con xii. 8, 9,) " My grace is sufficient for thee, for My strength is made perfect in weakness," and having learned this, he welcomed what he had before sought to be delivered from, and says, " most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me."

17 28. And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are called in accordance with (their own) disposition. They work not together with all, but with those that love Him, nor simply work with them, but work with them for good, for if any ask for what would not be profitable to him, he fails of his petition, because it is to his advantage not to gain it. And with the fittest accuracy of expression does he join the disposition with the call, for the call is not irrespective, but to those who possess this disposition; wherefore He said to the apostle in Corinth, (Acts xviii. 9,10,) "speak and hold not thy peace, for I have much people in this city and forbade him to preach the word in Mysia (ch. xvi. 6, 7); and as to Asia, at first restrained, and afterwards commanded him to do it; wherefore he also said to him in Jerusalem, (ch. xxii. 18,) "make haste and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem, for they will not receive thy testimony; and wherefore he here also says, to those that are called in accordance with (their own) disposition, agreeably to what follows. 39. For whom He had foreknown, He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the first-born among many brethren; for He did not irrespectively predestine, but predestined in his foreknowledge of them.

18 And speaking with the strictest accuracy of expression, he says not conformed to His Son, but to the image of His Son; and this he has even more plainly put in the Epistle to the Philippians (ch. iii. 20), where, having said that "our citizenship is in heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ," he adds, "Who shall change our vile body, that it may be conformed to His glorious body. For our body will not be made to resemble His divinity, but His glorified body,—and so here also he calls those who now obtained the privilege of the call conformed to the image of His Son, that is, to the body of His Son; for the divine nature being invisible, and the body visible, by the body as an image (or shadow) is He adored; that He might be the first-born among many brethren; and this the truth of the doctrine testifies, for it is as man that He is called the first-born, as God being the Only-begotten, seeing that as God He has not brethren, but as man designates as brethren them which believe. Of these He is the firstborn, being yet no other than the Only-begotten; but He, the same, both Only-begotten and firstborn. 30. Moreover whom He did predestinate, them He also called; and whom He called, them He also justified; and whom He justified, them He also glorified. Those whose (suitable) disposition he had fore-

known, those in the beginning He predestinated; and predestinating, also called;

19 and calling, justified by baptism; and justifying, glorified by designating them sons, and endowing them with the grace of the Holy Spirit. But let no one say that such foreknowledge is the cause of these things; for foreknowledge made them not such as they are, but God as God, foresaw from of old all that would be. For so neither if seeing a violent horse seizing the bit in its teeth, and not heeding its rider, I should predict that nearing a precipice it would fall over it, and the event were to happen as I said, should I have cast the horse down that precipice, but merely have foretold what was itself about to take place, while using the evidence of the fierceness of the horse himself as my guide. But (and so likewise) the God of all, from of old knows all things as God, not that He imposes on any one a necessity for his establishment in virtue, or on another for his performance of vice; for if He exercised force towards either, He could not with justice praise and reward the former, or adjudge punishment to the latter. If then God be just, as indeed He is just, He exhorts indeed to what is right, and denounces its opposite; He approves the doers of good, and avenges Himself on those who from their own will embrace wickedness. 31. What shall we then say to these things? If God he for us, who can be against us?

20 Having God as our ally, shall we be afraid of men? He comprehends all things at once under the word who; whether kings, or generals, or people, or their leaders; the whole world at once. And then he brings forward the crowning blessing of blessings. 32. He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not with Him also freely give us all things? He has given us the greater, and shall He not give also the less? His own Son has He bestowed, and will He deprive us of what we have gained? But here we must remember, that the Person of the Son is (but) one; for the human nature was delivered up in our behalf by the divinity; for (so) "the bread," says He, (John vi. 31,) "that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world; and (ch. x. 18,) "I have power to lay down My life, and I have power to take it again." 33. Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. 34. Who is he (then) that condemneth? Having said that while God helps, who can injure us? he adds, that God, having rendered us justified, who can condemn? Christ it is that died, yea rather

that is risen again, who is ever at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us. What more than all this seek ye?

21 in our behalf the Lord Christ died, and having risen again sits by the Father; nor even thus has He ceased His care for us, but pointing to the first-fruits which He took from us, and showing its immaculate purity to the Father, by it He asks for salvation to ourselves. And this indeed he says as regards the humanity, for as God He asks not, but (Himself) grants. Nay, and even if the heretics should declare, that so the Son does as regards His divinity, neither so could they prove His glory to be the less. For let us suppose two kings to be equal in honour, and to have the same authority, and when some deputy or general has offended against both, the one of these having earliest received the prayer of the culprit to beg of the partner of his kingdom to admit him to reconciliation, does this at all diminish the dignity, of him that makes this request? By no means. But in the present case we cannot grant even so much as this, for whatsoever seems good to the Son, pleases the Father also, and the will of both is the same. The passage therefore is figuratively expressed by the apostle, through his desire to set forth the greatness of (Christ's) zeal and watchfulness for us. 35. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or the sword? 36. As it is written (Ps.

22 xliv. 22,) For Thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. The witness adduced is exactly correspondent to the subject in hand, for it was spoken in the persons of those who had the same object, for the thrice-holy Spirit wrote this psalm by the inspired David, concerning the admirable Maccabees. 37. Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us. Opposing the love which God bears us to all these things, we rise superior to afflictions; for we reckon that it were most absurd for our Lord Christ to have undergone death for sinners, and yet ourselves not most readily to embrace martyrdom for Him. 38. For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, 39. Nor height, nor depth, nor any other such creation, could be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. Having weighed the whole creation at once against the love of God, and added to such as are visible, such as are perceptible only by the mind—angels, and powers, and dominions; and to the present, hoped for, blessings; as well as threatened punishments also;

for by depth, as I apprehend, he signifies hell, and by height the kingdom (of heaven); and moreover everlasting life and eternal death; and seeing that even then this scale is lightest in the reckoning, he seeks for somewhat else to be cast in;

23 and finding nothing, he frames into his account another such and as varied an universe; and neither so does he find all these together fit to be weighed against the love of God. For it behoves us, says he, not to love Him on account of His promises of blessings, but to desire them on His. For (so) neither if a man be sincerely well affected towards one who is rich, does he love him for the abundance of his wealth; but from his very affection towards him, loves also the possessions belonging to him; and in like manner the holy apostle declares, I would not choose to inherit the kingdom of heaven, and all visible and invisible creation, and as many such again twice or thrice multiplied, apart from the love of God; but rather were any one to lay before me present and future distresses, present and eternal death, and the most protracted punishment in hell, together with the love of Him, readily and welcomely would I choose these in preference to the former splendid and glorious and unspeakable objects, devoid of love to Him. Which therefore that ourselves may also possess, let us both pray and strive, so that following in the footsteps of the apostles, we may be made sharers thereby in the (eternal) habitations of the apostles, through the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ; with whom, to the Father, together with the thrice-holy Spirit, belong glory and majesty, now and ever, unto endless ages. Amen.

BOOK IV.

That the incarnation of our God and Saviour both was necessary, and was productive of unspeakable blessings to believers, the holy apostle has clearly shown. For he has proved the Jews to be obnoxious to the greater condemnation by reason of the imposition of the law, and all others to be transgressors of the law of nature; and having set forth the threat of punishment, he has subjoined the gifts of the grace in the gospel (covenant), and pointed out the salvation offered through faith; while, at the same time, lest the Jews should be offended, imagining the law censured; or the heretics, hostile to the ancient covenant, gain an opportunity of accusation against the law by the comparison thus instituted, he has necessarily exhibited the usefulness of the law, and honoured it with many praises. And as, again, the Jews, bringing forward the patriarch Abraham, and the promises made by God to him, en-

deavoured to prove that the preaching of the apostles, being extended to the Gentiles beyond the divine promise, was contrary to these, he is constrained to treat of these objections also; and most wisely does he answer them, by adducing scripture testimonies, and ancient examples, applicable to the case, and demonstrating plainly the truth of the divine promises. Being about then to denounce the infidelity of the Jews, he first displays the love he bore them, and says,

CHAPTER IX.

1. I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost. He proves that what he was about to say should be free from all falsehood, and dignified with perfect truth, for be calls the grace of the Holy Spirit to witness with his conscience; in every way persuading them not to disbelieve his account. 2. That I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart. The composition of the sentence is incomplete, for it should have been added that the continual sorrow was caused by the rejection, or infidelity of the Jews; but through caution he omits these distinct words, and is content to teach in the sequel that he so meant. For thus he speaks: 3. For I could pray to be myself anathema from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh. The word anathema has two significations, for that which is consecrated to God is called an anathema, and that which is separated from Him has the same name, and this second meaning the holy apostle has taught us in the Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xvi. 22), "If any man love not our Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema"—the first being explained even by common custom, for so we designate whatever is offered to God an anathema—and the God of all things Himself, in commanding the town of Jericho to be made an anathema (Joshua vi. 17).

2 Here then the blessed apostle uses it in its second meaning, to manifest the feelings he entertained towards his brother Jews, and he says not I could desire, but I could pray to be separated from Christ, provided that they who are my kindred in the flesh, being united to Him, should reap salvation; and most aptly does he introduce the "even I myself" recalling to their recollection what he had just before stated of his love to Christ, and as it were saying, that I, whom "neither life, nor death, nor things present, nor things to come, nor any other such creation, could separate from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus," would gladly be alienated from Him, for the sake

of the salvation of the Jews. But it is evident that he speaks not this as preferring them to the Saviour, but as indicating his love and anxiety for them, being most desirous that all should submit themselves, and joyfully receive the saving gospel. And to persuade them of the truth of what he says, he points out both their former high descent and eminence, and the riches of the divine gifts conferred on them, and says, 4. Who are Israelites? For most celebrated was this name, imposed by God Himself on their forefather, (Gen. xxxv. 10) and transmitted as an heirloom to his descendants; To whom pertaineth the adoption. And this name also they had obtained, for "Israel," says he, "is My son, my firstborn" (Exod iv. 22);

3 And the glory, for they had been illustrious through miracles; And the covenants, not the old only, but the new also had He promised to bestow on them, "for I will make," says He, "a new covenant with the house of Israel, not according to the covenant I made with their fathers" (Jer. xxxi. 31, 32), but this they themselves were not willing to accept; And the giving of the law, for to them had He given the Mosaic law; And the service of God, for, honouring them above other nations, to them He had taught the ritual ministrations of the law; And the promises, both those made by God to their fathers and those promulged by the prophets. 4 (To be continued.)

INTRODUCTION

1 5. Whose are the fathers, the renowned, the celebrated, of whom God was called the God (Exod. iii. 15); and then in the last place he adduces the greatest of the blessings, And of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen. And, indeed, the addition of the concerning the flesh had been enough to evidence the divinity of the Lord Christ, yet, as in the opening of the epistle having said, "who was of the seed of David according to the flesh," he subjoined, "and was declared to be the Son of God with power," so here also after the concerning the flesh, he adds, who is over all, God blessed for ever; both exhibiting thereby the difference of the natures, and teaching how just reason he had for his lamentation, since while of them according to the flesh was He who was God over all, they had fallen from their height, and become aliens from that relationship. And herein he imitates the female mourners, who introduce into their funeral songs the beauty of the person, and the flower of the age, and the illustriousness of the ancestry, and the wealth, and the power, of the deceased over whom they lament. Having then thus displayed the love he bore the

Jews, he then begins his proposed design; 6. Not as though the word of God hath taken none effect.

2 I indeed, says he, not only could desire, but could also even pray, to he separated from Christ, if it were possible that by this separation of mine the Jews should gain the blessings held out, but nevertheless should they still prove gainsayers, and refuse to receive salvation, the promises made to the fathers would still remain true. How then? For they are not all Israel, which are of Israel. For God seeks not the relationship of nature, but of virtue; and then he teaches this yet more plainly; 7. Neither because they are the seed of Abraham are they all children, that is of God, as he shows just below, —But in Isaac shall thy seed be called; and having thus stated the promise of God, he now explains it, and renders the saying clear by his exposition thereof. 8. That is, not they which are the children of the flesh are the children of God, but the children of the promise are counted for the seed. By the children of the flesh, he means those that were horn after the ordinary course of nature, but of the promise, those that were given by grace. 9. For this is the word of promise, At this time will I come, and Sarah shall have a son. For nature having failed, he was constituted a father by the divine bounty; and this shows that Ishmael also was a son to Abraham—aye, and his firstborn son; and wherefore then boastest thou, O Jew, of being alone called the seed of Abraham?

3 But if thou dost imagine that he was rejected from the relationship, as being on one side a bondsman, then thinkest thou not rightly, for Scripture is wont to calculate descent not from the mother's, but the father's side. And so the holy Apostle might have brought forward the children sprung from Keturah, and shown that they also, though born of a free woman, yet were not reckoned as the seed of Abraham; and easy had it been for him to have pointed out the twelve sons of Jacob, born of different mothers, four of them being bondsmen on one side, and yet all called Israel, and receiving no injury from the slavery of their mothers; but contenting himself with fewer instances, all this he has omitted, and beats them down by the ample evidence left. For having mentioned that which had been said by God to Abraham, that in Isaac shall thy seed be called, he shows that neither were the whole of his race partakers of this blessing, seeing that of his own sons the one inherited the privilege, and the other failed of it; for so he subjoins, 10. And not only this; but when Rebecca also had conceived by one, even by our

father Isaac: 11. For the children being not yet born, neither having done any good, or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of Him that calleth, 12. It was said unto her, that the elder shall serve the younger.

4 If thou thinkest, says he, that, on account of (his birth from) Sarah, Isaac was preferred before Ishmael, and Abraham's other children whom he had by Keturah, what wilt thou say to the case of Rebecca? For here were there the same father and the same mother, and the same one single conception, the children being twins; for this is what he means by having conceived by one, that is conceived both at the same time; but the one nevertheless was beloved of God, and the other unworthy the divine regard; and God waited not for the evidence of events, but while yet they were in the womb predicted the difference between them; and He predicted it from foreknowing their dispositions, for election is not arbitrary, but in accordance to the disposition of men; and then he adduces the testimony of the prophet, (Mal. i. 3,) 13. As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated. He heeds not, therefore, the (bare descent of) nature, but virtue only is it that He requires; for this he confirms by many instances.

5 14. What shall we say then? Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid. The divine decision, says he, has nothing unjust in it, but is graced with perfect equity. And this indeed, though having it in his power to point out and teach clearly, that it is not the custom with God to pay attention to bare birth, but that He looks for the best disposition, as well as to remind them that oftentimes they had been delivered up to many enemies, without being at all spared for the sake of their forefathers, seeing that they imitated not their virtue; and that the whole nation had been allowed to be taken captive by the Babylonians, while Abimelech, on the other hand, though a slave and an Ethiopian, had been saved through his piety; he yet refrains from so doing, as not wishing too much to cast them down; but shows instead that the divine dispensations exceed the reckonings of man, and while many commit iniquity, yet not all are made to suffer vengeance for it; for so in the wilderness the greater part worshipped, for God, the image of the calf, yet not of all was punishment exacted, but some being made to suffer, others by those sufferings of their's were reformed; and so in avenging himself on Pharaoh, He brought by him great benefit to many; and these instances, accordingly, the

holy Apostle places before them; and thus he speaks, 15. For he saith to Moses, (Exod.

6 xxxiii. 10,) I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion. These words God spake concerning the making of the calf. And it was necessary that he should mention Moses's name here, in order to show the trustworthiness of what he was alleging, by the testimony of Him who spoke, and him who heard; and then he draws the conclusion, 16. So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy. And he brings not yet the resolution of all this, but continues still the whole question by the addition of what follows, 17. For the Scripture saith unto Pharaoh, (Exod. ix. 10,) Even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might show My power in thee, and that My name might be declared throughout all the earth. And then again he adds as a deduction, 18. Therefore hath he mercy on whom He will have mercy, and whom He will He hardeneth. Unquestionable, says he, are these scriptures, for what I advance is collected from thence, and from thence only. Thou hast heard God Himself declaring, "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion," and His again are the things spoken concerning Pharaoh. He, passing by Ishmael and the children by Keturah, chose Isaac;

7 and He again preferred Jacob to Esau, although both received their being at the same time, in the same womb; why wonderest thou then, if he hath exactly so done now also, and received those among you who have believed, and rejected those that will not admit that light? But this indeed he does not yet lay down, but continues still adding to the difficulties of the subject, and says, 19. Thou wilt say then unto me, why doth he yet find fault? for who hath resisted his will? For, if "He hath mercy on whom He will, and whom He will hardeneth," man's disposition must depend on His will (say you): and, if so, He cannot with justice inflict punishment on the offenders, for it is not possible for any to resist whatever he thinks fit. Having thus increased the difficulties of the subject by the variety of doubts, and proposed all the objections arising from it, he subjoins, 20. Nay but, O man, who art thou, that repliest against God? Since thou hast asked, says he, "who has resisted His will," tell me what thou art; art thou not a man? How then dost thou reply against, and over-curiously inquirest into the divine dispensations? for if thou wert not a free agent, nor couldest choose by thine own free

will what thou wouldest do, but wert enslaved to the compulsion of the divine will, thou wouldest, like the inanimate creation, have been silent, and acquiesced in His dispensations;

8 but since thou art dignified by reason, (therefore it is that) thou both sayest and doest what thou thyself pleasest, and lovest not what has been done, but inquirest into the causes of the divine dispensations. Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? 21. Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour? Look at the clay of the potter, which is devoid of rational discrimination; it answers not against its maker, but although set apart for the structure of some base vessel, it receives in silence what is done; but thou opposest and findest fault; therefore art thou not bound by physical necessity, nor transgressest against thine own inclination, but voluntarily embracest vice, and of thine own free choice undergoest the difficulties of virtue. Right, therefore, and just is the sentence of the God of all things, since with equity does he punish sinners as daring so to act of their own will. And in justice also is His loving-kindness, in that when He receives from us an opportunity, He extends His mercy to us. Some, however, interpret the Nay, but O man, who art thou that repliest against God? as spoken in rebuke; for so, say they, having first chidden those who are impertinently curious about divine matters, and shown their meanness, for man's nature differs not from the clay, does he proceed to the reply; and the reply is this—22. What then if?

9 Here we must place a stop, for he means, if thou art desirous to know this, namely, why, when the majority sin, some of them He punishes, and some through their means He benefits; and when many pursue virtue, some of them He renders illustrious, and to some by them sets forth the hopes of the future; hear what follows: God willing to show His wrath, and to make His power known, endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction, 23. And that He might make known the riches of His glory on the vessels of mercy, which He had afore prepared unto glory; 24. Even us whom He hath called, not of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles. God, says he, was not the author of Pharaoh's wickedness, but exercised long-suffering towards him as He is wont, but he conceived that long-suffering weakness, and through it increased his own obstinacy; while at the same time the Governor of all things, in His wisdom both justly inflicted punish-

ment on him, and from his very wickedness drew a preventive medicine to the rest. And thus, as physicians do not themselves make vipers, but from them prepare drugs profitable to men, so God preferred that Pharaoh should not suffer punishment, but, inasmuch as he had fallen into so great brutishness, brought on him retributions of every kind, and manifested at the same time His own power to all men;

10 wherefore He says, "even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might show My power in thee, and that My name might be declared throughout all the earth the I have raised thee up meaning, I have permitted thee to obtain the throne, and while able to prevent, prevented thee not, foreseeing the advantage that would thence arise to others. And those whom he calls vessels of wrath fitted to destruction, are they, who, by their own free will, have become so, for the same thing also has he written to Timothy, (2 Tim. ii. 20) "But 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; and, teaching how every one becomes the one or the other of his own free will, he subjoined, "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 to the Corinthians, in like manner, he writes (1 Cor. iii. 12), "Now if any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble," —clearly teaching the free agency of man. So here does he call those who are worthy of the divine loving-kindness, vessels of mercy.

11 And the hath before prepared unto glory displays the divine foreknowledge, for so had he also said before, "for whom He had foreknown He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son; for the object of the apostle is to prove, that the God of all things alone knows who are worthy of salvation, while among men not a soul. And having stated that He hath called us not of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles, he confirms the representation by the testimony of scripture, and says, 25. As he saith also in Osee (ch. ii. 23, and i. 10), I will call them My people, which were not My people, and her beloved, which was not beloved. 26. And it shall come to pass that in the place where it was said unto them, ye are not My people; there shall they be called the children of the living God. And this God spake not of the Gentiles, but of the Jews themselves; for having commanded Hosea to marry an harlot, and indeed even an adulteress, thus did He order the chil-

dren born from her to be called, the one not a people (Loammi), and the other not beloved (Loruhamah) (ch. i. 9, 6), foretelling what should happen to the Jews; while at the same time He promised them good things again, that the not people should be called a people, and the not beloved, beloved.

12 Observe therefore, says he, that even you have not always enjoyed the same things, but at one time have been reckoned a people, and then not a people, and then a people again; and at one time beloved, and then not beloved, and then beloved again. Nothing then improbable has taken place at present, for you have been cast off in due consistency with all this; but and so if yet you again will it, you shall be reckoned a people, and beloved; for so also the Gentiles who were not a people, now are reckoned a people. And he adduces another witness also to this account: 27. Esaias also crieth concerning Israel, Though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant (only) shall be saved. 28. For a short word will the Lord make upon the earth (ch. x. 22, 23). Most opportunely has he brought forward this evidence, to show that, of old, the God of all foresaw both those who had attached themselves to the faith, and those who had sunk beneath the disease of infidelity. For as the Jews alleged that but few of them had accepted the gospel, and all the rest had turned away from it as a deception, he proves that all this had long ago been predicted, and that although they should exceed the power of numbers in multitude, and equal the sand of the sea, not all, but such (only) as were furnished with faith, should obtain salvation.

13 For faith is what he calls the short word, because what the law taught in many commandments, while yet unable to afford complete salvation, that confession in Christ has accomplished, while engendering faith. And this is short, and needs not multiplied periods, being evidenced by the disposition of the heart, and published by the tongue. 29. And as Esaias had said before (ch. i. 9), Except the Lord of Sabaoth had left us a seed, we had been as Sodoma, and been made like unto Gomorrah. Those whom above he spoke of as a "remnant," the same he here calls a seed, through whom the prophet declares that the Jews suffered not the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah, for they had undergone a total destruction. Having thus taught that the God of all things looks not to the mere relationship of birth, but seeks for a community of faith, he shows yet more clearly by what means the Jews had fallen from their ancestral excellence, and the Gentiles on the other hand had obtained salvation. 30. What shall we say then? We must read this interrogat-

ively, putting a stop here: and then what follows as the answer. That the Gentiles which followed not after righteousness, have attained to righteousness, even the righteousness which is of faith. 31. But Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness, hath not attained unto the law of righteousness.

14 Know, says he, that faith is the cause of these blessings to the Gentiles, for it has rendered them meet to receive the righteousness which is of grace, them who formerly wandered about in error, and neither possessed, nor even wished to seek after, righteousness; while Israel, on the other hand, although possessing the law, and following after the righteousness which is of the law, hath failed of the mark, and not obtained righteousness. And then, again, interrogatively, 32. Wherefore? the reason of this, says he, do you desire to know? Because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law. They imagined that the living under the law was sufficient to secure righteousness to them, and they despised faith; wherefore they neither obtained the gifts of faith, nor gained the righteousness arising from living under its covenant. And then he teaches through what cause they enjoyed not the blessings of faith; For they stumbled at that stumbling-stone. 33. As it is written (Isa. viii. 28), Behold I lay in Sion a stumbling-stone and rock of offence; and whosoever believeth on Him shall not be ashamed. They are wont to stumble who turn their attention elsewhere, and do not choose to look at their path. This had been the case with the Jews. For, being intent on the veriest minutiae of the law, they chose not to see the stone foretold by the prophets, although they had distinctly predicted, that whosoever trusted in Him should obtain the greatest blessings;

15 for this is what he means by shall not be ashamed, such as hope, and then fail in their expectations being ashamed. Having thus gently touched them, again he exhibits the feelings he entertained towards them, lost his arguments should assume the appearance of arising from hostility, for he has kept the heavier censures for the last.

CHAPTER X.

1. Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might he saved. An ardent wish is what he here calls a desire, for I ardently wish, says he, and pray, that they may obtain salvation. 2. For I bear them record that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge. He mingles his censure with praise, hiding as it were the hook beneath a bait, that the

benefit of what he says might be accepted by them. 3. For they being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves to the righteousness of God. Their unreasonable adherence to the law is what he here calls their own righteousness, for they are zealous still to observe it, though it has now come to an end; and that which is of grace, through faith, what he speaks of as the righteousness of God; for so he goes on to say, 4. For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth. For faith in the Lord is not contrary to the law, but most agreeable therewith, seeing that the law itself has directed us to the Lord Christ. he, then, that trusts in Christ, fulfils the intention of the law. And well again does he say, to every one that believeth, for the whole race of mankind has been comprehended, so that whether it be Greek or barbarian, if he believe, he shall obtain salvation. And then he again sets forth the difference between the law and grace, and introduces Moses the lawgiver, as the teacher of both; 5. For Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the law, That the man which doeth those things shall live by them. Whosoever has observed all things enjoined by the law, has life as the reward of such obedience, but any one transgression entails punishment.

6. But the righteousness which is of faith speaketh on this wise; (Deut. xxx. 12,) that is, but concerning the righteousness which is of faith, not Moses himself, but the God of all, through Moses, speaks thus, Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? that is, to bring Christ down from above; 7. Or who shall descend into the deep? that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead. 8. But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart. These things the God of all spake indeed concerning the law, teaching the Jews, that without labour on their own part they had received the knowledge of what they ought to do, and needed neither an ascent into heaven, nor a descent into Hades. The word is nigh thee, for the knowledge of what thou shouldest do has been given unto thee; but the holy apostle has transferred them to this account of faith, teaching us that we should not over- curiously inquire into the dispensation in Christ Jesus, or question that the only-begotten Son of God did become incarnate, and having endured the passion, brought in the resurrection; but by faith reap the salvation (offered). For the word is nigh thee, in thy mouth, and in thy

heart; and then he adds, that is, the word of faith, which we preach. What Moses once said of the injunctions of the law, that we now say of faith: *9.*

That if thou shall confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved. 10. For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. For both are necessary, a sound and firm faith, and a confession uttered with boldness; that both the heart may be adorned with a certain persuasion of faith, and the tongue dignified with a fearless proclamation of the truth. And then again he adduces the testimony of Scripture. 11. For the Scripture saith, (Isa. xxviii. 10,) Whosoever believeth on Him shall not be ashamed: and he explains the whosoever, 12. For there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek; for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon Him. 13. For (Joel iii. 5,) whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. The salvation of men is what he here calls the riches of God, for he well knew the loving-kindness of the Lord; and most aptly does he suit his testimonies to the heart, and to the tongue; to the heart, the whosoever believeth on Him shall not he ashamed; to the tongue, the whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.

And then he shows that the Jews had voluntarily deprived themselves of salvation, by not choosing to receive the gospel offered, while yet he puts not forth this proof nakedly, but brings about the argument in a different way. 14. How then shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? 15. And how shall they preach, except they be sent? First, says he, must a person believe, and then call upon God; but it is impossible for any one to believe who has not enjoyed instruction, and this no one can obtain without there being teachers, and these again commission constitutes. Having laid down these positions as it were in vindication of the Jews, by them he increases the blame lying on them. And that which is first, (in order of time) namely, the sending forth of preachers, he puts last, as being about to show, that of old all this had been foretold; for it would have been in the common course to have set forth this before saying the rest, it being necessary first that preachers be appointed, then that they should preach, then that men should hear their preaching, and lastly believe. Therefore he adduces the prophecy of Isaiah, (lii. 7,) and says, How beautiful are

the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things!

for the Lord bade His apostles, when entering into a house to say, "Peace be to this house" (Luke x. 5), for they were proclaiming the divine reconciliation, and bringing glad tidings of the enjoyment of good things. The feet of such then he calls beautiful, as running a goodly course; as washed by the hands of the Lord Himself. And having thus brought forward the evidence concerning the preachers, he says interrogatively, 16. But they have not all obeyed the gospel? and then again in reply, Esaias saith, (liii. 1,) Lord, who hath believed our report? Nor has Scripture been silent on this point either, but of old God predicted all this by Isaiah; and then as drawing his conclusion, 17. So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God; wherefore, whosoever disbelieves, disbelieves the divine oracles, and whosoever believes, receiving the divine words, brings forth faith as the fruit of his hearing.

18. But, I say, have they not heard? And this again is to be read interrogatively, and then as the answer, Yes, verily, their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world. For how was it possible that the Jews should not have heard, when the nations spread over the whole earth had heard? For to them first the preachers of the truth brought their tidings, for so the Lord Himself enjoined them, (Matt. x. 6,) "But go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel and in the Acts of the Apostles, (ch. xiii. 40,) "It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you. And the holy apostle continues in the same form of argument, making his positions clearer by question and answer, for so again we must read interrogatively, 19. But, I say, did not Israel know? and then what follows as the reply, First, Moses saith, I will provoke you to jealousy by them that are no people, and by a foolish nation I will anger you (Deut. xxxii. 21). We, it is, whom he called foolish, pointing out the folly we laboured under before our conversion to the faith, for so also the holy apostle speaks, (Tit. iii. .3,) "for we ourselves also were sometime foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful, and hating one another.

By this God grievously vexed the Jews, for neither the captivity, nor the dispersion, nor the destruction of the temple, so much distresses them, as do the religion and eminence of the Gentiles. 20. But Esaias is very bold, and

saith, I was found of them that sought Me not, I was made manifest unto them that asked not after Me (lxv. 11). He shows at once the prophecy of the revelation of divine knowledge to the Gentiles, and the bloodthirstings of the Jews, as the expression is very bold testifies; he feared not, says he, the mad and murdering Jews, but with great boldness predicted the salvation of the Gentiles, and foretold the infidelity of the Jews: as what follows shows, 21. But to Israel he saith, All day long I have stretched forth My hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people. All day long means without ceasing, for so Symmachus and Aquila interpret the every day. Having thus pointed out that the inspired prophets both condemned the Jews, and foreshowed the faith of the Gentiles, he seems indeed in what follows to bring comfort to them, while in truth adding fresh censures on the disbelievers.

CHAPTER XI.

1. I say then, Hath God cast away his people? God forbid. And then while able to adduce proof of this from many other quarters, and bring forward the three thousand who believed in Jerusalem, (Acts ii. 41,) and the many myriads of whom the great James spake, (Acts xxi. 20,) and those of the Jews spread over the face of the land who had accepted the gospel, instead of all these he instances himself; and says, For I also am an Israelite, of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin. 2. God hath not cast away His people, which he foreknew. For if He had cast them off, I also had been one of the condemned, seeing that I also have sprung from that root, and glory in Abraham as my forefather, and Benjamin as the head of my tribe, and boast myself in the name of Israel. And well has he added the which he foreknew, that is, those that are worthy of the divine knowledge, having welcomed the light of faith; for so he presently after shows, Wot ye not what the Scripture saith of Elias? how he maketh intercession to God against Israel (1 Kings xix. 14). 3. Lord, they have killed Thy prophets, and digged down Thine altars; and I am left alone, and they seek my life? 4. But what saith the answer of God unto him? (v. 13,) I have reserved to Myself seven thousand men, who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal.

2 And at that time also, says he, were there many of Israel, and all were called Israel, and yet the God of all things designated Himself the God of seven thousand (only), and all the rest He rejected; for I have left unto Myself, said He, seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal; and this indeed the prophet knew not, but imagined that in

himself alone was preserved what remained of true piety. No new nor inconceivable thing then is it, if you also know not those among you who have fixed their faith in the Saviour, whom the God of all things acknowledges as His people. And most opportunely does he bring forward the great Elias making this accusation against them, that not only had they slain the prophets, but even overthrown the altars from their foundations; for granting, says he, that they were evilly-disposed towards the prophets, as denouncing bitter things against them, what had they to allege against the divine altars? Rather then by such daring impieties did they manifest that their hatred was against the God thereof. And here the holy apostle, leaving these scripture testimonies, resumes the thread of his own discourse, and says, 5. Even so then at this present time also there is a remnant according to the election of grace. 6. And if by grace, then is it no more of works; otherwise grace is no more grace.

3 But if it be of works, then is it no more grace, otherwise work is no more work. As at that time, says he, among countless myriads, seven thousand only were left who were free from impiety, even so now also have the greater number disbelieved, and the smaller are they who have believed and enjoyed the divine grace, for it is not the polity of the law that has justified them, which is what is here meant by of works, but the grace of God has saved them; wherefore also salvation itself is called grace, because it proceeds from the divine loving-kindness; and this also he said in speaking concerning the patriarch Abraham, (ch. iv. 4,) "but to him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt." 7. What then? Here we must place a stop, for it is put interrogatively, that is, what shall we say to this? and then the rest as the reply, Israel hath not obtained that which he seeketh for; but the election hath obtained it, and the rest were hardened. By the election he signifies those that had believed; and what he means is this, Israel by his adherence to the law has failed of the mark, for now contrary to the (spirit of the) law, he still observes the law, and reaps no righteousness, but such among them as have believed have obtained it, but the rest were hardened, that is, their infidelity has yet more hardened their heart;

4 and he shows that this also was foretold from of old; 8. As it is written, (Isa. vi. 10, xxix. 10,) "God hath given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear unto this day. Gave them, as "gave them up," (i. 24,) that is, permitted them (to fall into), for

God did not incline them to disbelief, for how were it possible for Him to have inflicted infidelity on them, and Himself demanded vengeance for the same? And this the prophet has yet more clearly shown, (ch. vi. 10, LXX., as also so cited Matt. xiii. 15, Acts xxviii. 27,) "for this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed. Not another then has blinded them, but themselves have closed their eyes, and have not chosen to see the light. And by the spirit of slumber, he means a fixed and obdurate mind; that as he who enjoys a sound and healthy sleep is open to no change for the worse, so he who has surrendered himself up entirely to evil, admits no alteration for the better. 9. And David saith, (Ps. lxviii. 22,) Let their table be made a snare, and a trap, and a stumbling-block, and a recompense unto them; 10. Let their eyes be darkened that they may not see, and bow down their back alway. By the word table he speaks of their luxurious living, which he prophesied would be exchanged for the reverse. 11.

5 I say then, Have they stumbled that they should fall? God forbid, but rather through their fall salvation is come unto the Gentiles, for to provoke them to jealousy. For to them first, such as believed among them brought the saving gospel, and when they set themselves against it, and refused to receive their teaching, then to the Gentiles did they offer the divine gospel; but they that believed obtained salvation. And this was suited to prick in heart the gainsayers among the Jews, and excite them to emulation, and so gain for them a participation in that salvation, for those that have been last they see made first. 6 12. Now if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles, how much more their fulness? For if, when the greater number disbelieved, those that were converted among them brought the riches of the divine knowledge to the Gentiles, most manifest is it, that if all believed, they would become the means of yet greater blessings to all mankind, for all would the more readily believe, when these no longer opposed, but joined with us instead in preaching, the truth. Thence he turns his exhortations to those among the Gentiles who had believed, and counsels them to entertain a chastened view of themselves; aiming at once at a double point, on the one hand to pull down all self-sufficiency on their part, and lead them to fear; and on the other, to bring the Jews to a participation of their ancestral inheritance; and thus he begins, 13. For I speak unto you, Gentiles; inasmuch indeed as I am the

apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office, 14. If by any means I may provoke to emulation them which are my flesh, and may save some of them. Since God sent me forth as the minister of the Gentiles, necessarily do I labour after the salvation of the Gentiles, and direct my discourses in their behalf, and point out the holy prophets of old predicting these things; and this, that so I may excite the Jews to rivalry, and induce some of them to share in that salvation;

7 for by his flesh he means the Jews, as those that in spirit were distant, and related to him only by the affinity of kindred, 15. For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead? For if, says he, on their disbelief the Gentiles were received in, and freed from their former ignorance, manifest is it, that if all these were willing to believe, nothing else would then remain to be accomplished, but the resurrection of the dead; for so the Lord also said, "and this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached unto all nations for a witness unto them, and then shall the end come," (Matt. xxiv. 14). And all this we must recollect the holy apostle says, from a desire to suit his matter exactly to the subject in hand, and teach humility to those among the Gentiles that had believed, hold out the offer yet to the disbelieving among the Jews, and point out the salvation that would arise from their change of mind; as what follows teaches yet more clearly, 16. For if the first- fruit be holy, the lump is also holy; and if the root be holy, so are the branches. 17. And if some of the branches be broken off, and thou being a wild olive tree, wert grafted in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive tree; 18. Boast not thyself against the branches.

8 By the first-fruit he means the Lord Christ in his human nature; by the root, the patriarch Abraham; by the branches of the olive, the Jewish people as sprung from thence; and by the richness of the olive, the doctrines of religion. He admonishes those among the Gentiles who believed, not to be puffed up against the disbelieving Jews; for these are they whom he speaks of as branches broken off. Observe rather, says he, that you, born of another race, have been grafted into this, and have received of the richness of the holy root. But if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee; and consider this also, that the root bears thee, not thou the root, and thou needest it, not it thee. 19. Thou wilt say then, The branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in. 20. Well, because of unbelief they were broken

off, and thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear. Infidelity has rendered them aliens from the root, and faith has connected thee with the root, and made thee to share in its richness; it behoves thee therefore not to become self-sufficient, but to fear and tremble.—Wherefore? 21. For if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest He also spare not thee. For if the connexion of nature profited them not at all, because they retained not the same character and disposition, much more thou, if thou preservest not that grace, shalt become an alien from the root. 22.

9 Behold therefore the goodness and severity of God: on them which fell, severity; but towards thee, goodness, if thou continue in His goodness: otherwise thou also shalt be cut off. Behold now how God has cut them off, because they followed not the faith of their forefathers, and how He has conferred on thee the blessing of his loving-kindness, and made thee to share in a root not appertaining to thee, from which thou wilt be altogether severed again, if thou keepest not the gift bestowed on thee. 23. And they also, if they abide not in unbelief shall be grafted in. For it becomes the righteousness of God, both to sever again from the root thee, who contrary to hope wert blessed with the privilege of that root, if thou thereafter preserve not the grace given; and to join them again to it, if they renounce their infidelity. And aptly does he use the words grafted in as regards them also, infidelity having altogether severed them from, and faith exactly, as in the case of the Gentiles, connecting them with, the root. For God is able to graft them in again. By mentioning the power of God, he shows the ease with which this would be done; and gives an instance, not one removed far from them, and of ancient times, but one which comes home, and was recent, for he calls themselves as witnesses to this; and says, 24.

10 For if thou wert cut out of the olive tree, which is wild by nature, and wert grafted contrary to nature into a good olive tree; how much more shall these, which be the natural branches, be grafted into their own olive tree? If thou, being a wild olive—for thou hadst not the law tending thee, nor the prophets, watering, and pruning, and taking all needful care about thee,—hast been detached from unholy ancestors and relations, and made a partaker in the faith of Abraham, and boastest in him as thy father and ancestor, not by the natural course of the law, but by the divine loving-kindness; much more probable and natural must it be, that they, on believing, should be united again to their own root. And all this, as I before remarked, he says

in order to teach humility to the Gentile converts, and exhort to salvation the disbelievers among the Jews; and with this agrees what follows, 25. For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, lest ye should be wise in your own conceits.A mystery is a thing not known to all, but to those only who are entrusted with it. What he means then is, that I wish you to understand the mystery I am aware of as regards these things, that you may not over-estimate your own spiritual knowledge, and hence be puffed up with self-sufficiency. And what is the mystery?

11 That blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in, and so all Israel shall be saved. He puts the in part, to show that not all had disbelieved, for many even among them had believed; and he bids them not despair of the salvation of the rest. For when the Gentile nation shall have received the gospel, then they also shall believe, the great Elias having come and brought instruction in the faith to them, for so the Lord also said in the holy gospels (Matt. xvii. 1), "Elias cometh and shall restore all things and he adds also the testimony of the prophet (Isa. lix. 20,) 26. As it is written, There shall come out of Zion the Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob; 27. For this is My covenant unto them, when I shall take away their sins. If the polity of the law gives forgiveness of sins, that it is, which the speech of the prophet predicted; but if the law punishes those that transgress it, and the Jews ever lay under the accusation of such transgression, it is plain that the sentence points out the forgiveness which arises from baptism. And by all Israel, he means such as believe, whether they were of the Jews, as having a natural descent from Israel, or of the Gentiles, as connected with him by the relationship of faith.28. As concerning the gospel they are enemies for your sakes:

12 but as touching the election they are beloved for the fathers' sakes. When I look to you, with whose instruction I am entrusted, I consider them as enemies and hateful, as doing all in their power to your injury; but when I turn to their forefathers, and reflect how God chose them from among the whole earth, on their account I love even these. 29. For the gifts and calling of God are without repentance. All this he says as an incitement to the Jews; for that the blessings which God gives he again resumes, when He sees those that have received them infected with ingratitude, Saul is a proof, who, having enjoyed spiritual grace, was afterwards deprived thereof; and Solomon in like manner, who, having obtained peace through the divine loving-kind-

ness, after his transgression was stripped of that grace; and indeed the Jews themselves, who, ever having enjoyed the fostering care of the prophets, at that present time had been bereaved of this guardianship. And the same he had also, just before threatened to the believers among the Gentiles, "if thou continue," says he, "in His goodness; otherwise thou also shalt be cut off." 30. For as ye in times past have not believed God, yet have now obtained mercy through their unbelief, 31. Even so have these also now not believed, that through your mercy they also may obtain mercy.

13 Remember indeed how for so long a period all of you lived in sin, and yet the merciful Lord looked not to that lengthened and bitter ungodliness, but blessed with his unspeakable loving-kindness such as were willing to receive it, and when these (the Jews) would not believe, called you in their room; nothing inconsistent then were it, that these also, who now gainsay, should be accepted of God whenever willing to believe, and so inherit the divine loving-kindness. And the that he here again uses in the idiom and sense familiar to him, for they did not therefore disbelieve, in order that they might find mercy, but they disbelieved because of the hardness of their hearts, and will find mercy by turning to a change of mind. 32. For God hath concluded all in unbelief, that He might have mercy upon all. Concluded he puts for convicted. For he convicted the Gentiles, as having both received natural judgment, and had the creation teaching them the knowledge of God, and yet from neither the one nor the other having derived benefit; and He convicted the Jews likewise, as having enjoyed yet more instruction, in that in addition to nature and the creation, they had received the prophets also teaching what was right, and so become obnoxious to the heavier vengeance; while at the same time both these and those, thus deserving total destruction, has He blessed with the privilege of salvation, provided only they were willing to believe.

14 Having thus fully gone through these things, and contemplating the profundity of the divine lovingkindness, and how incomprehensible is His wisdom, he cries out, 33. O the depth of the riches, and of the wisdom, and of the knowledge of God! For of old, and from the beginning, has He foreknown all these things, and foreknowing has wisely disposed, and in that dispensation manifested the riches of His loving-kindness. How unsearchable are his judgments, and His ways past finding out! The scheme of the divine economy surpasses man's understanding; nor even by the invisible

powers is the providence of the God of all things fully reached unto. 34. For who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been His counsellor? 35. Or who hath first given to Him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again? These three he puts us answering to the former three, the "riches," and the "wisdom," and the "knowledge:" the who hath known the mind of the Lord, to the knowledge; the who hath been His counsellor, to the wisdom; and the who hath first given to Him, and it shall be recompensed to him again, to the riches. For so immense are the riches of His goodness, that both to them that were not, has He given existence, and on such as are, of His free grace bestowed well- being.

15 And not as really due to us for any thing we have first given, but of His own free kindness does He confer His blessings, although in mercy condescending to call each such free gift, the repayment of ourselves. 36. For of Him, and through Him, and to Him are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen. For He created all things, and He continues governing all that He thus created. To Him we ought to look, confessing our gratitude for all we already have enjoyed, and begging for His future providence; and to Him we ought to offer up also the praise and honour due.— Now in the words above, the holy apostle shows that he recognised not any difference between the expressions of whom and through whom, as though the former, as indicating some superiority, belonged to the Father; and the latter, as implying some inferiority, were suited to the Son. For he applies both of them to the same Person; whom if, on the one hand, the Arians and Eunomians say is the Father, they will find the through whom joined to the of whom; and if, on the other, they refer it to the Son, they will see then the of whom connected to the through whom.

16 If then the of whom implies any superiority, and the through whom any inferiority, and yet both are spoken of the same Person, He must in all reason be considered greater than Himself, on account of the of whom, and less than Himself on account of the through whom. Let us then, leaving such (arguers) for the present, magnify our Creator and Saviour, to whom belongs glory for ever and ever. Amen.

BOOK V.

The knowledge of the nature of God, and faith, and right affections towards Him, are the sum and true foundation of all good; for what the eye is to the body, that faith and the knowledge of divine matters are to the soul. But

then she needs also at the same time practical virtue, as the eye does hands and feet, and the other members of the body. Wherefore, the holy apostle adds moral instructions also to his doctrinal course, in order to promote in us the most perfect virtue, for through the Romans does he afford this advantage to all mankind: and thus he opens the subject.

CHAPTER XII.

1. I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God. He lays down laws, and sinking authority puts forth his instructions with intreaties, reminding them of the divine loving-kindness, of which he had before spoken so much at length; and what then dost thou beseech? that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service. And already before had he exhorted to make "their members instruments of righteousness, and yield themselves to God as those that are alive from the dead," (ch. vi. 13; and here he bids these become also a sacrifice, and calls it a living sacrifice, for it is not to be slain that he commands the body, but to become dead to sin, and not be open to its action; and such sacrifice he speaks of as holy, reasonable, and acceptable, as contrasting it with the oblation of irrational animals, and showing that with this the Lord is pleased. For by ail the prophets, as one may say, he finds fault with the sacrifices of beasts, while he enjoins this; for "sacrifice," says he, "unto God the sacrifice of praise," and "the sacrifice of praise shall glorify Me. Ps. 1. (LXX. li. 14, 23; and see also Isa. i. 11-18,) and a thousand other such passages are to be found in the Holy Scriptures. 2. And follow not the fashions of this world.

2 He speaks of the things of this present world, such as wealth, and power, and other like pomps, by fashions, future things being substances, as alone permanent and satisfying; for so in another place also, (1 Cor. vii. 31,) "for the fashion of this world passeth away. For many from the height of abundance have fallen into the extremest poverty, and others sprung from the lowest parents become entrusted with the noblest offices of authority; and some again who elevated an haughty brow, and enlarged themselves in pride, conceiving themselves superior to everybody, being suddenly carried off, have become ill-savoured dust. The holy apostle therefore desires us not to gape after these things, nor to love the fashion of this world, but to seek those things which advance the life eternal. But be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God. He exhorts here those also who were inclining to the worse

to return again to the better, as the word transformed shews. And he teaches how great is the difference between virtue and mere present objects, by calling them fashions, but virtue a form, for a form indicates actually existing objects, but a fashion that which quickly melts away. And he points out the freedom of will which the soul possesses, by commanding it both to renew the mind, and to discriminate the better from the worse; for these things are what he says serve God; and he marks out what these are;

3 and first of all he denounces arrogance, and enjoins humility. 3. For I say. through the grace given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think, but to think as accords with sobriety. And not himself does he declare thus enjoins, but the grace of the Spirit through him, for its instrument, says he, I am; and by the word sobriety here, he designates the healthy state of the mind, to teach us that arrogance is the sickness of the intellect; and herein, indeed, he imitates his own Master; for so the Lord in the holy gospels (Matt. v. 3) pronounced the first blessing on such as were given to humility. "Blessed," says he, "are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. And these instructions he lays on all, both rich and poor, both servants and masters, both men and women, as the words to every one that is among you testify; and he gives the proper measures of our self-opinion, according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith. Grace it is which he here calls faith, because that by faith comes the gift of grace; and according to the proportion of a man's faith are the gifts of grace supplied; and he commands each to regulate his own self-estimate by the grace allotted to him. 4. For as we have many members in out body, and all members have not the same office; 5.

4 So we being many are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another. The illustration is exactly suited to such an exhortation concerning brotherly love; for as each of the members is not useful to itself alone, but contributes its benefits to the common whole, so, therefore, it becomes him who has been blessed with any grace from above, clearly to understand that he has received that gift for the common advantage; for believers are one body, and each of us fulfils the office of a member; 6. Having gifts, differing according to the grace that is given to us. Thus are we to understand this, we are members of each other, having gifts differing according to the grace given to us; and yet, although thus differing, they are nevertheless bestowed by the divine grace for the common good. Whether prophecy accord-

ing to the proportion of faith; 7. Or ministry that he should wait on ministering, or as a teacher on teaching; 8. Or as an exhorter, on exhortation. According to the faith of each does the Giver of all good proportion the grace. And by prophecy he means not only the foreknowledge of the future, but the understanding hidden things also; and by ministry the office of preaching the gospel; by teaching the instructing in the divine doctrines; by exhortation the inciting to virtue. He that giveth, let him do it with singleness of heart; not seeking after the good opinion of others, but supplying the wants of him that needs;

5 nor calculating with himself whether he has sufficient by him or not, but trusting in God, and so affording assistance liberally; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that showeth mercy, with cheerfulness. 9. Let love be without simulation. He bids all things be done with earnestness. And the oversight he orders to be exercised with zeal, that it he not the name without the thing; and to shewing bounty he joins joy, in order to point out the gain that arises from communicating to others; seeing that they who gain are wont to rejoice; for so also he says in his epistle to the Corinthians (2 Ep. ix. 7); "not grudgingly or of necessity, for God loveth a cheerful giver; and love He commands to be genuine and sincere, and repudiates the mask of pretence. Abhorring that which is evil, clinging to that which is good. Again he says not simply to fly from the former, and follow after the latter, but exhorts us exceedingly to hate sin, and to the performance of good deeds bids us closely be connected, our affections serving thereto as it were a cement. 10. Being kindly affectioned one to another in brotherly love; in honour preferring one another. Have your regard warm, and such as becomes brethren towards each other; and let each yield the first places to his neighbour, for this is a proof of true and perfect love. 11. Not slothful in ardour: shewing forth a ready promptness towards what is good, and altogether casting away indolence. Fervent in spirit.

6 By spirit he means the spiritual grace given, and to this, as fuel to the fire, he commands us to bring alacrity as its subject-matter; as he says also in another place (1 Thess. v. 19); "Quench not the Spirit; for the Spirit is quenched in such as are unworthy of such grace: for, not having the eye of their understanding clear; they take not in that beam; even as with the corporeally blind light itself becomes darkness, and in mid-day they are bound by the blackness of night. Wherefore he bid us be fervent in spirit, and pos-

sess a warm desire concerning heavenly things; as he also subjoins, serving the Lord. 12. Rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation, continuing instant in prayer. For he who is fervent in spirit, both readily obeys his Master, and waits for the enjoyment of the blessings looked for, and rises superior to the temptations that befall him, arming himself with steadfastness against their attacks, and ever calling the divine grace to his assistance; as he also subjoins, continuing instant in prayer, that is, incessantly doing so; 13. Communicating with the necessities of the saints. Having mentioned communication he exhorts to liberality; for who would not choose to impart of his wealth, thereby to become a sharer in good deeds? for so also did he say in his Epistle to the Corinthians, "that your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance also may be a supply for your want. Given to hospitality.

7 The guests he means are not the saints only, but such also as have come from any quarter whatsoever, and need entertainment, whom he commands us to take care of. 14. Bless them which persecute you; bless and curse not. This was a law of our Lord's, for the Lord enjoined it to the holy Apostles, (Matt. v. 44.) 15. Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep; 16. Being of the same mind one toward another. Share with each other both in afflictions and their opposite, for the former is the part of sympathy, and the latter of friendship unsullied by envy. Minding not high things, but condescending to men of low estate. Again he banishes the arrogance of haughtiness, and bids the high come down to the low. Be not wise in your own conceits; that is, be not satisfied with your own judgments, but take the counsels also of others. 17. Recompensing to no man evil for evil; and this indeed is an excellence belonging to virtue in its highest state of perfection, and approaching near to a total emancipation from the passions. Providing things honest in the sight of all men; and he says also elsewhere, "Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of God. (1 Cor. x. 32.) 18. If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.

8 Most accurately does he express himself here, in making the addition of the if it be possible, and the as far as lieth in you; let nothing, says he, be done on your part, but try every means for peace. And this is in strict consequence from what he had before said, for what feeling of hostility can he entertain, who "blesses him that persecutes," and avenges not himself on him

that injures him? 19. Avenging not yourselves, dearly beloved, but rather give ye place unto wrath: for it is written, Vengeance is Mine, I will repay, saith the Lord. (Deut. xxxii. 3.).) 20. Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shall heap coals of fire on his head. Having pointed out the Judge, and shown his just judgments, for so the Vengeance is Mine, I will repay, saith the Lord, signifies, he bids us generously bear all the injuries offered to us, repaying with the reverse those that do evil to us, and ministering to the wants of those that hate us. For these things weave a crown to such as thus meekly and patiently endure, while they increase the punishment of the injurers.

9 Not indeed that we are to suppose (that he means) that on this account we are to minister to our enemies, in order that they may suffer the heavier retribution hereafter, for the holy Apostle thus speaks from a wish to repress the anger of the injured party, not from a desire by (his) good to increase (the other's) evil. For that it is such a patient endurance which he inculcates, what follows shews; Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good. For to revenge oneself proves defeat, while the returning good for evil is manifest victory. Having thus disciplined (their) morals, he exhorts them also to render to those in authority the honour due; for he foresaw, as one who had plenteously received of the grace of the thrice holy Spirit, how some, led rather by self-arrogance than any holy zeal for religion, would despise their earthly rulers, as conceiving themselves far superior to them by reason of their (better spiritual) knowledge. And especially does he do this, that he may blot out the opinion prevalent concerning them; for they were falsely represented as destroyers of the common laws; and some said, (Acts xvii. 6,) "These that have turned the world upside down are come hither also; and others that they were introducing "new customs" (Acts x. 20); wherefore he thought it worth while to lay down his injunctions on this point also.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. Whether a man be a priest, or a bishop, or profess a monastic life, let him be subject to those who are invested with authority; evidently if it be consistent with duty to God, for any opposition to the divine laws leaves us not the power of obeying our rulers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. And these come from the providence of God; for He, consulting the general well-being, ordained some to govern, and some to be governed, im-

posing the fear of the magistrate to serve as a bridle on evil doers. But we must observe, that it is the ordinance of ruling and being ruled, which the holy Apostle derives from the providence of God, and not (so much) the elevation of this or that specific individual to power; for it is not (so much) the sway of the unjust, but the constitution of the office itself which is of God's appointment. And yet, when kindly-disposed towards any, He gives them rulers who respect and keep justice, for "I will give them," says He, "pastors according to Mine heart, which shall feed them with knowledge" (Jer. iii. 15); and again, "I will give your judges as at the first, and your counsellors as at the beginning" (Isa. i. 26); and when again desirous to chastise transgressors, He suffers them to be governed by evil governors also;

2 for "I will place over them," says He, "children to be their princes, and scoffers shall rule over them" (Isa. iii. 4); but it is time to return to the rest of the exposition. 2. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. He fitly deters them. And they that resist shall receive to themselves judgment; that is, will become obnoxious to punishment. And then he points out also the use of government. 3. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil; for they chastise those that live in wickedness. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shall have praise of the same; 4. For he is the minister of God to thee for good. He shews that he is worthy of all respect in calling him the minister of God; and he exhorts also to the performance of good deeds, in saying that rulers are applauders of good. But if thou do that which is evil be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. If thou lovest what is good, honour then the government which enjoins these same things; but if thou pursuest the reverse fear then its judgment, for it is appointed of God for the punishment of the evil. 5. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake. By wrath he means punishment;

3 and on both grounds he bids us be obedient, both from fear of punishment, and that we may fulfil what is our duty; for this is what he means by conscience' sake. 6. For, for this cause pay ye tribute also; for they are God's ministers attending continually upon this very thing. For while thou art asleep he is bearing about him the common care; and while thou sittest at home, he is meeting the war which brings thee peace. 7. Render therefore to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear

to whom fear; honour to whom honour. By tribute he means the taxes arising from land, but by custom the excise or duty from merchandise; nor are these only what he calls dues, but fear and honour also; for these are owing from the ruled to the rulers. 8. Owe no man any thing, but to love one another. Not that we are not to pay the debt of love, for this we ought to discharge before any thing else, but that we should increase it by that payment; for such discharge augments the debt, in that it makes love the warmer; for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law. How, and in what manner? 9. For this, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not covet, and if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

4 For he who is kindly disposed towards any one, kills not him whom he thus loves, commits not adultery with his wife, steals not any thing belonging to the object of his affectionate regard, nor does any other thing which might give him pain; for so he subjoins, 10. Love worketh no ill to his neighbour; and then drawing his conclusion, therefore love is the fulfilling of the law. And so also the Lord, being asked which was the first commandment, mentioned the first, and joined the second to it, (Mark xii. 30,) "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself and shews that in the former is established perfect theoretical, and in the second perfect practical virtue; and so, in like manner, the holy Apostle, therefore love is the fulfilling of the law; and then he goes on to say, 11. And that, knowing the time, that now it is high time for us to awake out of sleep; that is, especially as this is not a time for sleep, but for arousing ourselves from slumber; for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed; for each day we draw nearer to the coming of the Lord (in judgment.) 12. The night is far spent, the day is at hand. By night he means the season of ignorance; by the day the time since the appearance of the Lord among us.

5 For the Sun of righteousness having arisen, has enlightened the whole world with the rays of divine knowledge. Let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light. By darkness he means ignorance; and by the works of darkness evil actions; and knowledge is what he calls light; and the performance of good deeds the armour of light. 13. Let us walk honestly, as in the day. By natural things he sets forth spiritual, for so

they that embrace a life of sin commit such sin in the night, while in the day time they put on the appearance of orderly conduct. He intends, then, that the night having as it were passed away, and ignorance ceased, we should depart from evil deeds. And what these are he goes on to specify. Not in lasciviousness, and drunkenness; not in chambering and wantonness; not in strife and envying. For in their feasts some were wont to act lewdly, and defile their tongues with obscene songs, all of which drunkenness provokes, as it is also the parent of wantonness, and the teacher of strife and quarrelsomeness. 14. But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ. Not that they should receive another baptism, but consider the garment wherewith they were already clothed. And make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof. Here he stops the mouths of those heretics who condemned the flesh itself, for he denounces not care for the body, but forbids luxurious indulgence and intemperance;

6 saying not, make no provision for the body, but make it not for the lusts; that is, prepare it not by luxurious living to play the wanton. Having thus in its turn fully spoken of practical virtue, he now returns again to doctrinal instruction. And here it is first necessary to explain the scope of the Apostle's arguments, that the exposition of what he says may be more clearly understood. The Gentile believers, then, embraced the polity prescribed by the gospel; while many of the Jews who had become proselytes to the gospel, persisted still in submission to the institutions of the law, keeping still to the observation of particular days, and partaking of such food (only) as the law directed. Hence a disunion arose, and indeed positive quarrels, these latter condemning the Gentile believers for their indiscriminate use of all foods, and the former despising them in their turn on account of their extreme and superfluous adherence to the law. To correct all this, therefore, the holy Apostle offers such admonitions as are suited to both parties; and first he exhorts the Gentile believers to brotherly love.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not into distinctions of opinions. By weak he means him who was yet a slave to legal observances. 2. For one believeth that he may eat all things; that is, the Gentile convert; another, who is weak, eateth herbs. Some declare that the Jewish proselytes, in order to cast shame on the Gentile converts, abstained not only from swine's flesh, but even from all animal food, under the pretext of self-restraint and

temperance; whence the holy Apostle says, he who is weak eateth herbs; for not having a perfect faith, he thought that he would be defiled by such kind of food. 3. Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not. For the Gentile converts despised the Jewish, as not possessing a sound faith, and as on this account being unwilling to partake of such kind of food. And let not him that eateth not judge him that eateth. And the Jewish indeed condemned the Gentile converts, esteeming their indiscriminate use of every kind of food transgression. For God hath received him; that is, the Gentile convert; and he goes on in his rebuke of the Jew: 4. Who art thou that judgest another's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth. Every servant while living is a source of profit to his own Master, and on death again brings him loss; and this man then the Lord of all things has bought, having given His own blood as the price of his purchase;

2 and having said "to his own Master he standeth or falleth," he necessarily adds, Yea, he shall be holden up; and establishes what he says by the power of God, for God is able to make him stand. Having spoken thus much concerning foods, he transfers his discourse to the matter of days. 5. One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike, (for this purpose. For some abstained from the meats forbidden by the law at all times, and some on particular days (only). Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He lays not this down as a principle of universal application; for neither does he so bid us reckon as regards the doctrines of religion, seeing that he passes an anathema on those that permit themselves to preach contrary to the truth, (Gal. i. 9: "For if any one preach unto you," says he, "any other gospel than that ye have received, let him he accursed. Concerning foods, then, only is it that he allows this power to each man's own mind. For so indeed this custom remains in the churches even to the present day, and one man embraces abstinence, and another without scruple takes of all kinds of food, and neither does the former condemn the latter, nor the latter find fault with the former, but mutually glory in the law of concord. 6. He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it.

3 He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks. He says this in condescension to us, in order to produce peace and harmony in the church. The God of all, says he, knows the intention, both of those that eat,

and of those that eat not, and he attends not to the bare deed, but inquires into the design of what is done. 7. For none of us liveth to himself, and none of us dieth to himself. 8. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord, and whether we die, we die unto the Lord; whether we live, therefore, or die, we are the Lord's. We are not our own lords; we have been bought with a price; and while living, therefore, we are the Lord's, and when dead we are the Lord's; that is, neither art thou his master, nor is he thine; for One we all have for our Lord. 9. For to this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that He might he Lord, both of the dead and the living. He is the Master of all, who for our sakes gave Himself up to death, who destroyed the power of death, and has promised salvation to us all. To Him, then, are we subject, as from Him having received life. 10. But why dost thou judge thy brother? this he says to the Jew; for we shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ.

4 And then he also establishes what he says on the testimony of Scripture: 11. For it is written, (see Isa. xliii. 10; xlv. 21, 23; xliv. 6, 8, &c.,) As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to Me, and every tongue shall confess to God. He is our judge, He is our sentencer; at that tribunal of His we must stand. And indeed this witness of the prophet proves the completeness of the divinity of the Only-begotten. For having said by the prophet, "I am God before all ages, and I am first, and I am afterwards, and even unto eternity I am God, and before Me there was no God formed, neither shall there be after Me, and beside Me there is none, and a just God and a Saviour there is none beside Me," then He adds, "By Myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, that unto Me every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess to God. But let us proceed on to what remains of our interpretation. 12. So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God. Having pointed out the tribunal of the Lord, most consistently does he exhort them not to judge one another, but to await that judgment; for so he again subjoins, 13. Let us not therefore judge one another any more; but judge this rather, that no man put a stumbling block, or an occasion to fall, in his brother's way.

5 Here he directs his rebukes to the Gentile converts, who condescended not to the infirmities of the Jewish proselytes, but esteemed the indifferent use of all kinds of food as the height of virtue and the warmth of zeal. And first, then, he teaches that none of these things is really impure and unclean; and thus he speaks: 14. I know and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that in Him there is nothing unclean. It was necessary, by reason of the infirmity of

the Jews, that he should add the expression in the Lord Jesus; for it was that they might not say, Who art thou that legislatest in contradiction of Moses? that he brings forward the Lord of Moses; showing that He had put an end to the observances of the law, and permitted us not to consider any food unclean; for the in Him signifies in His institutions in the gospel; for Himself also said to the blessed Peter, "What God hath cleansed that call not thou unclean. (Acts x. 15. But to him that esteemeth any thing to be unclean, to him it is unclean. But if a man conceiving such food to be unclean, yet partakes therein, it becomes unclean; not by reason of its own nature, but on account of the opinion of him that thus partakes of it. Having thus distinguished as to these things, he again censures the Gentile converts, who bore not the infirmities of the Jews. 15.

6 But if thy brother be grieved with thy meat, now walkest thou not charitably. He increases the accusation (by that of want) of charity, to expose him that thus acted; and then even more fully points out the folly of such conduct. Destroy not him with thy meat, for whom Christ died. For him the Lord Christ endured death, while thou art not willing by a mere abstinence in food to gain life for him, but by indulgence contrivest death. 16. Let not then your good be evil spoken of. Again, the accusation is made in conjunction with praise, for faith he calls a good thing. I commend, says he, thy faith, but I would not that it become the cause of injury and reproach. 17. For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. For imagine not that this is the perfection of excellence, and what will procure the kingdom of heaven; for what procures that is true righteousness, and concord, and zeal as to peace, and love, from which springs joy, as to God. 18. For he that in these things serveth Christ is acceptable to God, and approved of men. For these things the God of all both requires of us, and they also bring advantage to men. Nor must we fail to observe, that he declares the serving Christ is acceptable to the God of all.

7 If, then, the serving Christ be pleasing to God, so also truly to honour Christ must be pleasing to Him; wherefore likewise to speak evil of Christ, and to attempt to lower His dignity, must be offensive to the God of all. 19. Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another. It behoves us therefore above all to value a profitable concord, and to do all for the mutual advantage of each other. For meat destroy not the work of God. The believing on Him is what our Lord

called the work of God; for "this," says He, "is the work of God, that ye believe on Him whom He hath sent," (John vi. 29). Since then it was probable that some of the Jews would fall away from the faith, not enduring the reproaches of the Gentile believers, aptly does he say, for meat destroy not the work of God. And again, that the Jewish proselytes might not hence gain a pretext for insisting on the observance of the law, he provides against this also, and says, 20. All things indeed are pure; none, says he, of these foods is unclean by its own nature, but it is evil to that man who eateth with offence; but to thee, nevertheless, indulgence therein brings injury, because thou neglectest thy neighbour's interests, and seest him suffer with contempt. 21.

8 It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor any thing whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak. And not as regards flesh alone, but wine also, I bid thee never to indulge in either, if this really work any harm to thy neighbour. 22. Hast thou faith? have it to thyself before God. In the full exercise of faith thou keepest the law (of Christian liberty in the gospel, v. 14, and Gal. v. 1, &c. Great is the possession, worthy of praise the excellence, but let it not be to the detriment of thy neighbour. Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth. The expression insinuates that the Gentile converts were in the habit of compelling the Jews to partake of those things they were averse to; he teaches therefore that the believer indeed derives no injury from the use of them, but that he who eats, while yet making a distinction, partakes in such as unclean, wherefore he pronounces him happy that judges not himself; that is, who makes no such difference (in his own mind); and so he subjoins, in explanation, 23. But he that maketh a distinction is condemned if he eat; and he shews the reason, because he eateth not of faith; but whatsoever is not of faith is sin. For he who believes harmlessly partakes, but he who eats with any such distinction passes sentence on himself.

9 And that he may prove himself enjoining what is agreeable to God, he offers up a fervent prayer in their behalf; Now to Him that is of power to stablish you; and after what manner to stablish? according to my gospel; and what is his gospel? and the preaching of Jesus Christ; and pointing out the antiquity of that preaching, he adds, according to the revelation of the mystery; for not now is the mystery framed, but now is it made known, having been long concealed; for so he goes on to say, which was kept secret since the world began; and then he brings forward also the witnesses of this preach-

ing, but now is made manifest and by the scriptures of the prophets, according to the commandment of the everlasting God; for what He had darkly foreshown in the prophets, these things has the Maker of all ages now clearly displayed; and what is the fruit of this preaching? for the obedience of faith, for it behoves them that hear to believe what is preached; and who are they? made known to all nations. Thus it is to be understood, according to my gospel and the preaching of Jesus Christ, made known to all nations. To God only wise, through Christ Jesus, to whom be glory for ever, Amen. Having set forth the mystery of the dispensation, of old indeed fore-appointed, and then predicted in the prophets, and afterwards become manifest indeed, he magnifies the wisdom of God, and utters forth a doxology suitable thereto.

10 But if the heretics should assert that God (the Father) is here called the alone wise, let them know that the Lord Christ is not only so called wise, but wisdom itself. (Prov. iii. 19, &c. And if indeed they think it right to deprive the Son of this name of wise, so neither let them call Him immortal, for the same Apostle says of God, "who alone hath immorlity. (1 Tim. vi. 16). But leaving such to their own folly, let us proceed onwards in our course. Having then thus offered up these supplications for them, the holy Apostle adds exhortations, giving praise to the Gentile converts, and designating them as strong, by reason of their faith.

CHAPTER XV.

1. We then that are strong ought to hear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves. 2. Let every one of us please his neighbour, for his good to edification:—I know that thou art brought to completeness, and that faith has made thee strong, but I exhort thee to extend a hand to him that is weak, and not to seek thine own (comfort or convenience) alone, but to consult also the advantage of thy neighbour; and he says not merely to please thy neighbour, but for his good to edification, since it is very possible to please a neighbour both to his and our own injury; and then the example, 3. For even Christ pleased not himself, but as it is written (Ps. lxix. 9), "The reproaches of them that reproached Thee fell on Me." For even the Lord Himself sought not his own (convenience), but for our salvation gave Himself up to death. For we heard Him in his passion praying, and saying (Matt. xxvi. 39), "O My Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me, nevertheless not as I will, but as Thou wilt and he bore also the blasphemies of the Jews, and those which they had formerly brought upon His Father by their wicked

lives, the same they uttered against Him; on which account it is that he here cites that testimony of the prophet. 4. For whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience, and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope.

2 God, providing for our advantage, has both afforded us a written rule of doctrine, and also preserved in written history the accounts of the saints. 5. Now the God of patience and consolation grant you to be like-minded one towards another according to Christ Jesus. Again by the addition of the according to Christ Jesus he shews that he does not indiscriminately beg for a concord of any kind for them, but the concord of godliness: and speaking of patience and comfort, he joins therewith the mention of love; that adorned therewith they might bear the imperfections of their neighbour, and by mutual counsel and comfort lead him on to completeness. 6. That with one mind and one mouth ye may glorify God. even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. He calls God our God, but our Lord Jesus Christ's Father, for He who is the God of us all, is His Father. 7. Wherefore receive ye one another, as Christ also received us, to the glory of God. And indeed the Lord Christ loved us not as being holy, but receiving us while sinners so justified; we ought therefore ourselves also to bear the weakness of our brethren, and do all to forward their salvation. And seeing that the Jewish proselytes put forward the circumcision of our Lord, asserting that even Himself also had embraced the polity of the law, the holy Apostle thought it worth while to write what was fitting on this subject also; and he says, 8.

3 Now I say that Jesus Christ was a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the Father; 9. And that the Gentiles might glorify God for His mercy. The God of all things promised to Abraham that in his seed He would bless all nations; and the patriarch himself and all his race received the sign of circumcision; it behoved therefore Him also, who is called "his seed after the flesh," and who shed forth the blessing on the Gentiles, to bear the sign of his kindred, that the truth of the divine promise might be clearly manifested, and the Gentiles receiving that grace might magnify Him, from whom the loving-kindness has flowed to them. And then he adduces scriptural testimonies, shewing that the salvation of the Gentiles had been predicted of old; As it is written, For this cause I will confess to thee among the Gentiles, and sing unto Thy name (Ps. xviii. 49). 10. And again it saith, Rejoice, ye Gentiles, with his people, (Deut. xxxii.

13). 11. And again, Praise the Lord, all ye Gentiles, and laud Him, all ye people. (Ps. cxvii. 1). 12. And again, Esaias saith, There shall be a root of Jesse, and He that shall rise to reign over the Gentiles, in Him shall the Gentiles trust. Now these testimonies he cites in order to teach the Jewish converts not to be offended at the salvation of the Gentiles, but believe the prophecies concerning them.

4 And again he implores a blessing on them, exhibiting the fatherly affection he bore to them. 13. Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope, through the power of the Holy Ghost. He had already above said, in the part of this Epistle which we have expounded, that "hope which is seen is not hope"' (ch. viii. 24); wherefore also he calls God the God of hope, as having of old given to the Gentiles the hope of the blessing, and now established that promise by deeds; and this is a pledge of the blessings yet hoped for; for He who promised those things, and then fulfilled them, will altogether fulfil also what He has now promised to us. And he bids us not only hope, but abound in hope, that is, hope sincerely, and expect to behold the blessings that we hope for; and this (confidence) he says the grace of the spirit affords. Having thus recommended these things, and invoked a blessing on them, he goes on to accord praise to them, by this leading them onward to yet greater goodness; 14. And I myself also am persuaded of you, brethren, that ye also are full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, able also to admonish others. I know, says he, that ye need not instruction; for ye both possess sufficiently ample knowledge, and abound in good of every kind, so as even to extend to others also every fitting exhortation. 15.

5 Nevertheless, brethren, I have written the more boldly unto you in some sort, as putting you in mind, because of the grace that is given to me of God. He displays at the same time the modesty of his own mind in saying he made bold to teach them; and exhibits this grace given to him, in teaching that he writes in subservience to it. And what grace then is this given to thee? 16. That I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the gospel of God. I have been appointed the teacher of the Gentiles, this is the ministry I present to the Lord Christ; and what is the gain arising from thence? That the offering of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost. I readily undergo any labour that the Gentiles may be established in the faith. I obtain the grace of the Spirit, for by the min-

istry he means preaching, and by the acceptable offering a sincere and genuine faith. I have done nothing then out of place, says he, if I have at all written somewhat more boldly, and rebuked them that offend. 17. I have therefore whereof I may glory in Jesus Christ, in those things which pertain to God. And then he points out the character of that glorying; 18. For I will not dare to speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by me, to make the Gentiles obedient, by word and deed. 19.

6 By the power of signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God. My boasting is not in mine own labours, but in the gift bestowed on me by the Lord Christ. For he has given me the grace of the thrice-holy Spirit, to the working of signs and wonders; so that by these means the Gentiles have been rescued unto life, and received the light of divine knowledge. And he shews also to how large a portion of the Gentiles he had preached; so that from Jerusalem and in a circle unto Illyricum I have fully preached the gospel of Christ. For I have tended not those nations lying in the direct line only, but traversing also in a circle have fully supplied with the doctrines of the gospel the eastern regions also, and those about Pontus, together with portions of Asia and Thrace; for this is what the words in a circle indicate. 20. Yea, so have I strived to preach the gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's foundation, 21. But as it is written, (Isa. lii. 15), To whom He was not spoken of they shall see; and they that have not heard shall understand. This shews the diligent earnestness of his zeal in labouring, in that taking in hand the fields that as yet had been uncultivated, he ploughed them up, and sowed, and converted them into fruitful corn fields, and brought its due fulfilment to the prophecy. 22.

7 For which cause also I have been much hindered from coming to you. For my engagement among these others has prevented my presence among yourselves. 23. But now having no more place in these parts, and having a great desire these many years to come unto you, 24. Whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you; for I trust to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you, if first I be somewhat filled with your company. He gives two reasons for his coming to them—that the rest had been preached unto, no nation remaining among which the doctrines of the gospel had not been heard; and his own love towards them. For the former hindrances having ceased, his longing after them excited him to the journey; and he declares that this his affection had been

long antecedent to his actual coming, for for these many years, says he, have I earnestly desired to see you; and he tells them before-hand that he will not only see them, but take in Spain also; and that they may not hence conceive that his visit to them was merely by the way, he adds, and by you to be brought on my way thitherward, if first I be somewhat filled with your company; for you are they whom I first wish to see, and after you them. 25. But now I go unto Jerusalem to minister unto the saints. By ministering he means the distribution of a pecuniary collection;

8 and he mentions also the senders thereof; 26. For they of Macedonia and Achaia have been benevolently inclined to make a communication to the poor saints which are at Jerusalem. It was indeed under a previously-arranged agreement to this effect with the blessed Apostles, Peter I mean, and James, and John, that the divinely-appointed Barnabas and Paul undertook the teaching of the Gentiles, promising to exhort the converts among the Gentiles to minister to the wants of the faithful in Judaea; and this he clearly teaches in his epistle to the Galatians (ii. 9, 10), for "Peter," says he, "and James, and John, who seemed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision, only they would that we should remember the poor, the same which I also was forward to do. This it is he here also speaks of, praising the zeal of Macedonia and Achaia; and this he calls both a benevolence and a debt; 27. They are benevolently inclined verily, and their debtors they are; and whence arose this debt? For if the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, their duty is also to minister unto them in carnal things. To them, says he, appertained the Patriarchs as their forefathers; to them the promises were made; their prophets it was who prophesied the blessings now common to both; of them according to His human nature was the Lord Christ;

9 of them the Apostles the teachers of the whole world; through them have the gifts of the Spirit been shed abroad; it is right then that they who have imparted of the greater, should in return receive of the lesser; wherefore also he above calls the contribution of money a communication, and again afterwards a ministry; by the expression communication shewing it to be a repayment, and by that of ministry a tribute due. 28. When therefore I have performed this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain. Having sealed to them this fruit, to the Macedonians and Achaians he

means; for I offer the things sent, to the right hand of God through the hands of the saints, and it will keep them sale and uninjured. 29. But I know that, when I come unto you, I shall come in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ. By the fulness of the blessing of the gospel he means, the dangers for the gospel's sake which he underwent at Jerusalem; as what follows evinces, 30. I beseech you, therefore, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me; 31. That I may be delivered from them which do not believe in Judaea; and that my service which I have for Jerusalem may be accepted of the saints. With what praise worthy of it could any crown this blessed, aye, thrice blessed, brow?

10 For first he both knew what would happen, and foretels it, for so he spoke to the elders of Ephesus at Miletus, "that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, that bonds and afflictions await me" (Acts xx. 2:5); and when Agabus also predicted the same things, and all were weeping and endeavouring to detain him, the holy man cried out, "What, mean ye to weep and break mine heart? for I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Acts xxi. 13); and here he predicted that he would see both the Romans and Spaniards; and he adds that he would even come"in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ. And then, as fully contemplating the madness of the Jews, he begs also for their prayers not only as respected the disbelievers, but the believers also; for neither were they affectionately disposed towards him, because esteeming him a violator of the law; on which account he added, and that my service which I have for Jerusalem may be accepted of the saints. With a thousand labours had he collected these offerings, using every argument of exhortation with the disciples thereto, and yet he fears concerning those who should receive them, lest their dislike to himself should have greater weight with them than their own wants. 32. That I may come unto you with joy by the will of God, and may with you be refreshed.

11 Not even what is good does he wish to obtain, unless it be in accordance with the will of God. 33. Now the God of peace be with you all, Amen. Not without cause does he here speak of God, as the God of peace; but both as himself needing it, by reason at once of those that openly opposed him and those that regarded him with suspicion; and as imploring it for them, on ac-

count of the differences they had between themselves, respecting legal observances.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. I commend unto you Phoebe our sister, which is a servant of the church which is at Cenchrea, 2. That ye receive her in the Lord as becometh saints, and that ye assist her in whatsoever business she hath need of you, for she hath been a succourer of many, and of myself also. 3. Greet Priscilla and Aquila my helpers in Christ Jesus. Cenchrea is a very large village of Corinth. Well then may we admire the power of the gospel, in that in so short a time it had filled with true godliness not the towns only but even the villages also; and so great was the body of the church at Cenchrea, as to have a woman acting as deaconess; and her a celebrated and illustrious person; for so largely did she abound in good works as to have obtained praises like the above from the tongue of an apostle; for she has been a succourer, says he, of many, and of myself also, by succour meaning, as I conceive, hospitality and kind attention. And he repays her with far greater honours in return; for she, it seems, received him into one house, and for a short time; that, it is plain, which he spent at Corinth; while he has opened the whole world to her, and in every land and sea is that woman become celebrated, so that not the Romans only and the Greeks have known her, but even every barbarian nation.

2 And yet she next mentioned has surpassed even her, for Priscilla, or Prisca, for both names are to be found in the Bible, and Aquila, he calls fellow-helpers; and he adds the in Christ Jesus, lest any one should imagine that he alluded to a community of employment, seeing that they also were tent-makers; and he mentions also another trial (undergone by them on his account) of the greatest kind; 4. Who have for my life laid down their own necks. And to his private he subjoins the public (debt to them) unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles; and he commemorates also another praiseworthy virtue on their part, for he salutes, 5. Likewise the church that is in their house. The expression shews the greatness of their piety, for they instructed, it appears, all their household in the highest virtue, and gladly performed within their walls all the sacred rites of religion; and of these the holy Luke also takes notice, and shews how they led Apollos to the truth. (Acts xviii. 20). Salute my well-beloved Epenetus, who is the first fruits of Achaia unto Christ. For he was the first, it seems, of the whole nation that believed, on which account it was that he here receives

the appellation of the first fruits. Greet Mary, who bestowed much labour on us. Another woman, again, crowned for her individual labours. 7.

3 Salute Andronicus and Junia my kinsmen, and my fellow-prisoners, who are of note among the Apostles, who also were in Christ before me. Many at once are the encomia here; and first that they had been partakers in the dangers of the holy Paul, for he calls them fellow-prisoners as having shared with him in his sufferings; and next he says that they are of note, not among the disciples, but the teachers; nor among ordinary teachers, but the Apostles; and he extols them also on account of the date of their faith, for he says, who were in Christ before me, for I myself was called subsequently to them; and I (Theodoret) am every where amazed at the humble-mindedness of the divine Apostle (lit. head.) 8. Greet Amplias, my beloved in the Lord. Nor is this slight praise, for it is in the Lord that he calls him beloved; and this is demonstrative of his excellences. 9. Salute Urbanus our helper in Christ, and Stachys my beloved. With even yet greater praises does he honour Urbanus, for he calls him a helper both in the preaching, and in the labours and sufferings, for Christ's sake. 10. Salute Apelles proved in Christ. A testimony of the highest virtue, for to have no alloy of dross is the summit of excellences. 11. Salute them which are of Arislobulus's household, and Herodion my kinsman, and those of the household of Narcissus. It is evident that they were believing families;

4 but of those of Narcissus he says, who are in the Lord, as there being, forsooth, some who had not yet become so. 12. Salute Tryphena and Tryphosa, who labour in the Lord. Again, from their labours come the crown; and that labour the words shew to have been one either of hospitality or fasting, or other such virtue. Salute Persis the beloved which laboured much in the Lord. Ampler is her praise, for her zeal in labouring was ampler. 13. Salute Rufus chosen in the Lord, and his mother and mine. And most enviable also is this encomium, for many are called but few chosen; and his mother he praises as adorned with many noble acts of virtue, for not otherwise could she have been deemed worthy of being called the mother of Paul; for of Rufus indeed nature made her the mother, but of the holy Paul respect for her virtue. 14. Salute Asyncritus, Phlegon, Thermas, Patrobas, Hermes, and the brethren which are with them. This was another society of the faithful worthy of Paul's greeting. 15. Salute Philologus, and Julia, Nereus and his sister, and Olympus, and all the saints which are with them. And these again

living together, on account of the virtue they possessed obtained the Apostle's salutation. Having thus greeted these by name, he then bids them all salute each other, for, 16. Salute one another, says he, with an holy kiss.

5 For, as being absent he could not himself salute them, he does it through them, enjoining them to salute one another, and to salute with an holy kiss, chaste, modest, sincere, and true, and void of all deceit. All the churches of Christ salute you. From the whole world, so to speak, he salutes the Empress of the world. 17. Now I beseech you, brethren, to mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them. He alludes in these words to the evil advocates of the law, whose precepts he bids them to avoid, while praising the teaching of the chief of the Apostles; for the expression causing such contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned is that of one who greatly admires the doctrine they had already obtained. 18. For they that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly. And from hence it is plain that it is of the Jews that he is thus speaking, for he is perpetually condemning their gluttony, and so elsewhere he says, "whose God is their belly. And by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple. By fair speeches he means praise (flattery); and he hints that some had already been seduced by them, for they deceive, says he, the hearts of the simple; not depravity of disposition indeed, but simplicity does he allege as the cause. And then again he excites them with praises, 19.

6 For your obedience is come abroad unto all men, that you gladly received the apostolic doctrines. 7 I am glad therefore, says he, on your behalf; and yet while praising he still continues to instruct, but yet I would have you wise unto that which is good, and harmless concerning evil. And this rule also the Lord gave to the Apostles, saying, "Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves. And this saying of our Lord signifies, that we are to put away from us the snares brought in by our enemies, and least of all to revenge ourselves on those that injure us. 20. And the God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly. Since he had commanded them to be on their guard against their enemies, most opportunely does he beseech God to confound the teacher of all snares, and cast him beneath the feet of the believers. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Having pointed out the enemy, he next points out the Helper, for they that have obtained the divine grace possess that which is invincible. 21. Timotheus my work-fellow, and Lucius

and Jason, and Sosipater my kinsmen salute you. The first has the glory of a participation in works, the others relationship; but the fellow-worker is far more honourable than the relation; and this is the same Timothy whom in Lystra he circumcised (Acts xvi. 3), and to whom he wrote those two epistles. And of Jason also the history of the Acts makes mention (ch. xvii.) 22. I Tertius, who wrote this epistle, salute you in the Lord.

8 And he also was one of those who had been thought worthy to enjoy the instructions of the Apostle, wherefore receiving the outpourings of his holy spirit through the tongue he was commanded to commit them to paper. 23.Gaius mine host, and of the whole church, saluteth you. And this also is the greatest testimony of praise, to have opened one's house to the nurselings of the faith, and together with all others to have ministered even to the very teachers of the whole world; for by host he means entertainer. And he was a Corinthian, as the holy Apostle also teaches us in his epistle to the Corinthians, "I thank my God," says he, "that I baptized none of you but Crispus and Gaius. (ch. i. 14). Erastus the chamberlain of the city saluteth you, and Quartus a brother. He calls him not the treasurer of the church, but of the city, as one fully entrusted with some charge; and he makes mention of him who in the epistle to Timothy, thus speaking, (2 Ep. iv. 20), "Erastus abode at Corinth, but Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick." 21. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, Amen. Again he imparts to them the spiritual benediction, and surrounds them with the grace of the Lord as with a wall of adamant, for this he made the beginning of his epistle, and this he places as its end. In this grace let us also become partakers, that we may rise superior to all snares;

9 that by it enlightened we may without turning aside tread the strait road, and following in the Apostolic footsteps be deemed worthy to behold the teacher himself, and by his means enjoy the favour of the Lord, and obtain the promised blessing, through the grace and loving-kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ; with whom, to the Father, together with the thrice-holy Spirit, belong glory and majesty, now and ever, and unto endless ages. Amen.

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