

Epifanio de Salamina

*ANCORATUS*



O MY LORDS, God-honored brothers, and fellow presbyters, Matidios and Tarsinos <and Neon> and Numerianos and all the others who are with you, and to our most longed-for sons, Palladios and Severianos, who strive after a good zeal and the blessed and much-beloved life, you who chose for yourselves both an orthodox faith and a perfect concord, fulfilling what was said by the Savior: "If you wish to be perfect, sell your possessions and give to the poor,"<sup>1</sup> and "They were selling their possessions and laying them at the feet of the apostles."<sup>2</sup> And as much as there are vital and the best things in us to be furnished for their consenting souls, Epiphаний, the least of the bishops, and the brothers who are with him send greetings in the Lord God.

## I

(1) I might already consider myself truly blessed, beloved, because though not sufficient with respect to the way of life of the holy and excellent men who have taken up a virtuous zeal for God, I am deemed worthy by them to stimulate my mind to

stir up and to offer something useful. (2) For the always humble spirit in me, which is eager to endure quietly and not to reach further than those very much considering that which was said by the Apostle, "that we may not reach beyond the measure of the standard that the God of measure has given to us,"<sup>1</sup> now has come to this. (3) For the "votes from every side" hold sway, that they speak of the godly zeal in you and of those others in agreement, I mean indeed of those eager for orthodoxy, among whom is our son Hypatios coming to me from the country of the Egyptians because of the same thing.<sup>2</sup> And I have prepared to lay aside all indifference and all hesitation, no longer to withhold (and not to put off for later to write to you the things concerning the faith) from you and our brothers who ask about matters concerning our salvation from the divine and holy Scripture, the firm foundation of the faith concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and everything else about salvation in Christ, I mean of the resurrection of the dead and the *parousia* of the incarnate Only-begotten, and about the holy Old and New Testaments and the other general things pertaining to our complete salvation. (4) At any rate, I have taken the premise of these requests as no small thing, from our brother and fellow presbyter Konope and those with him, both from others and from your Honors, most beloved children, but also our son Hypatios, en route to me from Egypt because of this. I perceive the many "votes" together in unison. My heart is stung, and I considered your argument. And I am resolved eagerly to begin, without hesitation, according to the demand of your letters, because I am not only willing but also unwilling, on account of the extremity of <the> request from you and yours, for me, your humble servant, to write this letter in response to your desire.

## II

(1) I am very much amazed, marveling at the economy<sup>1</sup> of our Lord and God, who is well pleased in the abundance of his goodness to give his Holy Spirit to all, to those who seek him in truth.<sup>2</sup> For not without God's aid did I believe the requests made through the letters from you and yours <came to be>, most beloved, but I resolved that the initiative sprang up from the grace of God in you. (2) For in truth those who, understanding in an orthodox manner about the Son of God and the Holy Spirit and knowing to say what is harmonious and agreed upon, with the most blessed Apostle Peter, that "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God,"<sup>3</sup> clearly will be blessed by the Lord himself. And how blessed was that holy man who heard, "You are blessed Simon, bar-Jonah,"<sup>4</sup> that is to say, "son of Jonah." For his father was called Jonah, and the "bar" is translated from the Hebrew language as "son." (3) For this was the life that the only-begotten Son of God gave to his disciples, saying, "that they may have life in them,"<sup>5</sup> and this is the life that he made known: "that they may know you, the only true God, and whom you sent, Jesus Christ."<sup>6</sup> (4) So in saying "the only true God,"<sup>7</sup> he has led us into unicity,<sup>8</sup> that no longer "may we be subject to the elements of the world,"<sup>9</sup> that polytheism may not still be among us, and that the thoughts of men may not fall apart to such fornication, but to the unity<sup>10</sup> of the only true God: "for the first fornication was the invention of idols,"<sup>11</sup> says Scripture. (5) It also says, "and him whom you have sent, Jesus Christ."<sup>12</sup> Who is Jesus Christ, if not God?

And if Christ Jesus is God, as John says about him, "The Only-begotten is God, the one in the bosom of the Father, who has made him known."<sup>13</sup> Therefore, the Father is one God and only true God, and the Only-begotten is God. (6) Therefore, he is not alien from God and from the unity.<sup>14</sup> But since the Son is from the Father, because of this, he is only true God. And he is not like the false gods, which some of the Greeks believe to be gods; they are not gods. But he is only true God, since the Only-begotten is only from the Only (and only the Holy Spirit). For they are Trinity in unity<sup>15</sup> and one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.<sup>16</sup>

### III

(1) And the Word terrifies those not worthy of the Holy Spirit. "For no one is able to say Jesus is Lord, if not by the Holy Spirit."<sup>1</sup> (2) For even the Jews say the name of Jesus, but they do not believe him to be Lord. And the Arians say the name and <they name?> him God, but they say he is adopted and not true, since they did not have a share in the Holy Spirit. (3) For if someone does not receive the Holy Spirit, he does not say Jesus is really Lord, and really God, and really Son of God, and really everlasting King. (4) For let those who have held the wicked notion understand that the Only-begotten Son of God does not wish to bear witness at all concerning himself. (5) For thus he said in the Gospel: "If I myself bear witness concerning myself, my testimony is nothing: there is another who bears witness

concerning me.”<sup>2</sup> (6) And who is the “other” but the one who spoke from heaven: “This is my Son, the beloved, in whom I am well pleased”?<sup>3</sup> And the same one who says, “If I myself bear witness concerning myself, my testimony is nothing,”<sup>4</sup> again says, “even if I myself bear witness concerning myself, my testimony is true,”<sup>5</sup> and again, “the very works bear witness concerning me, which the Father has given to me,”<sup>6</sup> and again, “Moses wrote concerning me,”<sup>7</sup> and “Moses bears witness concerning me.”<sup>8</sup> (7) The first [statement] is, “If I myself bear witness concerning myself, my testimony is nothing,”<sup>9</sup> in order that it might cut off the boast from those boasting and recommending themselves, since many people glorify themselves and bear witness about themselves. (8) And when he said, “Even if I myself bear witness concerning myself, my testimony is true,”<sup>10</sup> he demonstrates that the testimony is not from man himself, but God who speaks truth <in> his testimony.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, the Father is true God; the Son is true God; the Holy Spirit is true,<sup>12</sup> “Spirit of God,”<sup>13</sup> who is also “Spirit of truth”;<sup>14</sup> triad accounted in one name. (9) For concerning the Father, the Son himself says, “that they may know you, the only true God.”<sup>15</sup> The trustworthy witness is the one lying back in his [the Father’s] bosom, affirming himself the Only-begotten God.<sup>16</sup> He did not add to the “Only-begotten God” the [phrase] “true God,” but concerning the

Father it has been written, <that> he is true God, and concerning the Son, that he is Only-begotten God. And again about the Father, that "God is light,"<sup>17</sup> and about the Son, that "he was the true light."<sup>18</sup>

#### IV

(1) Observe with me the exactness of the Scriptures. For the "Father is light,"<sup>1</sup> and "true light" is not added about the Father. But concerning the Son it said, "true light,"<sup>2</sup> and let no one dare to say otherwise. (2) For who, driven to insanity or rather joining folly to himself, would dare to gain for himself a suspicion of blasphemy, not finding the word "truth" being added to the phrase and saying about the Father that he is not true light? (3) For if the genuine<sup>3</sup> Son begotten from him is true light, the begetter of the Son unambiguously is true light.<sup>4</sup> The very one who begot him, without beginning and non-temporally, is true light. (4) And just as one must not dare to say against the Father that he is not true light (and yet the "true" was not added), yet we know of ourselves because of our pious thinking (even if it might not have been written), that he is "true light." And we do not doubt, lest we be lost. Thus also it has been written on the Son, that the Son is God, even if "true God" is not added. We heap madness upon ourselves if we dare to blaspheme and deny that the Son is true God, even if the word might not have

been added. (5) For it is enough to apply to one, the whole bond of the Trinity, and to think that from the Father the Son is true God and the Spirit true, with equal weight of the truth corresponding to each name, on the one hand to the Father, "true God," on the other hand to the Son, "God." (6) And again to the Son, "true light,"<sup>5</sup> and to the Father, "light,"<sup>6</sup> in order that, as we bind together the two beliefs concerning the divinity, we might confess about the Father, "true God," and about the Son, "true light,"<sup>7</sup> about the Father, "light,"<sup>8</sup> and about the Son, "God." From "light" and "God," let us confess the one divinity, and from "true God" and "true light," the one unity of power.<sup>9</sup>

## V

(1) Likewise also on the Holy Spirit: "and if I depart, he comes,"<sup>1</sup> it says, "the Spirit of truth."<sup>2</sup> And yet about himself he says, "I am the truth,"<sup>3</sup> and about the Father, "the Spirit of my Father who speaks in you,"<sup>4</sup> and about the Spirit, "my Spirit has stood in your midst."<sup>5</sup> (2) The Spirit mysteriously acts with the Son: "he casts him out into the desert,"<sup>6</sup> "to be tempted by the Devil."<sup>7</sup> (3) And the Lord himself [says]: "the Spirit of the Lord, because he anointed me."<sup>8</sup> And the Holy Spirit says in the prophets: "the Lord Almighty says these things,"<sup>9</sup> <and> "the Lord speaking in the prophets,"<sup>10</sup> "the one strengthening thunder and creating wind,"<sup>11</sup> thunder heard by men, and creating wind for the activity<sup>12</sup> of the rain sent from God to the



earth.<sup>13</sup> (4) And about created things thus it says: “strengthening thunder and creating wind”:<sup>14</sup> for these things exist as created things. But “announcing his Christ to men,”<sup>15</sup> no longer [does it say] creating, nor strengthening, (5) but “announcing him to men,”<sup>16</sup> the one truly begotten from the one who is true, the uncreated one, the immutable one, the invariable one, he who always exists from him who always exists, the one declared through <Moses and> John as he who always exists. “I AM, for he says, has sent me,”<sup>17</sup> says Moses, and John: “the one who is in the bosom of the Father, that one expounded him [the Father].”<sup>18</sup> (6) The Father is the one who is;<sup>19</sup> the Son is the one who is. He is “the one who is with the one who is,”<sup>20</sup> begotten from him, who is not a coalescence<sup>21</sup> with the Father, who did not begin

to exist, but <who is> always genuine Son with the Father, the Father always begetting the Son.<sup>22</sup> (7) For there was not ever a season<sup>23</sup> when the Father was not Father; there was not ever a season when <the?> Son did not exist with the only Father.<sup>24</sup> For if there was a season when he [the Father] was not Father, then he himself was also the son of another father, before he was the Father of the Only-begotten.<sup>25</sup> (8) And those who seem to be pious toward the Father are absolutely impious. For in God, no measurable time,<sup>26</sup> no season, no point of measurable time, no fraction of an hour, no movement of the eye, no uncertainty of thought is possible.<sup>27</sup> (9) But however much your thinking rises to comprehend and to believe in the Son, at the same time it thinks also about the Father. For the name is significant.<sup>28</sup> For

whenever you call on the Son, saying "Son," you think about the Father: for from the Son, the Father is thought about. And whenever you call on the Father, you indicate the Son: for the Father is called such in all ways from the Son.<sup>29</sup>

## VI

(1) For when are you able to dare and to say that the Father was not the Father, that you might also dare to say that the Son was not <the Son>?<sup>1</sup> And if you do not dare to add worth to the Father (for the divinity exists immutably and is not in need of addition, nor glory, nor progress), "learn not to blaspheme."<sup>2</sup> O enemy of the faith! Rather, you who drive yourself away from the faith! (2) But you must believe always that the eternal Father truly begot the Son, the one who always really is with the Father who really is. But believe that he is the one who has been begotten. (3) For the Son is not ever a coalescence with the Father, nor a sibling, but genuine Son who has been begotten from the Father. He is natural Son, not adopted. He is Son *homoousios* with the Father,<sup>3</sup> not sharing in essence,<sup>4</sup> but *homoousios*, that is to say, not begotten apart from the Father, as some hold in dissimulation, wishing the Son to be so from adoption and not in truth.<sup>5</sup> (4) To say *homoousios* is the bond of the

faith.<sup>6</sup> For if you say *homoousios*, you destroy the power of Sabellius.<sup>7</sup> (5) For whenever [you say] *homoousios*, it is indicative of one *hypostasis*,<sup>8</sup> but it indicates that the Father is enhypostatic, the Son is enhypostatic, and the Holy Spirit is enhypostatic.<sup>9</sup>

(6) And whenever someone says *homoousios*, he does not indicate that he is alien from the same divinity, but that the Son is God from God, and the Holy Spirit is God, of the same divinity, not three gods.<sup>10</sup> (7) Nor if when we say that the Son and the Father are God, do we say two gods, for our God is one, as the blessed Moses says: "The Lord your God, the Lord is one."<sup>11</sup> (8) We do not say gods; [we say] God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit, and not gods. For there is no polytheism in God. But through the three names, the one divinity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit <is indicated>. (9) And there are not two sons: for the one Son is Only-begotten, and the Holy Spirit is the Spirit that is holy, the "Spirit of God,"<sup>12</sup> always existing with the Father and Son, not alien from God, but being from God, "proceeding from the Father"<sup>13</sup> and "receiving from the Son."<sup>14</sup> (10) But the Only-begotten Son is incomprehensible, and the Spirit is incomprehensible, and from God, not alien from the Father and Son. He is not a coalescence of the Father and Son. But the Trinity, is always of the same *ousia*, neither another *ousia* besides the divinity, nor another divinity besides the *ousia*, but the same divinity and from the same divinity, the Son and the Holy Spirit.<sup>15</sup>

## VII

(1) And the Spirit is the Holy Spirit, and the Son is the Son. And the Spirit, is the one “proceeding from the Father”<sup>1</sup> and “receiving from the Son,”<sup>2</sup> “searching the depths of God,”<sup>3</sup> announcing the things of the Son in the world, sanctifying the saints through the Trinity,<sup>4</sup> third in naming<sup>5</sup> (since the Trinity is Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: for it says, “going forth, baptize in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit”),<sup>6</sup> seal of grace, bond of the Trinity, not alien from the number, not separate from the naming, not a stranger from the gift. But there is one God, one faith, one Lord, one grace, one church, one baptism.<sup>7</sup> (2) For the Trinity is always Trinity and never receives an addition, thus being counted: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.<sup>8</sup> (3) The Trinity is not a coalescence, not something different in itself, from its very own unity, but exists in a *hypostasis* of perfection. Perfect is the

Father; perfect is the Son; perfect is the Holy Spirit: Father and Son and Holy Spirit.<sup>9</sup> (4) Again the Spirit is assigned in gifts: “for there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are varieties of ministries, but the same Lord. And there are varieties of activities, but the same God, the one working all things in all.”<sup>10</sup> (5) Let us not fall away from that which lies before us. Let us not apostatize from the truth. We do not advocate on behalf of God, but we think piously, so that we may not perish. And we speak not as those who [fully] comprehend: for as men we speak [only] what we have comprehended.<sup>11</sup> (6) For the honor in regard to God is infinite and has been magnified ten-thousand-fold compared to our thinking, and <the Trinity> has been magnified, adding nothing of glory and in no way being deprived of its uniqueness. (7) For nothing in the Trinity is created or added. But the Father begets the Son, nor was there ever a time<sup>12</sup> when the Son was not. For the Father was not at any time not called Father, but the Father always was, and the Son always was, not a sibling, but Son begotten indescribably and being named incomprehensibly. And he is with the Father always and never ceasing to exist. (8) So the Father is unbegotten,<sup>13</sup> and uncre-

ated, and incomprehensible. The Son is begotten, but both uncreated and incomprehensible.<sup>14</sup> The Holy Spirit always was, not begotten,<sup>15</sup> not created,<sup>16</sup> not a sibling, not an uncle, not an ancestor, not an offspring, but the Holy Spirit from the same *ousia* of the Father and Son.<sup>17</sup> “For God is spirit.”<sup>18</sup>



## VIII

(1) Each of the names is mononymic, not having a duplication.<sup>1</sup> For the Father is Father and has no parallel, nor is he joined together with another father, so that there may not be two gods.<sup>2</sup> (2) And <the?> Son is only-begotten, true God from true God, not having the name of Father, nor being alien from the Father, but existing as Son of the Father. He is only-begotten, that the "Son" may be mononymic;<sup>3</sup> and he is God from God, in order that Father and Son may be called one God. (3) And the Holy Spirit is one-of-a-kind,<sup>4</sup> not having the name of "Son," nor hav-

ing the naming of "Father," but thus called Holy Spirit, not alien from the Father. (4) For the Only-begotten himself says: "The Spirit of the Father,"<sup>5</sup> and "the one proceeding from the Father,"<sup>6</sup> and "he will receive from what is mine,"<sup>7</sup> in order that he may not be believed alien from the Father and the Son, but of the same *ousia*, the same divinity, divine Spirit, the "Spirit of truth,"<sup>8</sup> the "Spirit of God,"<sup>9</sup> the Spirit "Paraclete,"<sup>10</sup> called mononymically,<sup>11</sup> not having a parallel, not being equated with some other spirit, not called by the name of the Son or being named with the naming of the Father, in order that the mononymic names may not be homonymic, (5) except "God" in the Father, "God" in the Son, in the Holy Spirit, "of God"<sup>12</sup> and "God."<sup>13</sup> (6) For the "Spirit of God,"<sup>14</sup> both Spirit of the Father and Spirit of the Son, is not according to some synthesis, as soul and body are in us, but is in the midst of Father and Son, from the Father and the Son, third in naming.<sup>15</sup> (7) For it says, "Going forth, baptize in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit."<sup>16</sup> And if the Father

baptizes in his own name, in the name of God, and the perfect seal in the name of God has been sealed in us, and Christ baptizes in his own name, in the name of God, and the perfect seal in the name of God has been sealed in us, who would dare to wage war against his own soul, saying that the Spirit is alien from the divinity? (8) For if <we seal> in the name of the Father and in the name of the Son and in the name of the Holy Spirit, there is one seal of the Trinity. Therefore, there is one power of the divinity in the Trinity. And if God is the One, but the others are created and not God, by what reason are the two connected to the one in the seal of perfection? (9) Then at any rate, we were sealed in a royal name, the one of the Father (and the others are not royal), but we further have been enslaved to elements and created things. And, the name alone of the Father was not able to save, but the one who created added to himself two other elements, according to the thinking of those who blaspheme, in order that his divinity might add other powers and might be able to save the one sealed by him, and that the man created by him might gain redemption through the forgiveness of sins.<sup>17</sup>

## IX

(1) Alas, such foolishness! O such blasphemy! From where did another novel unbelief stealthily enter back into life, or rather should I say wicked belief? For wicked belief is worse than unbelief. For unbelief, might receive belief, and be corrected, but wicked belief is irremediable, being saved with great difficulty, unless perhaps some anointing should come from above.<sup>1</sup> (2) So blessed Peter says to them with Ananias: "Why

is it that Satan tempted you to lie to the Holy Spirit?"<sup>2</sup> and he says, "You did not lie to men, but to God."<sup>3</sup> (3) Then the Spirit is God from the Father and Son, [the Spirit] to whom those misappropriating funds lied.<sup>4</sup> So Paul also agrees with this statement, saying, "You are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwells in you."<sup>5</sup> So then the Spirit is God, as stated before.<sup>6</sup> (4) Because of the temple of God, they also will be called holy men, those who established in themselves the Holy Spirit of God, as the chief of the Apostles [Peter] bears witness, the one who was deemed worthy to be blessed by the Lord, because the Father revealed to him.<sup>7</sup> (5) Therefore, the Father reveals the true Son to him [Peter], and he is blessed; and again the same one [the Father] reveals his Holy Spirit. (6) It was necessary for the first of the Apostles, the solid rock, "upon whom the church of God would be built, and the gates of Hades will not overcome it,"<sup>8</sup> <to declare this?>. The gates of Hades are the heresies and the heresiarchs.<sup>9</sup> (7) For in every way the faith was

made firm in him, in the one who received the key of heaven, in the one who looses upon the earth and binds in heaven.<sup>10</sup> (8) For in this man are found all the subtleties<sup>11</sup> being asked of the faith. (9) This man is the one who denied three times and cursed three times before the rooster crowed.<sup>12</sup> For indicating the abundance of his love toward his master, affirming confidently he was saying: "even if all deny you, I will not deny,"<sup>13</sup> saying so much in reference to his [Christ's] humanity. (10) This is the one who wept at the sound of the rooster,<sup>14</sup> in order that he might truly confess that the arrest of the Son of God was not in appearance, but true, in order that he [Peter] might say that he was a true man in weeping at his arrest, having been handed over by the Pharisees. (11) This is <the> one who came to Galilee to fish, the one who was a partner of the one reclining upon his breast (for he [John], learning from the Son and receiving from the Son, was revealing the power of knowledge, (12) and he was aided by the Father, laying the foundation of the certainty of the faith). He [Peter] is the one who, unclothed in the boat on <Lake> Tiberias,<sup>15</sup> back after being called, was fishing (and the disciple, whom Jesus loved, <was with him?>). After the statement that the Savior made: "Children, you do not have anything to eat, do you?"<sup>16</sup> and, "Cast on the right side of the ship and you will find [fish],"<sup>17</sup> and after the astonishing statement happened, John, whom Jesus loved, said to Peter: "It is the Lord,"<sup>18</sup> man according to the flesh, born from Mary in truth not in appearance, being God <according to> Spirit, coming from the Father from the heavens. (13) <This man> is the one who heard from him [Christ], "Peter, tend my sheep,"<sup>19</sup> the one who has been entrusted with the flock, the one guiding well in the power of his own master, the one confessing concerning the flesh, the one truthfully announcing the things of the Father

concerning the Son, the one indicating the Spirit and his worthiness in divinity, the one giving the right hand of fellowship to Paul and Barnabas with James and John, in order that “through three witnesses all that is said may stand.”<sup>20</sup>

## X

(1) For nothing is able to be without two or three testimonies.<sup>1</sup> For in them, <even the faith><sup>2</sup> of those in the Law, of those who acknowledged only the Father, was established through a mystery, except that they might receive power of the Son, and might be empowered through the testimonies of the Father and Son, and through the third testimony might receive the Holy Spirit and might be filled, (2) with the expressions of the Cherubim and Seraphim manifestly proclaiming aloud thrice, “Holy, Holy, Holy.”<sup>3</sup> (3) For not through two expressions is the praise in heaven perfected, nor do the same holy and invisible spiritual living beings proclaim a fourth thing, nor do they render a fourth expression, nor only one, but three single expressions: “Holy, Holy, Holy.”<sup>4</sup> (4) And they do not say, “Holies, Holies,” in order that they might not proclaim a single, multi-named<sup>5</sup> thing nor conceal the number of the three. But three times they give the proclamation of holiness, uniformly and singularly they chant the phrase, in order that they may not name a polytheism.<sup>6</sup> (5) For God is one, Father in Son, Son in Father with Holy Spirit.<sup>7</sup> And because of this, “the holy one resting among

the holy ones,"<sup>8</sup> the true Father is enhypostatic and the true Son is enhypostatic and the true Holy Spirit is enhypostatic, being three, one divinity, one *ousia*, one praise, one God.<sup>9</sup> (6) You named the Son; you embraced the Trinity in your thinking. You possessed the Holy Spirit; you have been deemed worthy of the Fatherly power and of the Son of God. You praised the Father; you indicated the Son and the Holy Spirit. But not according to a coalescence: (7) for the Father is Father; the Son is Son; the Holy Spirit is Holy Spirit. But the Trinity has not been alienated from unity and identity. The Father is honored insofar as he is Father; the Son is honored in so far as he is Son; the Holy Spirit is honored in so far as he is true Spirit and "Spirit of God."<sup>10</sup> (8) Thus the Only-begotten says, "the one honoring the Father honors the Son."<sup>11</sup> For in saying "Father," you indicate the Son, and you honor the Son.<sup>12</sup> And "the one honoring the Son honors the Father."<sup>13</sup> For in your naming the Son, you honor the Father, affirming Christ is not inferior to the Father.

## XI

(1) For if among us men such a thought is absent and we do not wish our sons weaker nor inferior to the honor of their fathers (for a dishonor against sons is analogous to [dishonor] against fathers), how much more would God and Father not ever wish that his Son be inferior? (2) Accordingly the one who supposes that the Son, truly of the Father, is lacking the glory of the Father, rather dishonors <the Father>; instead of honor, he is being carried away by ignorance. (3) So, as <the Son> reveals the Father, saying, "No one knows the Father if not the Son, and no one knows the Son if not the Father,"<sup>1</sup> thus I dare to say that no one knows the Spirit if not the Father and the Son, from whom he [the Spirit] proceeds<sup>2</sup> and from whom he receives.<sup>3</sup>

(4) How do they dare to say that the Spirit is alien from God, those who especially are possessed by madness and not by truth, those who do not learn the true expression of the trustworthy and holy Paul the Apostle, to whom the chief of the Apostles, Peter, the one worthy to hold the keys of the kingdom, gave his right hand, the one [Paul] hearing from heaven: "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?"<sup>4</sup> (5) the one being worthy to hear: "inexpressible statements, which are not permitted for a man to speak,"<sup>5</sup> the one saying: "No one knows the things of man, except the spirit of man dwelling in him,"<sup>6</sup> the one wishing from the illustration to declare the things above, in order that the illustration of the man might not represent God, but with the illustration he might reveal a part of things above? (6) For all creation, gathered together, of angels and archangels, of the Cherubim and Seraphim with the heavenly host, both of heaven and of earth, of earthly things, of heavenly things, and of things beneath the earth, both of luminaries and of stars, both of dry lands and of waters and of all things in general which are in heaven and on earth, is not able to display, nor with an analogy to be compared to, its master. (7) For according to grace he gives his image to man, saying: "God made man; according to the image of God he made him."<sup>7</sup> For by a gift every man has the image, but no one will be likened to his master. (8) For one thing is invisible and the other visible; one is immortal and the other capable of death, and one is the whole fount of wisdom and has all things that have been perfected in himself. But the man who possesses a gift in part is left without the most perfect things, unless God wills to furnish perfect things through a gift, according to worth, to those who are being provided for.

## XII

(1) Nevertheless, having used an analogy, the same holy Apostle says, "No one man knows the things of man, except the spirit of the man dwelling in him: thus also no one knows the things of God."<sup>1</sup> (2) And it did not say, "except the Spirit of God



dwelling in him [God],” but only “the Spirit of God,” in order that no one might think that the divine is composite and composed. (3) “Except,” it says, “the Spirit of God”: “For the Spirit of God searches all things, even the depths of God.”<sup>2</sup> (4) Therefore, the Spirit is not alien from God, the one who searches the depths of God.<sup>3</sup> For if the divine Scripture finds fault with us, saying: “What has been appointed to you, think on these things, and there is no need for you [to think on] the hidden things,”<sup>4</sup> and “do not seek the things higher than you, and do not inquire into things deeper than you,”<sup>5</sup> then shall we say also concerning the Holy Spirit that rather in vain and not rather in genuineness he searches the depths of God?<sup>6</sup> (5) For where does he search the depths of God? On account of what cause? Speak, O fool! Out of curiosity? Meddling? Longing for things not his own? “By no means!”<sup>7</sup> (6) But since the saints are deemed worthy to have the Holy Spirit dwell in them, when the Holy Spirit shall be in the saints, he gives to them grace to search the depths of God, to think deeply, as David also confesses this (for he says, “from the depths I cried to you Lord”),<sup>8</sup> and with infinite greatness and not in a small and insignificant way, just as those of the heresy of Arius and all other outsiders [confess]. (7) And from the time when <the> Law was given through Moses, the heresies which were divided after him, before the incarnate *parousia* of Christ, are eleven, and after the incarnate *parousia* there were sixty others. Besides those before the Law were also five total and four other Greek heresies, which are nine before the Law. Together all, with their “mothers,” number eighty. (8) Of which the five “mothers” are thus: Barbarism, Scythianism, Hellenism, Judaism, Samaritanism.<sup>9</sup> From these, out of Hellenism are four heresies: Pythagoreans, Platonists, Stoics, Epicureans. (9) After the Law, before <the> incarnate *parousia* of Christ, are eleven, out of Judaism seven: Scribes, Pharisees, Sadducees, Ossaeans,

Nasaraeans, Hemerobaptists, Herodians.<sup>10</sup> And out of Samaritanism are four: Gorothenes, Sebuaeans, Essenes, Dositheans. Together after the Law were produced eleven out of Judaism and Samaritanism.<sup>11</sup>

### XIII

(1) So all those beginning after Adam, before the incarnate *parousia* of Christ and up to it, are twenty. After the incarnate *parousia* of Christ until the reign of Valentinian and Valens and Gratian, all the heresies, the ones falsely declaring the name of Christ for themselves, are sixty, thus being accounted: (2) Simonians, Menandrians, Satornilans, Basilideans, Nicolaitans, Gnostics (also being counted with them are the Stratiotics and Phibionites, Secundianitai among others, and Socratics with others, and Zacchaeans, and with them Koddians, (3) and Borborians <and Barbelites>); Carpocratians, Cerinthians (also known as Merinthians), Nazoraeans, Ebionites, Valentinians, Secundians (to whom are joined Epiphanes and Isidore); (4) Ptolemaeans, Marcosians, Colorbasians, Heracleonites, Ophites, Cainites, Sethians, Archontics, Cerdonians, Marcionites, Lucianists, Apelleans, Severians, Tatianists, (5) Encratites from Phrygia (also known as Montanists and Tascodrugians); Pepuzians (also known

as Priscillianists and Quintillianists, to whom are joined the Artotyrites); Quartodecimans, who make the Pascha one day of the year; Alogoi, who do not accept the Gospel and Apocalypse of John; Adamians, Sampsaeanes (also known as Elkasites); Theodotians, Melchizedekians, Bardesianists, Noetians, Valesians, Catharoi (also known as Navataeans and Novatianists, as they are called in Rome);<sup>1</sup> Angelics, Apostolics (<also known as> Apotactics); (6) Sabellians, Origenists, who do shameful things; Origenists, those of Adamantius; that [heresy] of Paul of Samosata, Manichaeans (also known as Acvanites); Hieracites, Melitians, who are a schism in Egypt; (7) Arians (also known as Ariomaniacs); the schism of the Audians, but not a heresy; Photinians, Marcellians, Semi-Arians, Pneumatomachoi, who blaspheme the Holy Spirit of God; (8) Aerians, Aetians (also known as Anomoeans, to whom is added Eunomius, but rather “Anomos”);<sup>2</sup> Dimoerites, who do not confess the perfect Incarnation of Christ (<also known as> Apollinarians); and those whom we called Antidicomarians, who say that holy Mary, ever virgin, after she gave birth to the Savior, had relations with Joseph; and those who offer bread<sup>3</sup> in her name, are called Collyridians; Messalians, to whom are added Martyrians (<who> are from the Greeks), Euphemites, and Satanians.<sup>4</sup>

#### XIV

(1) And frankly I was unfortunate and am unfortunate to present the names in sum of such heresies and to describe their

unlawful deeds, (2) and still of the two schisms, of the one in Egypt, I mean of the aforementioned Melitians, who separated themselves on account of the lapse of some that happened during the persecution, who, among their clergy, were accepted by ours after repentance. They are not in heresy.<sup>1</sup> (3) And those in Mesopotamia, the aforementioned Audians, in like manner are also a schism, but they do not have an alien faith, only amateurishly loving to dispute about [the phrase] “according to image,” not rebelling because of faith and not setting themselves apart because of some other thing. But according to an excessive desire for righteousness, indeed, because they do not commune with bishops and presbyters who have acquired gold and silver, and because they do celebrate the Pascha at the time when the Jews do, they both separate themselves because of these things and estrange themselves from the unity of the orthodox church. (4) For those who neither received the Holy Spirit nor learned the depths of God were broken off into these heresies and into the quibbling of schisms on account of a phrase. For, abandoning the truth, they marched toward many paths, at one time thinking one thing, at another time something else. (5) But the same holy Apostle [Paul] says, showing us through what cause he said this: “and we have received the Spirit of God, that we might know the things given to us from God. And what we say, not in words learned of human wisdom, but learned of the Holy Spirit, interpreting spiritual things to spiritual people,”<sup>2</sup> and what follows. Therefore, the Spirit of God is not alien from God.<sup>3</sup> For if he is alien from God, how does he search the depths of God? (6) But what will you say to me, O vainglorious man, waging war on yourself, in order that I might not proclaim the Holy Spirit of God? For why, O vainglorious man, do you wage war on the

invincible one? Why do you fight with the unconquerable one? "It is difficult for you to kick against goads."<sup>4</sup> You offend yourself and not the *Logos*; you convict yourself and not the Spirit; you alienate yourself from the grace of God, and not the Son from the Father nor the Holy Spirit from the Father and Son.<sup>5</sup>

## XV

(1) For altogether you speak in a clever way. For already I heard that even some people have vain thoughts, changing the truth of our God and Savior into blasphemy and saying: "He searches the depths of God, but he does not comprehend," on account of this statement not being added to the phrase, but the Apostle only said, 'He searches the depths of God.'<sup>1</sup> And 'he comprehends' is not added." (2) O so much folly! For was it necessary, O man driven mad, after the saying "he searches," to say, "he comprehends"? For according to your dim wit, would the matter have been found defective with this phrase <not> being added? (3) Now no excuse remains for you. For from everywhere Scripture joins the truth to the most pious man. For concerning the almighty God it is written thus, that "God tests the mind"<sup>2</sup> and "searching the inner chambers of the heart."<sup>3</sup> (4) And if he tests the "mind," does he not know what he tests? Or did he display all of his knowledge in the testing? "Searching the inner chambers of the heart," again does not add "comprehending." So if "he comprehends" is not added to the phrase, do I procure death for myself, having introduced "he does not comprehend" to the phrase, according to your argument, O fool? (5) So thus also concerning the Holy Spirit it has been said that "he searches,"<sup>4</sup> and it was not necessary to say also that

“he comprehends.” According to the same argument, it is clear that the knowledge of God and of the depths of God is in the Holy Spirit. Even if it does not say “he comprehends,” think the same thing with me and do not destroy your soul. (6) For in respect of the Father, one must not dare to say, “he searches and does not comprehend,” (for with the Son and the Holy Spirit, he created man: for the Trinity is always Trinity and never receives an addition); indeed, one must also think thus about the Holy Spirit. (7) For whenever it says, “Let us make man”<sup>5</sup> (“for in the beginning God made the heavens and the earth”),<sup>6</sup> it indicates the voice of the Father calling together [with Son and Spirit] for creation. And the saying “Let us make”<sup>7</sup> speaks not only, would I say, about the Son, <but> also <about> the Holy Spirit. (8) For thus it says, “by the word of the Lord the heavens were established, and by the breath of his mouth all their power.”<sup>8</sup> Therefore, the *Logos* creates together with the Father, and the Holy Spirit also creates together [with them].<sup>9</sup> (9) Therefore, does the one who made man, the almighty God, not know the things of man, “searching the inner chambers of the heart”?<sup>10</sup> But the passage, saying this, infers the greatest part of the knowledge of God, in order that someone of those sinning among us might not believe something has been hidden from God. For he knows man and the things of man.

## XVI

(1) Therefore, the Father “searches the inner chambers of the heart”<sup>1</sup> and knows; the Spirit “searches the depths of God”<sup>2</sup> and knows. For he reveals to the saints the mysteries of God, and he teaches in a profound way to glorify God. And he shows the incomprehensibility of this to his own. (2) Then, at any rate, the Spirit is not alien from God. For it [Scripture] did not say about the angels or the archangels, “searching the depths

of God.”<sup>3</sup> “For no one knows the day or the hour,”<sup>4</sup> says the Son of God, “neither the angels of heaven nor the Son, only the Father.”<sup>5</sup> (3) But fools, those who have not been adorned with the Holy Spirit, believe that something is not in the Father, wherefore it is not in the divinity of the Son. “For as the Father has life in himself, thus the Son has life in himself,”<sup>6</sup> and “All things of my Father are mine,”<sup>7</sup> says the same holy *Logos* of God.<sup>8</sup> (4) What are the things of the Father but these things: deity is of the Father; this is also of the Son. Life is of the Father; this is also of the Son. Light is of the Father; clearly it is also of the Son. Immortality is of the Father; in like manner it is also of the Son. Incomprehensibility is of the Father and of the Son.<sup>9</sup> (5) All the things of the Father are of the Son. Therefore, if the things of the Father are of him, then also the knowledge in the Father exists both in the Son and in the Holy Spirit. (6) And if someone believes the Son is ignorant of the day, let the stupid one learn and not blaspheme. For I offer knowledge to him, and he will know. Tell me, O beloved—for I call you “beloved.” For I hate no one except the Devil and the works of the Devil and wicked belief. I pray for you, in order that you might come to the truth of God and not destroy yourself in blasphemy against God. (7) For the statements of the holy God are profound, and with the Holy Spirit <knowledge> is given through gifts of grace. “For to one,” it says, “is the word of wisdom given, and to one the word of teaching,”<sup>10</sup> and what follows, “the same Spirit allotting to each as he wills,”<sup>11</sup> in order that he might show to you the

supreme authority<sup>12</sup> of the Holy Spirit. (8) For since the same Spirit gives gifts to all as he wills, therefore call on the Father, in order that he might reveal to you the Son; and call on the Son, in order that he might reveal to you the Father. And again call on the Father, in order that he might give to you the Son and reveal to you the Holy Spirit, and grant you to have him in you, in order that the Holy Spirit given in you might reveal to you all knowledge of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, in order that you might learn that in the Son there is no ignorance, nor in the Holy Spirit.

## XVII

(1) For even if angels are lacking greater authority and knowledge, God forbid that the Son of God and his Holy Spirit are lacking. Spiritually the Son speaks, the holy *Logos* who came from the Father to us. The soulishly-minded<sup>1</sup> are condemned, not thinking of the wisdom of the Son, or rather the word of wisdom—I ask you, and you tell me: (2) who is greater, the Father or that day about which he speaks? May you not dare to say that the Father is not greater. Therefore, if the Father is greater than both the day and the hour and all things that by him have come to pass or are going to pass, and no one fully knows him except the Son, what then is greater, to know the Father or to know that day? Clearly to know the Father. (3) So how is the one who knows the greater things lacking in the lesser things? Therefore, if he knows the Father, he knows absolutely the day also, and there is nothing of which the Son is lacking with respect to knowledge. (4) But you will say that the Father, who is greater, has the knowledge of all things, and the Son in no wise, just as he also says, “My Father is greater than I.”<sup>2</sup> But the Son says this, honoring the Father, as was fitting, having been greatly honored by the Father. For it was truly necessary that



the genuine Son honor his own Father, in order that he might demonstrate his genuineness. (5) How do you believe that he is greater? In shape or in mass, in time, in season, in worth, in divinity, in immortality, in eternity?<sup>3</sup> Do not believe these things. For nothing in the divinity is unequal with respect to the Son. But insofar as the Father is the Father and insofar as <the Son> is genuine Son, he honors his Father. (6) For the divinity is not borne in mass, that the Father might be greater in mass than the Son. Nor does he lapse in time, that the Father might be prior<sup>4</sup> to the Son. Nor in height is the Father ranked in proportion (for he encompasses all things, himself being encompassed by nothing), that the Son might be thought to have surpassed him. For "he sat at the right hand of the Father,"<sup>5</sup> and it [Scripture] did not say, "he entered into the Father," in order that it might put an end to Sabellius and might take down Arius from his blasphemy.<sup>6</sup>

## XVIII

(1) Because of this, do not seek the things that are not being sought, but honor the Son, in order that you might honor the Father. Hearing concerning God, "No one is good, except God alone,"<sup>1</sup> may you not dare, on account of the Son who exceedingly honors the Father, to declare that the Son is not good.<sup>2</sup> (2) For not even denying himself to be good, he says the Father is good, but in such a way more greatly he reveals himself in not wanting honor from men. But he offers honor to his own Father, in order that from the goodness of the Father the knowledge of the goodness of the Son of God might be known, he who has been begotten from the good Father God. (3) For there is much weakness for those who dare to say such a thing about the Son, even if he

said, "There is one who is good, God."<sup>3</sup> (4) For behold, in many ways the divine Scripture teaches us: calling good a poor and wise child;<sup>4</sup> and, "Good was Samuel with God and men";<sup>5</sup> and, "Good was Saul son of Kish from the tribe of Benjamin, highest of all Israel over shoulders and above";<sup>6</sup> and, "It is good to go to a house of feasting";<sup>7</sup> and, "Open, Lord, heaven, your good treasure";<sup>8</sup> and, "A good word over a gift";<sup>9</sup> and, "Good is the living dog over the dead lion";<sup>10</sup> and, "Good are two over one";<sup>11</sup> and, "Good is the end of words over the beginning";<sup>12</sup> and, "If you who are wicked know to give good gifts to your children,"<sup>13</sup> speaking about the fish and bread. (5) <So> how do you dare to think that the Son utterly denies his goodness and does not bear goodness on account of an abundance of honor <toward> his Father? (6) For he [Jesus] was seeing the one saying to him, "good teacher"<sup>14</sup> (the one saying with his mouth and not his heart), and wishing to shame him, because he [Jesus] was not persuaded by his lip service. But he exposed his heart, as it says in another place, "Why do you say to me, 'Lord, Lord,' and do not do my words?"<sup>15</sup> and in this way he was wishing to shame him. For he [the man] was calling him "good teacher" but was not abiding in faith in him [Jesus] to believe in his goodness.

## XIX

(1) Therefore, the holy *Logos* himself, the living one, the one who is enhypostatic,<sup>1</sup> the heavenly king, the genuine Son, the one <who is> always with the Father, the one who came forth from the Father, the "reflection of his glory, the impress of his *hypostasis*,"<sup>2</sup> "the image of the Father" in truth,<sup>3</sup> the one enthroned

with the one who begot,<sup>4</sup> “of whose kingdom there will be no end,”<sup>5</sup> (2) “the judge of the living and the dead,”<sup>6</sup> the one who is wisdom from wisdom, the one who is the fount from fount (it says, “Me, they have left behind, the fount of living water, and they dug up shattered cisterns for themselves”),<sup>7</sup> the ever-flowing river, the “one gladdening the city of God with his movements,”<sup>8</sup> the one who came forth from the fount, “out of whom,” it says, “rivers flow from his heart,”<sup>9</sup> (3) the scepter of David, the branch of Jesse, the blossom from it, the lion, the king from the tribe of Judah, (4) the rational sheep, the “living stone,”<sup>10</sup> the “angel of great counsel,”<sup>11</sup> the one who has become man in truth and is God in truth, who did not change his nature, who did not alter his divinity, the one who was begotten in flesh, the *Logos* who was made flesh, the “*Logos* who became flesh,”<sup>12</sup> (5) the one who has flesh in the midst of the “becoming.” (For it does not say, “the *Logos*, the one who came to be.” But after the saying “the *Logos*,” unequivocally it puts the [word] “flesh.” But after “flesh” it says “he became,” in order that the “he became” might be approved from Mary, in order that the *Logos* might be thought as coming down from on high from the Father). (6) This one is the holy, living *Logos*, God from the Father, “the angel of great counsel,”<sup>13</sup> the one who announces the things of the counsel of the Father, “Father of the coming eternity.”<sup>14</sup> He himself said, “No one knows the day and the hour, neither the angels in heaven.”<sup>15</sup> For they do not know that the Son says in a mystical sense,<sup>16</sup> “except

only the Father.”<sup>17</sup> (7) Therefore, if the Son knows the Father, and the Father is greater than the day and the hour, and no one disagrees, how then is the one knowing the greater thing ignorant of the lesser?<sup>18</sup> For no one knows the Father except the Son, and no one knows the Son except the Father.<sup>19</sup> (8) For as the Father is great, because he knows the Son, thus also the Son is great, because he knows the Father. Therefore, if he knows the Father, the greater thing, how is he ignorant of a smaller thing, that is, the day and the hour? Search the divine Scriptures and learn the power of the Holy Spirit, and the Spirit himself, the one who knows the Father and the Son, will reveal to you the knowledge of the *Logos*, the Son of God, in order that you might not be led astray from the truth and destroy your soul.

## XX

(1) For there are two “knowledges” in divine Scripture, two forms of knowledge, one according to activity and one according to knowledge.<sup>1</sup> And in order that I might present like things from illustrations (for the explaining away, through many, of your erroneous thinking and that of those thinking this), (2) learn what the Scripture says concerning Adam: “They were,” it says, “naked in Paradise and were not ashamed.”<sup>2</sup> (3) And they were not blind, for they were seeing. For if they were not seeing, how did they see the tree, that was “good to eat and ripe for understanding”?<sup>3</sup> “And taking,” it says, “the woman ate and also gave to her husband, the one with her.”<sup>4</sup> (4) So then they were not blind, but their eyes were opened. And being naked, seeing, they were

not ashamed, and they knew themselves, that they were naked. And they knew according to “knowledge” and not according to action.<sup>5</sup> (5) For after the expulsion from Paradise, having eaten of the tree, after much time it says, “Adam knew Eve, his wife.”<sup>6</sup> (6) Therefore, how will this be? And indeed they were seeing one another being naked and knew themselves by sight, but not by action. But Scripture called the union with one another “knowledge.”<sup>7</sup> (7) But it knows to call “knowledge” as “knowledge.”<sup>8</sup> For again it says thus: “Jacob knew Leah his wife, and conceiving she gave birth.”<sup>9</sup> And he “knew” her first, for he was with her seven years tending the sheep of Laban, her father. He knew the knowledge through sight and through knowledge,<sup>10</sup> but he did <not> know her through action. (8) “And he knew Rachel his wife,”<sup>11</sup> and again <in> another place: “And David grew old,” it says, “and they were covering him with clothes, and he was not warmed. And they said, ‘Let a beautiful virgin be sought for the king.’”<sup>12</sup> And Abishag the Shunammite was found. And it says, “She was brought to the king, and she lay with him and thoroughly warmed him. And David did not know her,”<sup>13</sup> the one with him, the one in bodily contact with him and lying at his side. Then in what way does it say “knowledge”?<sup>14</sup> (9) That through sight or through action? And “the Lord knew those who are his.”<sup>15</sup> So, then, is he ignorant of those who are not? And, “Away from me, doer of lawlessness, for I never knew you.”<sup>16</sup> Then is there ignorance in the Son of God? (10) And again “I knew you of all of the nations.”<sup>17</sup> So, then, is he ignorant of the remaining nations? “By no means!”<sup>18</sup> But the divine Scripture knows “knowledge,”<sup>19</sup> one according to knowledge, another according to action.

## XXI

(1) So when the Only-begotten, who fulfills the will of the Father, already pointed out all things which have been completed, for the Father knew the hour and the day, knew it both according to knowledge and according to action.<sup>1</sup> For he himself knows all things, and in the Son saying, "The Father has given all judgment to the Son,"<sup>2</sup> although not judging on account of having given [this] to the Son, he himself [nevertheless] judges. For God has not been alienated from judging those who are being judged, and in not judging, the Father has already judged. (2) The Son knows when it comes: for he brings the day itself, and he determines and leads and completes [it]. For it [Scripture] says, "As a thief in the night that day comes,"<sup>3</sup> and it says, "You are not in darkness, that the day may seize you in blindness."<sup>4</sup> (3) So if the slaves of Christ are children of the day, then is the Son himself, who brings the day, ignorant, in order that the day may seize him, and he rather may not bring the day? Who thinking these things, will not be blaspheming, not reckoning the things that are clear about Father and Son? (4) And the Father knows the day and the hour according to two means, according to knowledge<sup>5</sup> and according to action. For he knows when it [the day] comes; and again he has already judged ordaining that the Son judge, and he knew according to action. (5) The Son of God knows when it comes, and he himself brings it and is not ignorant. But he did not yet do this according to knowledge,<sup>6</sup> that is to say, <he did not yet know> according to action. For still the impious are impious, and the unbelievers are unbelievers; and the wicked believers blaspheme, and the Devil operates. And sinful things come to be, and injustice rules; and judgment is slow, until he may come and may know

it [judgment] according to action, and may wreak vengeance, and may save those in truth who hope in him and do not blaspheme his divinity, and that of the Father and the Holy Spirit.

## XXII

(1) From the holy angels such a worthiness is lacking, according to the two ways. For they are held in honor, having obtained this from the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, but this is lacking for them: for they do not know when the things determined happen. For in his own authority the Father established the times. If the Father is in the Son and the Son in the Father, then the authority, that which is in the Father, is not lacking from the Son. But it is lacking from the angels. (2) For angels and archangels and powers are created, but the Father is uncreated; the Son is uncreated; the Spirit of God is uncreated. (3) So the angels do not know, either according to knowledge or according to action, the day and the hour. For they do not know when the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit will to bring forth the day, and they do not know according to the knowledge of action: for they were not yet ordered to go out and to gather together the weeds for punishment and to bind them in bundles, bundles in order to light them in an unquenchable fire.<sup>1</sup> (4) Therefore, they did not yet do [this] nor do they know, but the Father knows and did [this]. And the Son knows, but did not yet do. That is to say, "except only the Father, neither the angels nor the Son."<sup>2</sup> (5) Let us think on the meaning of the Scripture, in order that the letter might not be death for us. For it says, "The letter will kill, but the Spirit makes alive."<sup>3</sup> Let us receive the Spirit, in order that we might be aided from the letter. For the letter will not kill, for in the letter is life. But it will kill the one who approaches the letter without understanding and not having the Spirit who shows the way, the one who opens the letter and reveals what is in it. (6) So this holy Father gave his only-begotten, genuine Son, who has been begotten from him,

and his Holy Spirit, to his holy Church in one knowledge of harmony, in one bond of perfection, in order that in the name of the perfect Father and God we might receive the seal. And in the name of the perfect Son and of God and in the name of the divine and perfect Spirit we might receive the seal. (7) O holy Trinity, which is reckoned [as three], Trinity, which is reckoned in one name. For it is not said one and two, nor one and one,<sup>4</sup> but unity<sup>5</sup> in Trinity and Trinity in unity, singly, mononymically,<sup>6</sup> one God, Father in Son, Son in Father with Holy Spirit.<sup>7</sup>

### XXIII

(1) Summon for me the witnesses of the truth! Summon for me the youths, the ones who were saved from the furnace of Babylonia,<sup>1</sup> the ones who were deemed worthy to be thrown into the fire, but who were not consumed, who did not extinguish the fire, in order that they might not be suspected of contriving in opposition new things, but who were in the fire and in the fire were not consumed on account of their right faith. And God teaches us through them: on the one hand, what things are created; on the other hand, what are uncreated, what things are made, what things did not come to be, what things are eternal, what things are from them, which came to be. (2) Such saved youths desired to display their grateful thoughts to God who saved them, in whom from the beginning they had hoped and did not doubt, and they did not bow their heads to the idol, to the insolence of the king and to his despotism. (3) And when they wished to ascribe something to God, having searched out the deep things with the Holy Spirit in their hearts, being holy men, they thought about both heaven and all things in it, and the earth and all things on it and all things so far as they exist, that they are not worthy to be offered to God for a sacrifice (for they did not have authority to offer to God things on behalf of themselves). (4) And according to worth and according to authority, they wish only to sing hymns to



God (for this is what has been written: “make offerings of praise” and “an offering of praise will honor me”),<sup>2</sup> already turning the Old Testament into the New, having been spurred on by the Holy Spirit, having neither sacrifices of animals nor the use of burnt-offerings (for they say, “There is not a means of offering, neither a sacrifice nor an altar,”<sup>3</sup> as with all who have been restrained). (5) But wishing to offer such praise and conceding their limitations, they behaved humbly (“for all who exalt themselves will be humbled, and all humbling themselves will be exalted”: with the gift of their salvation they receive also this gift of humility),<sup>4</sup> and they wish to offer praise to God and not to lose heart. (6) And approving themselves for the unspeakable praise of God, they thought fit to include together with themselves the creation for praise, and they begin to speak having included together all creation.

## XXIV

(1) Distinguishing the things made from the one who made and the things created from the one who created, they say, “Bless the Lord, all you works of the Lord.”<sup>1</sup> (2) They spoke about all things and omitted nothing, in order that the Holy Spirit might characterize the perfect knowledge in regard to knowing, what sort is divine and what sort came to be by God, in order that we might not mix with the eternal the things which came to be out of nothing. In order that we might not destroy our own thinking, he brought together all things in an accounting. For the Holy Spirit revealed to them, (3) as those deemed worthy at the same time to be with the angels <and> having become companions with angels, the things in heaven and on the earth and the things beneath the earth, and then they were not ignorant. (4) And the same holy youths say, as they said before: “Bless the Lord, all you works of the Lord,”<sup>2</sup> and they began

to reckon and to distinguish what are the works, what are the things that have made, what are the things working, and what things were worked. (5) And they accounted for heaven, earth, waters above heaven, and angels (for the angels are created) and thrones and powers (for these are created), sun, moon (for these were made and are not uncreated), clouds and rain, winds, snow, lightning, thunder, earth, sea, streams, depths, rivers, all humanity, mountains, birds of the sky, flocks and animals, souls of the devout, spirits of the just, Hananiah, Azariah, Mishael, priests and slaves of God. (6) For all these things are made and created, having come into being by God through the *Logos* and the Holy Spirit: “for by the word of the Lord the heavens were established and by the breath of his mouth all their power.”<sup>3</sup> (7) See, beloved brother, how they accounted for all things, being borne by the Holy Spirit; and they did not account the Son among the things made, and neither the Holy Spirit.<sup>4</sup> But they knew the same divinity to be in Trinity and the same Trinity to be in one divinity. And they praised the Father in the Son, and Son in the Father with the Holy Spirit, one holiness, one worship, one divinity, one praise.

## XXV

(1) But altogether the Devil dares to rouse this in men, to allege falsely the insolence of unbelief for the holy young men, and to say: “They did not know to speak the name of the Holy Spirit. For they were Jews, and they did not know the Son, being Jews.” (2) At once the words put to shame the unbelief of the false believers. For it says, “And the face of the fourth person was as the face of a Son of God.”<sup>1</sup> Behold the name of “Son of God.” Then there is no ignorance concerning this. And before the time in the oven, [it says] that “Daniel was full of the Holy Spirit and said, ‘I am clear of her blood,’ and they turned their

attention to the tribunal";<sup>2</sup> and he, being filled with the Holy Spirit, judged the elders. (3) So then they knew the Son, and they knew the Father and the Holy Spirit. And not on account of ignorance were they not saying the names, but for the sake of certainty. For <it says,> "Bless the Lord, all you works of the Lord,"<sup>3</sup> and they were not saying, "Bless the Lord, [you] Son of God," nor, "Bless the Lord, [you] Holy Spirit," but, "Bless the Lord, all you works of the Lord."<sup>4</sup> (4) And someone among those searching for excuses for themselves should not say: "Because they did not say Cherubim or Seraphim, then these are not the works of God." For the divine word anticipated to safeguard all things against those thinking of contrivances for themselves, knowing in advance the outrage against the young men themselves. (5) For three times the same holy youths repeated the hymn, citing the created and made things in a hymn of God and first having said, "Blessed are you, Lord, God of our fathers, and your name is to be praised and exalted highly forever,"<sup>5</sup> then after other things, "Blessed are you, the one seated upon the Cherubim,"<sup>6</sup> and again, "Blessed are you, the one seated on the throne of glory of your kingdom,"<sup>7</sup> and, "Blessed are you, the one who sees the depths, seated upon the Cherubim."<sup>8</sup> (6) In order that from the saying "the throne," you might think Seraphim and Cherubim, and from the name of the Cherubim and of the depths and of the sanctified throne, and from all the remaining names, you might think, from the accounting of all the things that were named, that from the works they are being accounted for together with the others. For having invoked all these things in a hymn, straightaway they offer, saying: "Bless the Lord, all you works of the Lord,"<sup>9</sup> in order that Gabriel and Michael might bless the Father and Son and Holy Spirit.

## XXVI

(1) Revered angels in heaven sing the triumphal hymn, with the Seraphim and Cherubim, glorifying the Trinity as having the same glory, equal rank, and the same substance,<sup>1</sup> and saying, "Holy, Holy, Holy,"<sup>2</sup> producing three expressions, speaking in unity and not polynymically.<sup>3</sup> (2) For they do not say "holy" four times, in order that they not add to the name of the Trinity. They do not say "holy" twice, in order that the glory of the perfection might not be lacking, but three times, in order that they might sanctify the Father and Son and Holy Spirit with the same honor. (3) And they do not say "holy" and "semi-holy," but in the same way they say "holy," with one expression and one word and one perfection, glorifying together Trinity in unity, and unity in Trinity. (4) For the Only-begotten of God came to teach us this knowledge; the Holy Spirit proclaimed this understanding to us; the Father revealed this perfection to us. In truth the *Logos* made flesh gave as a gift this life to us; the Holy Spirit built this dwelling for us. (5) "For if someone builds on this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, straw ..." <sup>4</sup> For there is not another foundation: "For no one is able to lay another foundation besides the one laid, which is Jesus Christ,"<sup>5</sup> the Son of God, "of whose dwelling we are, and of whose field we are,"<sup>6</sup> "built upon the foundation of the prophets and the apostles,"<sup>7</sup> of knowing that our dwelling is solid in truth and that our foundation is eternal and not beginning to be. (6) But "the knowledge is not in all,"<sup>8</sup> according to the apostolic word, but in those deemed worthy by the Holy Spirit to know the mysteries of the truth. (7) For he, who revealed himself and his Father and the Holy Spirit, casting blame on some who were in ignorance, was saying: "You do not know the Scrip-

tures nor their power";<sup>9</sup> and again elsewhere, "The one who has ears to hear, let him hear."<sup>10</sup> And again, "If you knew who is the one seeking [something] to drink from you, you would seek,"<sup>11</sup> he was saying to the Samaritan woman, and again, "You<sup>12</sup> do not know of what spirit you are."<sup>13</sup> (8) So then, "The knowledge is not in all":<sup>14</sup> "For each one has distinctive gifts from God."<sup>15</sup> And the holy word says, "To whom has been given much, much will be demanded of him,"<sup>16</sup> as with some receiving few, some not at all, and others having received much.

## XXVII

(1) And because these things are thus, one is able to discover from what was said in the divine Scriptures. For because the divine Scripture speaks most things spiritually, particularly concerning our life, and I say concerning the knowledge of the Lord, how much deeper and more extraordinary are the statements securing our soul; these have come together as a stumbling-block to those who have not laid hold of the knowledge of God, (2) as the prophet Hosea said, "Who is intelligent and will understand these things?"<sup>1</sup> and, "To whom the word of knowledge of the Lord is given, he will know the very things: that straight are the ways of the Lord, and the impious will stumble on them."<sup>2</sup> (3) For they are straight, but the impious stumble <on> the ways of the Lord, with these things being innocent of being a stumbling-block to men. At any rate, the ones stumbling on the stone of stumbling stumble indiscriminately: "for they stumbled on the stone of stumbling"<sup>3</sup> and fell. (4) For straightaway the Jews, seeing the only-begotten Son of God, who came in flesh performing miracles, and, since they were not deemed worthy of the heavenly knowledge, were saying: "Who is this man, who speaks blasphemy?"<sup>4</sup> and at another time, "If

this man were from God, he would not break the Sabbath.”<sup>5</sup> So, then, they were ignorant of the divinity, and they were believing him only a mere man.<sup>6</sup> (5) But those who even knew God himself, <but> being ignorant of his perfect glory, having heard the statements which were said in depth concerning him and concerning the economy undertaken for our salvation, erring against his divinity, hold false beliefs.<sup>7</sup> (6) For their thinking tripped them up. For as the Jews, having heard, erred, thus also they, hearing, were erring. For the former [the Jews] were seeing what was said before in the prophets. But being ignorant that they [things said in prophets] were fulfilled in the incarnate *parousia* of Christ, they stirred up trouble. (7) And the latter [Arians], again hearing what was said before on account of his economy, but merely thinking such things, stir trouble and propose, to their own undoing, the things <which were said> in regard to our “dwelling,” and they say: but he [Christ] said, “I am leaving to my God and your God and my Father and your Father.”<sup>8</sup> “You see that he also is one of the created beings,” they dare to say blaspheming.<sup>9</sup>

## XXVIII

(1) Therefore, you see that the economy of the incarnate *parousia* causes them to fall. For they might have received from the beginning and might have asked about times or seasons: “for

his pathways," it says, "are from ancient days."<sup>1</sup> Therefore, let us observe the things before these. The Father says, "Let us make man according to our image and according to our likeness,"<sup>2</sup> and he did not say, "Let me make man according to my image."<sup>3</sup> (2) Be reprov'd, you who have a heart that has been hardened, according to what has been written, "but their hearts were hardened,"<sup>4</sup> and learn that the Son is he who is always with the Father. For the saying "Let us make"<sup>5</sup> is not indicative of one, but of Father speaking to the Son. (3) Be reprov'd also, you who say that the Son is unlike<sup>6</sup> the Father. For in the saying itself "according to our image,"<sup>7</sup> he did not distinguish a likeness of Son from that of Father, nor did he divide anything from the identity of the Father with the Son. For he did not say, "according to my image" or "according to your image," but he indicated one *ousia* and one divinity of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. For he says, "according to our image and likeness,"<sup>8</sup> so that it is one divinity of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and that man has come to be according to the image of the one divinity of Father and Son and Holy Spirit.<sup>9</sup> (4) Be reprov'd also, Arius, and hear the Father, who says to the Son, "Let us make,"<sup>10</sup> calling the Son "co-creator."<sup>11</sup> For often I have heard some people saying that the Son made nothing, but "through him came to be" the things which came to be.<sup>12</sup> But if it came to be through him, he also made it, as it has been demonstrated clearly. (5) For the architect of all things, the *Logos*, is the maker, and through him the Father works. For let them listen to him who clearly says, "My Father works until now, and I

am working.”<sup>13</sup> And in this way he calls his Father “co-creator,” in saying this. (6) But again do not let your thinking deceive you, and do not draw near to the Son as if to a servant and not to a true master. For if he was a slave and not true master, how did the one who came, being in the form of God, assume the form of a slave?<sup>14</sup> And how could he empty himself, if he did not have completion?<sup>15</sup> So as to perfect God, draw near to the Son, even to the genuine Son who is from beside the Father.

## XXIX

(1) And do not speak through malice. But the Father said to the Son, “Let us make,”<sup>1</sup> and the Son did not say to the Father, “Let us make.” And the Son does not say, “I work and my Father works,” but he orders the Father first, the one who speaks and works. (2) For you say this foolishly, and you wish to think that the divine is many beginnings. There is one beginning and the same one divinity, and nowhere here does the Son say “my God.”<sup>2</sup> I speak not denying the honor of the Son toward his Father, but [I speak] about how the ordering<sup>3</sup> of the divinity holds. (3) And again it says, “Adam heard God walking in Paradise in the evening.”<sup>4</sup> And nowhere does the Son say, “my God and your God,”<sup>5</sup> but he says here “God,” complete in himself.<sup>6</sup> (4) And again, “and God spoke to Noah,”<sup>7</sup> and nowhere is such a phrase mentioned. (5) “And God appeared,” it says, “to Abraham, with him sitting near to the tree at Mamre. And behold, three men [appeared], and he ran to meet them and bowed to the earth to worship and said: ‘If I have found favor before you,’”<sup>8</sup> in order that he might point out the one God, and the two others following him, his angels. (6) For concerning this



also <it says>, “God went up from Abraham.”<sup>9</sup> And the very one who came to him says, “Shall I hide something from my child Abraham?”<sup>10</sup> “An outcry,” it says, “of Sodom and Gomorrah to me has increased,”<sup>11</sup> and what follows. And nowhere does it mention in those times [the phrase] “my God and your God.”<sup>12</sup> (7) “And two men entered into Sodom,”<sup>13</sup> as the one who went up above from Abraham left the two entering into Sodom for its destruction. Concerning the “one who went up above,”<sup>14</sup> the Scripture says, “and the Lord rained down on Sodom and Gomorrah, fire and brimstone from the Lord.”<sup>15</sup> And there was no use of the phrase that says, “my God and your God.”<sup>16</sup> (8) And Moses says in his song, “and let all the angels of God bow down and worship him.”<sup>17</sup> If it says “angels of God” and “fire from the Lord,” and does not say “angels” only, [it does] in order that it might point out one sovereign authority of the Father and of the Son, with the angels not having a share in the beginnings, but existing from God, bowing down to worship the Son and God. For an angel does not bow down to worship an angel. And nowhere here is “my God and your God.”<sup>18</sup>

### XXX

(1) David says, “The Lord said to my Lord, ‘Sit at my right hand, until I have made your enemies a stool for your feet.’”<sup>1</sup> “Lord,” it says, “to my Lord”: for the economy of the flesh was not yet, on account of which there was a need for him to say “my God and your God.”<sup>2</sup> (2) “Behold, the virgin will conceive in her womb and will bear a son, and you shall call his name Emmanuel, which is translated, ‘God with us.’”<sup>3</sup> And there was not yet <the need> for saying “my God and your God.”<sup>4</sup> (3) And “you, Bethlehem, home of Ephrathah, are not one of the smallest among the thousands in Judah. For from you will come for

me the one to rule in Israel, and his paths are from the beginning, from ancient days,"<sup>5</sup> and according to other copies, "and you Bethlehem, not the smallest among the chiefs of Judah. For from you will come one leading, and he will shepherd my people Israel."<sup>6</sup> And you see that there was not yet need to say "my God and your God."<sup>7</sup> (4) But when the prophecy of Jeremiah and Isaiah was fulfilled in like manner, that the *Logos* was born from a virgin and had flesh, just as Jeremiah says, "and he is a man. And who will know him?"<sup>8</sup> Then having partaken of the flesh and without the seed of man, from the *Theotokos* Mary, having formed the same holy flesh for himself (according to that which was said "came to be from a woman"),<sup>9</sup> and having partaken of that which is ours on our behalf, he says, "my God."<sup>10</sup> (5) Because of the eternality of his genuineness according to his nature, he says, "my Father," and because of his grace to his disciples, "your Father." But because of the nature of his disciples, in reference to his divinity and that of his eternal Father, [he says] "your God."<sup>11</sup> (6) For he is God of the disciples and Father of the Lord according to nature, but Father of the disciples according to grace.<sup>12</sup> And the Father, on account of the flesh, is God of the Son, but he is Father on account of the eternality and incomprehensibility of his generation and genuineness, because in truth he is his Father, who begot him non-temporally and without beginning according to the divinity.<sup>13</sup> (7) It was necessary to say his "God," on account of the economy, which he carried out for our sake, he who is always with the Father, the *Logos* begotten without beginning, but in the flesh from Mary

at the end of days, born according to flesh from Mary, the same holy Virgin, through the Holy Spirit.

### XXXI

(1) Therefore, may they think about the depths of the action of God, and may they not turn his grace into ingratitude, reckoning his salvation for us a disgrace, against the ineffable and incomprehensible nature of God. (2) But, they say, concerning God it has been written: "He will neither hunger nor thirst, nor is there a searching of his purpose,"<sup>1</sup> and concerning the Son, that he hungered in the desert to the point of temptation.<sup>2</sup> And it says, "Our God will not grow weary,"<sup>3</sup> but the Lord Jesus grew weary on the journey.<sup>4</sup> And "The one who protects Israel will neither slumber nor sleep,"<sup>5</sup> but it says the Lord slept in the boat.<sup>6</sup> (3) O how vain are the opinions of those who reckon such things! For not only did the holy *Logos*, who came on our behalf, take up our burdens, but he also became subject to [human] contact and assumed flesh, and he was found a man and was seized by the scribes. And, "I gave my back to the whip, and I did not turn my face away from the disgrace of those spitting."<sup>7</sup> (4) But also "he wept."<sup>8</sup> It is found in the Gospel according to Luke in unrevised copies (and the holy Irenaeus has used the testimony in his *Against Heresies* against those who said that Christ has shown himself [only] in appearance, but the orthodox have removed the passage, frightened and not thinking about the end of it [the passage] and its most powerful meaning). (5) And, "Having come to be in agony he sweated, and his sweat became as drops

of blood, and an angel appeared strengthening him.”<sup>9</sup> (6) Not only this, but also as a man he asked: “Where have you placed Lazarus?”<sup>10</sup> and concerning the one hemorrhaging blood, “Who touched me?”<sup>11</sup> and concerning those seeking him, “Whom do you seek?”<sup>12</sup> But also as a man he asked his disciples: “Who do men say that I am, the Son of Man?”<sup>13</sup> but also he was saying, “How many loaves have you among yourselves?”<sup>14</sup> (7) And having grown weary from the journey, he sat down by the well in Samaria, but also [it says]: “The child was growing and becoming strong in spirit”,<sup>15</sup> and “Jesus was advancing in age and in wisdom”,<sup>16</sup> and “Before the child knows to call ‘father’ or ‘mother,’ he will take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria.”<sup>17</sup> (8) He who is wisdom also “teaching men knowledge and planted the ear in man,”<sup>18</sup> and articulating speech in the sons of men, “and having made the tongue of the speechless clear.”<sup>19</sup> All such things he endured on our behalf, in order that having preserved the entire ordering of the Incarnation assumed on our behalf, he might not conceal the character of the truth.

## XXXII

(1) But in order that we might not allow the testimonies, which we presented (as from the face of those who collected

from the divine Scriptures because of opposition against the truth), which are being contradicted and being thought about wickedly by them, thus to be uninterpreted, of each I will speak about the spiritual sense<sup>1</sup> of the meaning in it, for which cause thus [each] has been spoken about in a human way. (2) And again we will speak, <already> having spoken many things on “my God and your God,”<sup>2</sup> since it can be said reasonably that for the one having a mind, he knows from the very ordering. (3) “For he is a man, and who will know him?”<sup>3</sup> In this the divine Scripture brings to light two things, both what is visible and what is invisible: on account of what is seen on the one hand it says reasonably “my God,”<sup>4</sup> and on account of what is unseen on the other hand it says, “my Father,” neither of which result is contradictory to reason.<sup>5</sup> (4) For how, if he was a man, was he not known? But if he was not a man, how as a man was he spoken of? (5) For altogether everyone who came to be from men is known by men, by the one who gave birth to him, by his family, by his household, by his neighbors, by his comrades or fellow citizens. (6) And this is not able to be fulfilled in a mere man, but it is fulfilled in the divine *Logos* and Son of God, in the saying, “he is a man,”<sup>6</sup> in truth, “who will know him?”<sup>7</sup> because he is God. For which reason he partook with men, and as God he is unknown by men on account of his incomprehensibility. (7) But he was a man from Mary in truth, having been born apart from the seed of man: “and the virgin,” it says, (for the prophet was declaring the future before that time) “will bear in her womb and bring a child into the world.”<sup>8</sup> (8) Therefore, if she was a virgin, not from men was the economy of the conception, because of what was said before this time to Ahaz, “a sign will be sought by you in the deep or in the heights.”<sup>9</sup> The one of humble mind says, “I will not ask nor will I test the Lord my God,”<sup>10</sup> having declined the sign to be sought. (9) Straight-

away, on account of that sign which was not sought, God, who presents great gifts to men, freely gives twice: from on high he sent the *Logos* by his own will and by the very will of the *Logos* himself, and from the depths he ordained the economy of the flesh by his own good pleasure with the *Logos* himself. (10) For it later says, "and they will call his name Emmanuel."<sup>11</sup> And it did not say "I will call," but "they will call." For God, the one ever unknown by them, was revealed to men. But he does not receive the name recently: for it did not say, "I will call his name Emmanuel," but "they will call."<sup>12</sup>

### XXXIII

(1) The phrase is "came to be from a woman,"<sup>1</sup> just as I have explained above, in order that in "from a woman," "came to be" might be fulfilled, and that the eternal *Logos* might be shown clearly to all. And if "he will not thirst"<sup>2</sup> is a word [said] concerning God, but concerning the Son, that he "hungered and thirsted,"<sup>3</sup> then there is a need for this to be treated by us. (2) For how was the economy found to be in truth, if he was not having the necessary custom of the incarnate state? In this it [the Scripture] showed to us the solutions to all of the questions of the heretics. (3) For straightaway it destroyed the opinion of the Manichaeans: for in the saying, "to eat" and "to drink," it indicates true flesh. It destroyed the way of the Lucianists and the power of Arius: (4) for Lucian and all Lucianists deny that the Son of God has assumed a soul, and they say he has had only flesh, in order that they might actually attribute human passion to the God-*Logos*, thirst and hunger, labor and weeping, pain and distress, and as much as pertains to his incarnate *parousia*.<sup>4</sup> But it would be foolish to reckon these things to the divinity of the Son of God. (5) But,

they say, “flesh” existing in accordance to itself neither eats nor drinks nor labors nor does any other things. And I myself agree that flesh in accordance to itself does not have these things. (6) But the *Logos* who came was possessing the entire economy, both flesh and soul and as much as is in a man.<sup>5</sup> Part of the soul and of the flesh was hunger and labor, thirst and pain, and the other things. (7) For he weeps, in order that he might put to shame the error of the Manichaeon, because he had not been clothed with the body in appearance, but in truth.<sup>6</sup> And he thirsts, in order that he might show that he was possessing not only the flesh, but also the soul. For his divinity did not thirst anywhere, <but in the flesh> and in the soul he thirsted and wearied from the journey because of the ordering of the flesh and of the soul.<sup>7</sup>

#### XXXIV

(1) That the *Logos* came, having body and soul, let the divine Scriptures, both old and new, persuade them. For David says directly concerning him, and Peter agrees with David: “You will not allow my soul into Hades, nor will you give your holy one to experience ruin”:<sup>1</sup> in order that the composition of the Lord’s-man would be thought about and the knowledge concerning him might become clear to us, in order that he might unite the soul with the divinity <along with the flesh> to be buried together for three days, in order that he might show the holy flesh, and [show that] the divinity with the soul has perfected the mystery irrepressibly in Hades.<sup>2</sup> (2) There is somewhere

another testimony that says thus: "among the dead, free."<sup>3</sup> The word "free" is not indicative of Hades ruling over him, but that by his own will he has descended as far as Hades with his soul. And Peter says, "because he was not able to be ruled by it,"<sup>4</sup> that is, by Hades.<sup>5</sup> (3) And the Savior himself says: "I have authority to take up my soul and to lay it down,"<sup>6</sup> and, "I am the good shepherd, the one who lays down his soul for his sheep";<sup>7</sup> and, "My soul is troubled," he says; "What should I say?" (as in doubt he was saying, "What should I say?"): "'Father, save me from this hour'? But because of this I came to this hour,"<sup>8</sup> (4) in order that he might show that his divinity had come to this willingly. He says the phrase "is troubled,"<sup>9</sup> in order that the form of the truth of his incarnate *parousia* might not <be falsified>. (5) For the incarnate *parousia* was not in appearance, but in the manner of a great king waging war against one more inferior, who knows that his enemy, if he should see him coming in power and with great strength, will beg off and will turn to flight and will destroy many lands of his [the king's] subjects. And because of this, in his wisdom he feigns excuses and turns his back and flees, until the enemy taking up courage might be persuaded that the king is cowardly and powerless and might pursue him. And the king, turning himself around suddenly, behind the entire body of men of his force, awaits the weak and opposing [force]. (6) And thus our Lord did not fear death, the one who, before he came for suffering, indicated in his journey that the Son of Man was going to be given over and to be crucified and to rise on the third day. And with Peter saying, "Propitiously for you Lord, this shall not be for you," he rebuked him, saying, "Get behind me, Satan," "because you do not think the things of God, but the things of man."<sup>10</sup> (7) So the one who foretells these things and who, for the sake of this, comes to it, in what way does he later pray that the cup might bypass him: in order that he might not drink?<sup>11</sup> The one who spoke concerning his



death before dying, for the sake of his not being suspected a liar, should not have been able to pray that the cup might bypass him. (8) But he challenges the opponent through such a sight,<sup>12</sup> in order that, because that one suspected that the Savior had feared death, he might bring forth death to himself through the economy for salvation for those who are dying.<sup>13</sup> (9) But if you might have heard that the Lord has died, know how the passion of his death has been fulfilled. For the chief of the apostles, Peter, interprets for you the purpose of his death, saying, "put to death in flesh, but made alive in spirit."<sup>14</sup> For his divinity, which experienced suffering in flesh, is impassible and was impassible and remained impassible, with an impassibility that has not been changed and with an eternity that has not been altered.

### XXXV

(1) And again the vainglorious might say: "Not from such statements are you able to persuade us that Christ possessed a soul. For we have found above in the divine Scriptures, as Isaiah says, [speaking] from the person<sup>1</sup> of God and the Father concerning the Only-begotten: 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, whom my soul loved.'"<sup>2</sup> (2) What will we think concerning the Father, that he has assumed a soul in himself or that he possesses a soul? But who, being a fool, will think this concerning the Father? So what do they say? "Clearly the statement was spoken more figuratively." (3) Therefore, if they say what was said concerning the Father was more figurative, then it is also necessary to understand the same thing concerning the Son. For if he says that "My soul is troubled,"<sup>3</sup> and "<I have the authority> to lay down my soul and to take it up,"<sup>4</sup> then he was not possessing, they say, a soul, but what was said was more figurative.<sup>5</sup> (4) And it seems that their syllogistic thought says

something, <but they did not persuade us?> because the truth is self-supporting from many proofs. For each way [of speaking] is understood from the [literary] form. For about the Father one must not dare [to say this], since he did not bear flesh. With the flesh being confessed by the Lucianists or Arians, there is no doubt. (5) But, he [the heretic] says: “‘The *Logos* became flesh,’<sup>6</sup> and it did not say, ‘The *Logos* became flesh and soul.’” Against their contradiction, which is stupid, I say that “God formed man, taking dust from the earth,”<sup>7</sup> but from “he formed,” it [the Scripture] has included all things. And from “The *Logos* became flesh,”<sup>8</sup> it encompasses all things. (6) For against the same argument we reply to them, and we say: Behold, it says, “God formed man,”<sup>9</sup> and it did not say: “He made in him a liver or lungs or heart or veins or tendons or whatever other things are in the body.” From this will we think a man to be any one solid thing, because the Scripture did not specify precisely the synthesis of the whole living being? Not at all. As at any rate from the one [literary] form it has included all things, thus also it is very clear from the “flesh” that the Savior has also assumed the soul.<sup>10</sup>

### XXXVI

(1) Therefore, if he has assumed soul and body, just as has been shown, then the divinity was not made less than the *ousia* of the Father, being encompassed in [human] passions, in such a manner that he might thirst and might grow weary and might hunger and [might experience] as many human needs as there are. (2) And the fact that <God>, “does not grow weary nor is there a searching of his thought,”<sup>1</sup> but the Savior is found to have grown weary, does not mean that the *Logos*, who came down from on high, is not from the *ousia* of the Father. For he has not grown weary up above, but in the flesh. For it was necessary that the flesh grow weary, in order that it might not be believed [to be] in appearance, but in truth: (3) and however

much other things have such a [natural] force, to doze, to fall asleep, they are significant things of a man and subject to [human] contact.<sup>2</sup> For he assumed these things and was found a man. (4) "We found," for <it says>, "Messiah, about whom Moses wrote."<sup>3</sup> But the ones who found him <did not find him?> through his incomprehensible nature, <but through his comprehensible?>, that is the incarnate [nature]. For since he was not being found according to his incomprehensibility, because of this it was comprehended by scribes: and "he gave his back to the whips and did not turn away his face from the disgrace of those spitting";<sup>4</sup> "he wept,"<sup>5</sup> and whatever other things about him are celebrated.<sup>6</sup> (5) Who was able to whip the God-*Logos* in heaven or to strike or to spit on such an ineffable and incomprehensible one? And if the impassible *Logos* of God has suffered these things, then the passion is corporeal, external to his impassibility and again not external on account of his consenting to do so. And yet, at any rate, with him not suffering, the passion has been reckoned to him. (6) And just as on a cloak a stain does not reach the body of the one who bears it, but the stain of the cloak is reckoned to be on the one who bears it, thus God has suffered in the flesh, with his divinity suffering nothing. And the suffering of the flesh was reckoned to the divinity, by the divinity who bears it, in order that in the divinity salvation might come to be for us.<sup>7</sup>

## XXXVII

(1) I have been reminded of the saying of the Gospel of Luke, and I do not wish to allow it to be uninterpreted, what has been written that, "having come to be in agony he sweated, and his sweat became for him as drops of blood, and an angel of the Lord appeared, strengthening him."<sup>1</sup> (2) [With respect to] the deeper things and the necessary things of the words (as we have been accustomed to speak on), those who do not think about the meaning turn themselves against the good over to evil. For nothing is more important than this. (3) For the saying "having come to be in agony"<sup>2</sup> shows that the Lord's-man was a true man. And in order that he might demonstrate that he was a true man and that the agony has not come to be from the divinity, it says, "he sweated, and his sweat became for him as drops of blood."<sup>3</sup> The form is physical and not spiritual. (4) "An angel of the Lord appeared strengthening him,"<sup>4</sup> does not mean that the one greater than angels was in need of the strength of an angel, [the one] "to whom every knee bends, of the heavenly places and on the earth and under it,"<sup>5</sup> to the *Logos* who is always God and is always with the Father and has been begotten from him. But it was in order that he might fulfill that which is in the great song of Moses sung in the desert, in which he was saying: "Let all the sons of God bow in worship to him, and let the angels of God strengthen him."<sup>6</sup> (5) The [phrase], "let them strengthen him," does not mean that they are supplying strength to him, but since the praise was strong in them to glorify God, with angels directly above and spiritual living beings shouting and saying, "Yours is the power; yours is the might; yours is the strength,"<sup>7</sup> in this they demonstrate the "bowing in worship" and the "strengthening," that is, to offer to him one's own might of strength, as even the angel was seen in front of the disciples bowing in worship to its master. (6) It [the angel] was not ignorant of the extravagance of his benevolent economy, and it marveled at such a work of gentleness as that

which was wrought in him, the defeating of the Devil, the crushing of the sting of death,<sup>8</sup> the triumphing over principalities and authorities,<sup>9</sup> the breaking of sin.<sup>10</sup> (7) And because of the extravagance of the astonishment in praise, the angel, bowing in worship, was saying: "Yours is the strength, master,<sup>11</sup> for you had strength over death (and over Hades and over the Devil), to crush its sting and cast it away from humanity."<sup>12</sup>

### XXXVIII

(1) And again if he said, "Where have you placed Lazarus?"<sup>1</sup> in a human way, and concerning the one hemorrhaging blood, "Who touched me?"<sup>2</sup> or, "Whom do you seek?"<sup>3</sup> or, "Who do men say that I am, the Son of Man?"<sup>4</sup> or, "The child was growing and becoming strong in spirit,"<sup>5</sup> or, "He was advancing in age and in wisdom,"<sup>6</sup> or, "before the child knows to call 'father' or 'mother,'"<sup>7</sup> do you not see, from the underlying assumption itself, the prevalence of the knowledge that the statements were according to his flesh and humanity?<sup>8</sup> (2) For as many things which come down in the Old Testament from the person of God and Father for the persuasion of men, which keep one from ignorance, but are not unknown to God, these things, the *Logos* who came has fulfilled, in order that he might fulfill what has been said: "My Father works until now, and I am working."<sup>9</sup> (3) "Where have you placed Lazarus?"<sup>10</sup> he asked, having come near to the place. But before coming to the place, not having heard it from someone, he was saying to his disciples, "Our friend Lazarus has fallen asleep."<sup>11</sup> Therefore, was the one who stood at such a long journey's distance from the place, who

knew that Lazarus had died, arriving in the place, ignorant? (4) Certainly not. But he was wishing to show that he was doing all these things, since not yet was anyone believing him completely, in order that he might demonstrate the great benevolence of his care toward us.<sup>12</sup> (5) For it was needful for those women not to say, "It is the fourth day, already there is a smell,"<sup>13</sup> nor to depart and to show [him], but to say: "You know all things and if you will, he will live." Wherefore he also wept for the hardness of men.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, not being ignorant, he was asking, but trying [them], he tests and shows kindness. (6) And, "Who touched me?"<sup>15</sup> he says, not because he did not know who touched him, but in order that he might not say that the miracle came to be through himself, but in order that she who heard [him], coming forward, might say that the grace came to be in her and, having confessed, might hear: "Your faith has saved you,"<sup>16</sup> in order that she might persuade others also to believe, that they might be healed. (7) "Who," he said, "do they say that I am, the Son of Man?"<sup>17</sup> as also in the Old [Testament] from the person of the Father, he says, "Adam, where are you?"<sup>18</sup> He knew where he was: wherefore he also tests him, saying afterwards, "You ate from the tree."<sup>19</sup> (8) And to Cain, "Where is your brother Abel?"<sup>20</sup> he also was asking, not being ignorant. For he says, "You are accursed on the earth, which opened to receive the blood of your brother from your hand. For behold, his blood cries out to me."<sup>21</sup> Therefore, the one speaking was not ignorant because the blood cries out. But in order that he might give to him [Cain] an occasion to repent and explain, because of this he was asking.

### XXXIX

(1) Again they [heretics] twist themselves into the contentiousness of their stupidity, and they say that these expressions in the Old Testament were of the Son himself. Straightaway their practice is put to shame. For the one who said to Moses,

“What is this in your hand?”<sup>1</sup> was himself saying, “I am who I am.”<sup>2</sup> (2) And the Lord says to the Sadducees concerning the resurrection explaining, “that the dead are raised, God said: ‘I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob.’ So God is of the living and not of the dead.”<sup>3</sup> (3) And again there are many things in the Old Testament to show that what has been said in it is from the person of the Father. But they are also often from the person of the Son and again from the person of the Holy Spirit.<sup>4</sup> (4) And, “Where is Sarah, your wife?”<sup>5</sup> the Son of God, who came from above with two angels, was saying to Abraham. For if he was ignorant of where she was, he would not have said “Sarah.” (5) [The phrase] “so Sarah laughed, being inside the house”<sup>6</sup> intends to show her modesty as a model for those who wish to be pious in truth, in order that when they receive strangers they may serve from their own labors on the one hand, but on the other hand because of modesty they may not show their face to men. (6) For that blessed woman fully prepared [herself] and, having prepared, was not appearing to the face of the angels, putting forth a model of modesty to subsequent generations. But also in order that the one who was present might show who he was, the one who was received as a guest at that time was calling <the> name of the woman, because neither the name itself nor the bodily form nor the thought of a man escaped his notice.<sup>7</sup> (7) “Who,” he says, “do men say that I am, the Son of Man?”<sup>8</sup> and he himself,

confessing, declares the Son of Man, in order that they might not believe that he asks concerning someone invisible. And they say, "Elijah," and "Jeremiah," and "John."<sup>9</sup> "Who do you say that I am?"<sup>10</sup> "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God,"<sup>11</sup> he [Peter] says, and at once he is blessed. (8) For not being ignorant was he asking, but wishing to show that the teaching is of the Father, that which declares to the church the true Son, in order that Peter might be compelled to say what he learned from the Father.

## XL

(1) And you ought not marvel if he said that "through me they come to the Father,"<sup>1</sup> and you ought not suppose him to have been altered from the *ousia* of the Father. For again he himself teaches, "No one comes to me, unless the Father draws him."<sup>2</sup> As, at any rate, the Father sends to the Son, even the Son carries in to the Father, in order that he might show that they are one and the same divinity. (2) And [the phrase], "He was advancing in age and in wisdom,"<sup>3</sup> if wisdom is of God, he does not lack wisdom. But although he emptied himself, assuming the form of a slave, the fullness was not altered:<sup>4</sup> but [he did this] in order that he might show that he was being emptied from heaven into humanity, that is, into the womb of Mary. (3) "For perfume emptied out is your name,"<sup>5</sup> it says. It did not say "poured forth," but "emptied out" from heaven to earth, in order that from earth to Mary <he might be emptied out>.<sup>6</sup> And having become flesh from Mary, he is conceived, born in Bethlehem, from Bethlehem passes over into Nazareth, from Nazareth into Capernaum, from Capernaum into Jerusalem and the sea in which he walked upon the water, and parts of Tyre and Nain and Judaea and Jericho and into Bethpage and Bethany, and into Jerusalem



and the Temple and the Mount of Olives and Gethsemane, into the house of Caiaphas to the *praetorium* and to Herod, to the place Golgotha into the tomb, and even as far as Hades, into the earth and after the resurrection, into heaven. (4) For perfume emptied out from vessels into a vessel anoints all the vessels; and the *parousia* of Christ from heaven sanctified the whole earth, those who receive him in truth.<sup>7</sup> (5) He who is the mountain, as in Daniel <it says>, and a great mountain, “a stone being cut without hands,”<sup>8</sup> alluding to one <who was begotten?> without the seed of a man, the greater one in turn is found small: a stone again taking up magnitude and becoming again a great mountain, and <it is clear> that <the> mountain is not in one place, but filling up the entire inhabited world. (6) This is the one who is wisdom and became a man, extending his power to the universe. In order that he might fill the inhabited world with grace, “he was advancing in age and in wisdom.”<sup>9</sup> (7) Since he is the one who is wisdom of the Father and “teaches men”<sup>10</sup> to speak, and who invented speech for men, and “who planted the ear”<sup>11</sup> for those who listen, how did he not know to call “father” and “mother”?<sup>12</sup> <About whom it adds that?> “he will take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria,”<sup>13</sup> and what follows? (8) But since, having been born from a womb, if he was showing himself speaking at once and clearly was uttering such things indeed as a growing boy, he would be believed an illusion and not true, or rather, his incarnate conception [would be believed only] in appearance. Because of this consequently he abides a little of his youth, in order that might not obscure the veracity of the ordering [of life].

## XLI

(1) Again they strive after other vain notions, mixing them with the divine words and thinking contrarily, and they say: so how has it been written, "accept that the high priest of our confession was faithful to the one who made him,"<sup>1</sup> and "let it be known to you, all the house of Israel, that this Jesus, whom you crucified, God made him Lord and Christ"?<sup>2</sup> (2) And a great wonder comes upon me, how those who possess the orderings [of Scripture] are ignorant of the meaning being declared in them. For the saying, "Accept that the high priest was faithful to the one who made him,"<sup>3</sup> has not been said concerning the divinity. (3) For God came, and in all things the divine Scriptures explain to us. For nothing in them is obscure or complicated; "all things are open to those who understand and right to those who find knowledge."<sup>4</sup> (4) For it says, "Receive instruction and not silver."<sup>5</sup> For if someone did not receive instruction from God, that is the faith of the truth, all things have been obscure and twisted for him. But to those who understand rightly and find knowledge, all things are right and blameless. (5) But in order that he might put them to shame, the Apostle says, "for every high priest taken from among men is appointed on behalf of men, to offer gifts and sacrifices."<sup>6</sup> (6) Because of this also the Only-begotten himself, since on behalf of men he came to become a high priest, assumed from us the flesh, in order that on our behalf, the one who came to be from us, as an offering to his own Father God, "might call brothers"<sup>7</sup> his disciples. So where is "came to be" fulfilled? Not from another place, but from the high priest. For <it says>, "Accept that the high priest was faithful to the one who made him."<sup>8</sup> (7) In order that I might make use of a more remarkable illustration: who would ask a king concerning his own son, daring even to say to him, "Who is this?" And having heard from the father the correct acknowledgment:

“He is my son,” again would he question, “Is he your natural son?” And with the king answering “Yes,” will the one asking add again: “So what did you make him?” He [the king] will surely say, “I made him king.” (8) Then did the one who speaks deny the worthy legitimate birth? If he said the latter, did he do away with the former? Not at all! Thus at any rate also God and Father begot the Son without beginning, and in the flesh has been fulfilled the [phrase], “He made him high priest.”<sup>9</sup>

## XLII

(1) But, they say, it has been written: “The Lord created me, the beginning of his ways for his works.”<sup>1</sup> And in the first place the vainglorious are ignorant of the name of the book. For the book is called “Proverbs of Solomon.” But all that is spoken as a proverb is not the same as it is in the meaning of the word.<sup>2</sup>

(2) For behold our Lord Jesus Christ spoke in parables, and we should not perceive the parables thus as being according to our purpose. (3) "For like," it says, "a mustard seed is the kingdom of heaven."<sup>3</sup> And if according to our mind we might wish to think about it in part, it is clear that the kingdom of heaven is a place of open space. (4) Then if it is necessary to say "a place," in which kingdom there is a king, God and Father and God-*Logos*, the Son of God, and the Holy Spirit of God, both angels and archangels, a spiritual host, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the just, how therefore will so many things be contained in a mustard seed? The figurative sense of the word is spoken mysteriously. Then that which is spoken as a proverb is not the same [in meaning]. (5) But [the same is true] also for the woman who had ten drachmae, and lost one, and lit a lamp, and found it,<sup>4</sup> but also for the net cast into the sea,<sup>5</sup> but also for the seed being sown in the earth.<sup>6</sup> All these things <were spoken> mysteriously, and are not the same in meaning. (6) And really we do not know Solomon the author of Proverbs, if he has said this word concerning the Son of God. (7) For there is [one] wisdom and [another] wisdom. So the Apostle knew to say: "for the world did not know God, through the wisdom of God,"<sup>7</sup> and "God made foolish the wisdom of the world."<sup>8</sup> And again he says, "not in fleshly wisdom, but in the power of God."<sup>9</sup> And Solomon knew how to call wisdom, saying, "I loved her beauty and took her as a bride for myself,"<sup>10</sup> and Job knew wisdom and says, "Where was wisdom found? And what is the place of understanding?"<sup>11</sup> And "Wisdom of the poor man is scorned",<sup>12</sup> and "He is the corrector of wisdom,"<sup>13</sup> and "The Only-begotten is the wisdom of the Father."<sup>14</sup>

### XLIII

(1) So what do we say? If Father is wisdom, and the Son, according to their mind, did not come forth from him (the *Logos*, who is both God and wisdom), then the Father is lacking wisdom in himself.<sup>1</sup> (2) So how is “God alone, wise, invisible”<sup>2</sup> [and] all these things incomprehensible and infinite to men? God gave wisdom to Solomon<sup>3</sup> and filled Bezalel with wisdom,<sup>4</sup> and, “Wise men conceal shame.”<sup>5</sup> (3) And concerning wisdom there are many things to say. That wisdom of the Father is unique, not having another comparison.<sup>6</sup> (4) Nevertheless, if also concerning it [wisdom] the Word is acclaimed, I neither add nor exclude, but I defer to God for knowing: I am compelled to see that the things which have been said are opposed. “He created [me],” for it says, “the beginning of his ways for his works; before the age he established me; before all the mountains he begets me.”<sup>7</sup> (5) So how is that which is begotten being established? How is that which is created begotten? For if created, verily not begotten. (6) For what we beget we do not create, and what we create we do not beget: for we are created, and the things which are begotten by us are created.<sup>8</sup> (7) But in the uncreated God that which is begotten is not created. For if he begot, he did not create. And if, after creating, again he has begotten, how then is that which was first created later begotten?<sup>9</sup> (8) Therefore, if what is being said is concerning him, it is fulfilled in the incarnate economy.<sup>10</sup> And because of this it says first the more recent things and describes the older things

later.<sup>11</sup> (9) For wishing to persuade the most recent men, it begins from the flesh (for the beginning of the ways of righteousness of the Gospel is that the *Logos* became flesh for us in Mary, and his soul has been established in her flesh), in order that it might show the higher things later. (10) And we say that out of the Fatherly bosom from the heavens he came to be on the earth, since he came to us later, having completed the entire economy. So then the *Logos* is not created (“by no means!”),<sup>12</sup> and the divine Scripture did not generate anything obscure for us, in absolutely nothing.<sup>13</sup>

#### XLIV

(1) But both by nature and by translators the phrase has not been rendered thus in this way. For Aquila says, “The Lord acquired me,”<sup>1</sup> although in the Hebrew it says, *Adonai kanani*: this very thing is translated as we have said. And according to custom, we say about those who beget, “He acquired children.” (2) But thus he [Aquila] did not preserve the meaning of the translation. For *Adonai kanani* also is thus able to be translated “The Lord hatched me.”<sup>2</sup> And because of this Peter declared wisely, saying, “This is Jesus, whom you crucified.”<sup>3</sup> He did not say, “God-*Logos* from on high,” but “This is Jesus,” <that is>, the flesh which has been brought together with the *Logos* from on high in the womb of Mary, and “this” is said<sup>4</sup> on account of the Lord’s-man from Mary.<sup>5</sup> (3) For in this also, that which <is put

to death?> is fulfilled, as Peter says, “put to death in flesh, but made alive in spirit,”<sup>6</sup> and again “so with Christ suffering in the flesh on our behalf.”<sup>7</sup> And again, “from whom Christ, according to the flesh,”<sup>8</sup> as Paul says. (4) And the Savior himself was saying in the Gospel, “and now you seek to kill me, a man who has spoken the truth to you, which I heard from the Father,”<sup>9</sup> in order that he might show the passion from his humanity and more inferior parts, but that he is the natural<sup>10</sup> son of the Father from on high. (5) And the holy Apostle Paul celebrates with this word, saying, “there is one God, and there is one mediator of God and men, a man Jesus Christ,”<sup>11</sup> “who did not regard to be equal to God something to be grasped, but emptied himself, taking the form of a slave.”<sup>12</sup> (6) You see that he showed himself a man, but not a mere [man]. For [it says] “mediator of God and men,”<sup>13</sup> since he mediates between both. To his Father, he is genuine God, by nature, having been begotten, but to men he is a genuine man, natural,<sup>14</sup> having been begotten from Mary without the seed of a man. For thus he is the mediator of God and of men, being God and having become a man, not having changed his nature, but according to each, mediating for both.<sup>15</sup>

## XLV

(1) But again those who are ignorant also say: “You see that, ‘he did not regard to be equal to God something to be grasped.’”<sup>1</sup> And the contentious ones do not know the appellation. For it did not say: “He did not wish to become equal to God through something to be grasped,” but, “He did not regard to be equal to God something to be grasped,”<sup>2</sup> [that is,] to be God by nature, because he was. (2) For if he was not, how did he assume the form of a slave?<sup>3</sup> And he [Paul] indicated a recent

thing, and from this he, marveling, was showing the abundance [of God], because although he [the Son] was equal to God he emptied himself, taking the form of a slave, not in order that he might enslave freedom, but <in order that> in the form that he assumed he might free those slaves who heed [him].<sup>4</sup> (3) And as the Jews bear witness that he was not ashamed to say that he was equal to God nor was he doubting, but that from the showing, he was thus more confident in the saying, "If I do not speak, I will be a liar like you."<sup>5</sup> And because of this, they say to him, "Not because of a good work will we kill you, but because, being a man, you make yourself equal to God."<sup>6</sup> (4) But they [heretics] say: "We are obliged to confess the figurative things <concerning> him [Christ]. And Scripture has said many figurative things about him, and it is not necessary to deny things which have been said mysteriously in regard to him, because even he has been called a door and has been said to be a stone, and a pillar, cloud, lion, sheep, lamp, torch, sun, angel, worm, rock, cornerstone, path, bull, calf, and such things." (5) Clearly we do not deny the things which have been fulfilled mysteriously in him. And we know on account of what cause these things have been written: "path," because we walk through him toward the kingdom, to him and the Father; "door," because we enter through him; "pillar," because he is the foundation of our faith; "rock," on account of his immovability; "stone," <because of> that which has been laid down as a foundation; "sun," of righteousness because he illuminated our darkened thinking.<sup>7</sup>

## XLVI

(1) Next they [heretics] say that "<If> it has been written concerning him that he is a creature, it is necessary to confess also that he is a creature."<sup>1</sup> Behold, I described a certain part of



the sayings, which have been fulfilled for us through the mysteries concerning him. Let them say to us what is useful in saying, "He is a creature"? (2) Reasonably he has been said figuratively a "door," in order that he might become our entrance and aid, and "path," in order that, walking through him, we might not be led astray. On account of what does he become a "creature" for us? As what does he help us?<sup>2</sup> (3) "Yes," the vainglorious one says, being contentious: "for if you would not say that he is a creature, you would attribute passion to the Father."<sup>3</sup> For all who beget have been encompassed with passion: for either one is contracted or widened or spread out or decays or is raised up or any such thing."<sup>4</sup> (4) Alas for such thinking, which is wicked and not at all true! Who will think such things concerning God? What sort of opinion will dare such things? Clearly no one, not [even] of demons, will think such a thing. (5) And if someone confesses the Father, he believes that he has begotten the Son in truth. For the divinity is not carried about in measurable quantities, nor is it a pregnant body, in order that it might admit of what has been said before.<sup>5</sup> (6) "For God is spirit,"<sup>6</sup> and spirit does not submit to flux, nor cutting, nor contraction, nor lessening, nor simplification, nor any such thing. Therefore, in so far as the Father is spirit, he has begotten the Son, God-*Logos*, spiritually, timelessly, incomprehensibly, and without beginning.<sup>7</sup>

## XLVII

(1) In order that we might persuade those who think these things, on the one hand [we are] not saying the same things, on the other hand, turning away their wicked defense from the same things, let us say: a creature is immeasurably and infinitely inferior to its master.<sup>1</sup> (2) And many in the desert who lack fire,

having filled liquid in a glass vessel and having added a flammable material made out of flax or hemp, set it up against the gleaming of the sun. From the glass shining upon the material substrate and straightaway from the heat of the sun it takes and kindles fire. Then has the sun been divided through the participation of its *ousia*?<sup>2</sup> Then did it lack? Then has it been diminished? “No,” they say. (3) Therefore, if, being a created thing, it [the sun] was not diminished, by how much more at any rate is the one who is God infinite and incomprehensible and undefiled? Being spirit,<sup>3</sup> having begot from himself, he begot the God-*Logos*, ineffable and incomprehensible and incorruptible in incorruption, not through passion, nor through division, nor through loss. But the perfect one [begot] a perfect one, in perfection.<sup>4</sup> (4) And the nature of fire kindles many lamps from one [flame], and the one which was first was not diminished. Again, the same *ousia* is able to be out of many divisions, and I speak of lamps or torches.<sup>5</sup> (5) But not thus is the divinity, “by no means!”<sup>6</sup> For again, the *Logos* did not enter <into>, and was not made a coalescence with, the Father, but the Father is the Father, and the Son the Son, and the Holy Spirit the Holy Spirit.<sup>7</sup>

## XLVIII

(1) For foolish is that which has been said by the Manichaeans, that in the mind of Mani, souls, which came to be from a

pillar of light, are one body; and being loosed from their bodies are molded again in one *ousia*, as in the one pillar, according to the myth of their invention.<sup>1</sup> (2) But thus the Gospel did not point this out, but he broke off from five loaves and fed five thousand and did not get rid of the leftovers of them. But, "Collect together," he says, "and leave behind none of the fragments,"<sup>2</sup> and they collected together twelve baskets. (3) And they gathered together into containers, and he did not make the fragments again into a rejoining of loaves, as they were. They gathered together the [entire] quantity [of bread], but in many fragments. But it [the Gospel] pointed out one collection of baskets. (4) And we did not allegorize this in accordance with a subject of speculation and the analogy of the sun spoken about earlier. For we do not say that the loaves are souls, nor the fragments, "by no means!"<sup>3</sup> nor do we equate God with the sun created by him, nor the Only-begotten with the light being sent by the sun onto the hempen wick.<sup>4</sup> (5) Likewise also, souls which were produced are not joined together into one coalescence, "by no means!"<sup>5</sup> but into the dwelling-places of God which have been written about, that "there are many dwelling-places at my Father's house."<sup>6</sup> They do not come to be in one heap, but with each being accounted separately. (6) Nor in saying that God has begotten his only-begotten Son do we attribute passion to him, according to the wicked blasphemy of those people. "For all who beget toil passionately, and one must not say either creature or something begotten," according to their argument, "in order that we might not assign to God toiling or suffering."<sup>7</sup> So wherefore did we find the Son, or because of what does he have the name "Son"? (7) These are syllogisms

of men, and they originate from earthly thought. For it is unlawful to reckon the suffering of us men to God, since God says wisely, "as your thinking is not my thinking," and again "not as a man, thus even is God."<sup>8</sup>

## XLIX

(1) Therefore, let them cease from blasphemy, and let them learn from the Father, who says, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."<sup>1</sup> Again, as in the presence of those who hesitate, he says, "for you are my beloved Son, whom I chose,"<sup>2</sup> and then in the Song of Songs, "having been chosen from the myriads."<sup>3</sup> (2) So let them say from where the choice comes to be. For foolish ones believe that in the saying "whom I chose,"<sup>4</sup> he is called "son" according to grace and not according to nature.<sup>5</sup> Let them show who is like him, in order that he [the Father] who tested them all, might choose that one. (3) For if the Son is only-begotten, there is not someone who is equal or comparable to him: "Who is similar to the Son among the sons of God?"<sup>6</sup> For one knows these according to grace, and [knows] that someone is not able to be made equal to that one [the Son], who is Son naturally. (4) For it is evident from where [the phrase] "having been chosen"<sup>7</sup> and from where the choice are: because there were many myriads upon the earth, and Mary alone "found favor,"<sup>8</sup> and in her he chose the holy flesh. (5) Because of this he was saying, "I am well pleased,"<sup>9</sup> as David also says, from the person of the Apostles who have believed in the Lord and who indicate with joy to the nations his grace, because "he subjected the peoples for us and nations under our feet, <he chose for us his inheritance>, the beauty of Jacob, which he loved,"<sup>10</sup> (6) that is, the purity of his beauty, the beauty of all of

Jacob, the flesh that was chosen from Mary through the Holy Spirit. The Father on high pointed out the coming to be of the economy of the flesh to John the Baptist. For the Father was well pleased in the incarnate *parousia* of Christ, but the divinity of his nature holds fast infinitely.

## L

(1) The Apostle [Paul] also says that he is “Son of love,” “who drew us,” he says, “from the authority of darkness and transferred us into the kingdom of his Son of love.”<sup>1</sup> (2) And the foolish ones here, not thinking about the phrase, say that he is the Son according to a progression of the love of God. And the stupid ones do not know the correspondence of the word. For in another place the Apostle [John] says that “God loved us in Christ.”<sup>2</sup> (3) For truly the Only-begotten is the beloved Son. Since the Father is love, the Son is love, since love is from love. So he is the Son of love for our sake and through himself, because in him he [the Father] loved us and gave his only-begotten Son for us. So neither does he toil while working, nor does he suffer while begetting. (4) And may they not heap up for themselves the folly of blasphemy. For if the Son is created, he is not to be worshiped according to their argument. For it is a foolish thing to worship a creation and to disregard the first commandment, which says, “Hear, Israel, the Lord your God is one Lord.”<sup>3</sup> (5) Therefore, the holy *Logos* is not created, because he is worshiped. The disciples worshiped him; the angels in heaven worship him: “and let all the angels of God worship him,”<sup>4</sup> and, “I will worship you, O Lord, my strength.”<sup>5</sup> (6) One thing is specific and concise and irrefutable, which no one is able to dispute: if those who are enemies to the Son of God have testimony to show, where the Father said that “I cre-

ated a Son for me" in the Old and New Testaments or where the Son said that "the Father created me." There are four Gospels of one thousand one hundred and sixty-two chapters, and from the beginning until the end, nowhere did the Son say and the Father say to him, "my Father created me," nor the Father: "I created a Son for me," or "I created my Son."<sup>6</sup>

## LI

(1) But the one who loves to quarrel and loves glory says: "So why do you say 'the body'?" Clearly it has been received from Mary. "But why Mary?" he says; "Is she uncreated or created?" Clearly she is created, and we [the orthodox] ourselves say, that she was begotten from a man and a woman. [The heretic says,] "So why do you say 'from Mary'? Do you worship the Savior in the body or do you not worship?" So how will I [the orthodox] not worship? For if I do not worship, I do not have life. [The heretic says], "So behold, you worship a created thing, the body." (2) There is much madness of those who say such things. For even a king having been clothed in purple is worshiped by all.<sup>1</sup> Then is the purple worshiped or the king? It is quite clear that it is the king. But is the purple being worn also worshiped together with him? But when the king takes this off and sets it in place, the purple garment is no longer worshiped. (3) And a king is oft seated on his own throne in the temple, and the worshipers worship the king in his temple and on the throne. But when the king has been roused [from his throne], no one worships either the temple or the throne. No insane person, who wishes to worship the king in his temple, says to the king: "Leave your temple, in order that I might worship you." (4) Thus at any rate no one would say to the Only-begotten, "Give up your body, in order that I might worship you," but one worships the

Only-begotten with his body, <the> uncreated one with his holy "temple," which he assumed when he came.<sup>2</sup> (5) And no one says to the king: "Stand up from your throne, in order that I might worship you without the throne," but one worships the king with his throne. And at any rate, Christ also is worshiped with his body, which was buried and has been raised.

## LII

(1) "But," they say, "so what do you say? Did the Father beget the Son willingly or not willingly? Since <you> say, <the> *Logos* always was and there was not a time before the *Logos*?"<sup>1</sup> Indeed, even the Arians themselves according to their fraud assert that the Son of God has been begotten timelessly, but they do not wish to say that he is eternal, but say, "there was once when he was not." They believe "once" is not time.<sup>2</sup> (2) But when you examine the phrase, you put to shame the stupid ones. For the "once" said in words is indicative of time. And those who say that it does not mean time fall into a logical absurdity of their thought in their wicked belief. For in dissimulation they have used the phrases, in their thinking dangerously waging war against the Son of God, glorifying shamelessly something altogether alien from the divinity of the Father. (3) So did he [the Father] beget willingly or unwillingly? If we say "unwillingly," we charge the divinity with compulsion; and if say "willingly," we concede that the will existed before the *Logos*. And if there is both a moment and a twinkling <of the eye or> a fraction of an hour, it is indicative of a fraction of time before the *Logos*, and again we fall into their argument. And if we say that he begot unwillingly, then the divinity has been led with a compulsion of nature and not with a freedom of will.<sup>3</sup> (4) But there is none of these things in God, as you understand it, O vainglorious one. For these things are not with God. Therefore, neither

willingly did he beget nor unwillingly, but with a superiority of his nature. For the divine nature transcends counsel and is not subject to time nor is led by compulsion.<sup>4</sup> (5) For in us nothing is immediately ready, because we were once not [ready]. And we first deliberate something, then we do what we transact; or when we have not deliberated, there is not yet what has not been transacted by us. But with God all things are perfect and smooth, and all things have been fulfilled in him. And <neither willingly> nor unwillingly, he begot the one who exists eternally, the holy *Logos* and God who has been begotten from him, but in his superior and ineffable nature.<sup>5</sup>

### LIII

(1) A great wonder comes to me, O sons of the faith and church, how the lovers of quarrels turned inside out the literal things into allegory, and those who have been led astray understand things which have been said figuratively as literal things.<sup>1</sup> For “to have been begotten,” the very thing which is <in> him according to nature, they deny, saying [that he is] not as one of the begotten: but [saying] “to have been created,” which is alien from his divinity. And if also in allegory “once” has been said, they say this is literal. But they obscure that which is literal. (2) For in the saying, that Isaiah “saw the Lord Sabaoth,”<sup>2</sup> and, “the Lord appeared to Moses,”<sup>3</sup> and, “the Lord appeared to Abraham,”<sup>4</sup> and, “Daniel beheld a vision, the Ancient of Days,”<sup>5</sup> and such things; and the Lord appeared to Ezekiel, and he said, “I saw the form of God”;<sup>6</sup> they [heretics], speaking falsely of the prophets, say that these things were not [literal]. (3) Indeed, from the passage of the Gospel, from which the Savior, teaching, said that “no one has ever seen God,”<sup>7</sup> they [heretics] even say: “Therefore, if the Only-begotten said that no one has seen, but the prophets say they have seen, it must be that either



the Only-begotten or the prophets are mistaken.”<sup>8</sup> (4) And according to the argument of those who say thus, as well as of the Manichaeans, the falsehoods will be in the prophets. But if the prophets are not mistaken, but speak truth, according to the word of the Savior that “the one speaking in the prophets, behold I am he,” it is a matter of understanding and a use of allegory.<sup>9</sup> (5) For even thus often this is fulfilled: we see some part of the sea <from> a hill or plain, and we speak truth in <saying> that we have seen it. And if someone says that he did not see it, he is not speaking falsely, but speaks truth. For he does not know the depth or the length; neither does he know the mass, nor does he know the volume. (6) And from some hole in the roof we behold heaven, but we do not know its extent. And if someone might say, “I saw it,” then he saw it. And if another might say, “I did not see it,” then he did not see it. For we truly saw it as we are able, but we did not see it in so far as it really is. (7) Thus also the prophets, as through a hole of their own narrow body, were deemed worthy to see, and in truth they saw. <But> they did not as one who has a boundless insight. (8) And thus the divine Scriptures have been fulfilled, agreeing with one another, both the prophets saying that they have seen (for they saw in truth), and the Savior saying, “no one has ever clearly seen God”:<sup>10</sup> (they did not see in so far as he really is). But he himself saw the nature in an invisible way, and he has given to the one who is not able to see, a power of a gift for seeing, the power of insight.

#### LIV

(1) But may you who fabricate not speak again! On the one hand, they said, “The prophets see not with their eyes, but with their thinking, only perceiving and <not> seeing.” For because of this Isaiah says precisely, “Wretched am I, because I have been stung, because being a man who has unclean lips, I live

among a people who have unclean lips, and I saw the Lord Sabaoth.”<sup>1</sup> And he did not say, “I saw with my thought,” but, “with my eyes.” So he saw, and he did not see. But as he was able, in truth he saw, but he did not see, as one who has an infinite inability to comprehend. (2) Thus also concerning Paradise many people allegorize, as the insane Origen wished a fantasy rather than the truth to be introduced to life.<sup>2</sup> And he says: “Paradise is not on the earth.”<sup>3</sup> (3) Indeed, [this is clear] from the passage which has been spoken by the holy Apostle [Paul] that “I know such a man who, fourteen years ago, whether in body I do not know, or outside of the body I do not know (God knows), was snatched up to the third heaven.”<sup>4</sup> But do not err in judgment and read that [it says] the “third part of the sky”: for when he said “up to the third heaven,” he was not speaking concerning a third part, but concerning three numbers. (4) And he says, “I know such a man snatched up into Paradise and who heard statements which are not allowed for a man to say.”<sup>5</sup> (5) Glory to the almighty God, to the one who makes clear in every way and specifies precisely, in order that those who are true might not err. For he did not join heaven and Paradise into one simplicity, but “I know a man,” it says, “snatched up to the third heaven,” and again “snatched up to Paradise.”<sup>6</sup> But there is something distinguishable between the connection of a person and the movement from another place. (6) As if a person had a mountain and a plain, but the plain surrounded the mountain, and he wished to come to the further [side] of the mountain in the same plain. And when he wished to make the journey through

the plain to the place, anywhere he wished to depart from the mountain, this will be possible for him. But if he wished first to step onto the mountain and from the mountain to be again in the place of the plain beyond the mountain, thus also is it possible for him. (7) Thus think with me also that which has been said by the Apostle [Paul]: that first he has gone up into heaven, <and then he has descended into Paradise>, according to what has been said: "My beloved went down into his garden."<sup>7</sup> And the Savior says, "Today you will be with me in Paradise."<sup>8</sup>

## LV

(1) But if Paradise is not on the earth and the things which have been written in Genesis are not literal but are being allegorized, nothing of the following speaks truth, but all things are being allegorized. (2) "In the beginning," for it says, "God made heaven and earth":<sup>1</sup> and it is not being allegorized, but visible. And firmament, it says, and sea, both crops and trees and plants, pastures, animals, fish, birds, all things which are seen, which have come to be in truth, and he made man to exist in truth.<sup>2</sup> (3) Therefore, he placed this one whom he formed in Paradise, having made the same man according to his image, according to the image of God.<sup>3</sup> (4) Do not investigate thoroughly the gifts of God, that which have been given to man according to grace. For we do not deny that all men are [made] according to the image of God.<sup>4</sup> (5) And we do not investigate thoroughly the "how" of the "according to the image."<sup>5</sup> For we think neither the bodily form [is] according to the image, nor the soul nor the mind nor virtue. For all things are preventing me from speaking thus. (6) But we say that neither the body is according to the image, nor the soul. For it is for those who believe to confess the Scripture and not to deny, and for those who do not believe "to reject grace."<sup>6</sup> So that which is according to the image is in man, but God himself knows how it is

so. (7) For if you say that he made man according to his image and believe that it is a body, and God is invisible, incomprehensible, inconceivable, how will that which is visible and comprehensible and falls subject to [human] contact be in the image of that which is invisible and incomprehensible? (8) And if you say that the body is not that which was according to his image, "He took," it says, "dust from the earth and fashioned man."<sup>7</sup> And it [Scripture] calls man the earthly thing, and it calls man the soul-ish thing: for it says, "He blew into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul."<sup>8</sup> (9) We think the soul created, as well as the body. How is it created? "He blew,"<sup>9</sup> for it says: and we do not say that the soul is a part of God, nor that it is something alien from the inbreathing. But how according to the fine detail is this to be thought? It is known by God alone.<sup>10</sup>

## LVI

(1) Simply and without guile we believe in God who speaks truth in everything. And if you say that the soul is that which is according to his image, <listen> to the Apostle who says that “the living word of God is both active and sharper than any double-edged sword and piercing as far as the parts of the soul.”<sup>1</sup>

(2) Therefore, if the soul has parts, but God is indivisible, how is the soul able to be that which is according to his image? For the soul does not know the future, but God knows in all ways. And we see the things in front of the body, but we are ignorant of the things behind. And if you say that it is not the soul, in all ways it is because it [Scripture] also has called the soul, “man,”<sup>2</sup> and a man is soul and body. (3) But you might say that the mind is that which is according to his image. <But> Scripture says, “I see another law waging war in my members and taking me captive in my mind with the law of sin which is in my members.”<sup>3</sup> So how will that which is being taken captive be according to his image? [So it says] that “I will sing with my mind; I will sing with

my spirit.”<sup>4</sup> (4) And if you say virtue is that which is according to his image, I will say to you: Speak to me about Adam. What sort of virtue did he practice before he was fashioned? For he was not existing in the beginning, but from the beginning he was fashioned according to his image. And if you say that it is not virtue, you do not speak rightly. For what is fitting to be that which is according to his image except virtue? But before virtue, man was fashioned according to his image. For Adam was not yet living in virtue; it is clear he was not [yet] being created. (5) And if you say baptism is that which is according to his image, then were the just ones, who had not received baptism, not [made] according to his image? For from Moses and the sea the type began, from John the grace was laid open, but in Christ the gift was completed.<sup>5</sup>

## LVII

(1) So all [people] have that which is according to his image, but not according to his nature. For not according to equality with God do men have that which is according to his image. For God is incomprehensible, inconceivable, being spirit,<sup>1</sup> and Spirit over all spirits, and Light over all light. (2) What he gave, we do not despoil: for true is the one who gave with grace to man that which is according to his image. And it is possible to think from similar things: (3) for we see that the Savior took into his hands, as it has it in the Gospel, when he was reclining at supper and took these things and having given thanks said, “This is of me, these things,”<sup>2</sup> and he gave to his disciples and said, “This is of me, these things.” (4) And we see that it is not an equal nor a similar thing to the incarnate image, nor to the invisible divinity, nor to the characteristics of the members [of the body]. For on the one hand it [bread] is of a round shape, <on the other hand it [divinity] is?> <infinite> and imperceptible. (5) <But they are

similar?> as to the meaning, and he wished to say with grace, "This is of me, these things,"<sup>3</sup> and no one disbelieves his word. For the one who does not believe that he is true in what he said falls out of grace and of salvation. (6) Since we heard, let us also believe. We believe that it is his <body?>, and we know our Lord is wholly perception, wholly perceptible, wholly God, wholly the one who moves, wholly the one who acts, wholly light, wholly *Logos*, incomprehensible, but with grace this has been given to us.

## LVIII

(1) Therefore, this Adam was placed in Paradise and ate from the tree. Paradise, it says, "in Eden towards the east":<sup>1</sup> "A stream was rising up from Eden,"<sup>2</sup> and it did not say, "was descending down," in order that we might not believe that Eden is in heaven.<sup>3</sup> For if it were in heaven, it would say the source descends from above. But it says, "A river flows out from Eden,"<sup>4</sup> and it did not say "descends."<sup>5</sup> (2) This [river] "is separated into four branches. The name of the first is Pishon,"<sup>6</sup> and we see the Pishon with our own sight. And Pishon is the one called Ganges by the Indians and Ethiopians, but the *Hellenes* call this the Indus river. "For it surrounds all of Havilah,"<sup>7</sup> little Ethiopia and the great, the parts of Havilites, and it passes through great Ethiopia and falls into the south and enters inside Cadiz into the great Ocean. (3) A second river is "Gihon."<sup>8</sup> And we see that it is a perceptible river and not being allegorized. For this is the one, which descending down Ethiopia and passing through little Ethiopia, Nubia, and Blemmua and Axiomitis, and flooding the parts of the Thebaid and of Egypt, comes out into this sea. But if someone does not believe, let him listen to Jeremiah, who says, "What is there for you even in the land of Egypt, for drinking the turbid water of Gihon?"<sup>9</sup> (4) "A third," it says, "is the river Tigris, the one going opposite from the Assyrians."<sup>10</sup>

For it cuts through the parts of Anatolia and enters under the land and gushes forth from Armenia down the middle of [the land of] the Cardians and Armenians and springs up again and cuts through the land of Assyrians. (5) But there is also a fourth river, Euphrates,<sup>11</sup> in like manner similarly to the same place entering under the land, it rises up from Armenia and thus floods Persia. (6) Therefore, if there is no perceptible Paradise, neither is there a source: if there is not a source, there is not a river. If there is not a river, there are not four branches. If there is not a Pishon, there is not a Gihon; there is not a Tigris. If there is not a Tigris, there is not a Euphrates. (7) If there is not a Euphrates, there is not a fig-tree; there are not plants; there is not an Adam; there is not an eating; there is not an Eve. If there is not an Eve, she did not eat from the tree. (8) If she did not eat from the tree, there is not an Adam. If there is not an Adam, there are not men. But the truth is then a myth, and all things are allegorized. Therefore, there is an Adam. For we are from him, we all being his race according to succession, and we see him through the multitude of people in succession.

## LIX

(1) For Adam begets Seth according to his likeness and according to his image. In order that no one might believe that someone else has been formed and others have been begotten, because of this Scripture says, “according to his likeness and according to his image.”<sup>1</sup> Seth<sup>2</sup> begets Enosh, Enosh [begets] Kenan, Kenan Ma-halalel, Ma-halalel Jared, and Jared Enoch, Enoch Methuselah, Methuselah Lamech, Lamech Noah,<sup>3</sup> and a flood has come to be, not in allegory but in truth, and it killed every soul, and “eight souls”<sup>4</sup> of men remained. (2) Again if you hear “souls,” do not believe that they did not have bodily forms. For from the one form, the entire man is called such. For the



Scripture says, "Jacob descended into Egypt, with seventy-five souls,"<sup>5</sup> not that the souls were without bodies, but with bodies.<sup>6</sup> It [Scripture] has called the entire man, "souls." And "we were in the ship, as eighty souls,"<sup>7</sup> says Luke, the one who wrote the Acts of the Apostles.<sup>8</sup> (3) And custom has been wont to call slaves "bodies." He is master, it says, of one hundred bodies, but which also have souls. Since the power of a master rules over the bodies of men but not their souls, because of this it [custom] reasonably called slaves "bodies" (with souls), in order that it might show the use of the bodies. (4) Noah went out from the ark, having begotten Shem, Ham, Japheth. Shem begets Arpachshad; Arpachshad begets Cainan, Cainan [begets] Shelah, Shelah Eber, Eber Peleg, Peleg Reu, Reu Serug, Serug Nahor, Nahor Terah, Terah Abraham,<sup>9</sup> Abraham Isaac, Isaac Jacob, Jacob Judah, Judah Perez, Perez Hezron, Hezron Aram, Aram Amminadab, Amminadab Nahshon, Nahshon Salmon, Salmon Boaz, Boaz Obed from Ruth, Obed Jesse, Jesse David the king, David Solomon from the wife of Uriah, Solomon Rehoboam, Rehoboam Abijah, Abijah Asa, Asa Jehoshaphat, Jehoshaphat Joram, Joram Ochozias, Ochozias Joash, Joash Amaziah, Amaziah Uzziah, the one called Azariah, Uzziah Jotham, Jotham Ahaz, Ahaz Hezekiah, Hezekiah Manasseh, Manasseh Amos, Amos Josiah, Josiah Jechoniah, Jechoniah in turn She-alti-el, She-alti-el Zerubbabel, Zerubbabel Abiud, Abiud Eliakim, Eliakim Azor, Azor Zadok, Zadok Achim, Achim Eliud, Eliud Eleazar, Eleazar Matthan, Matthan Jacob, Jacob Joseph.<sup>10</sup>

## LX

(1) Joseph being an old man <and> widower after the taking his first wife and making from her four male children: Jacob [James], who is called the brother of the Lord because he was reared together with him, and Simon and Jude and Joses, and

two daughters Anna and Salome. (2) This Joseph, being old and a widower, according to the necessity of lots thrown for widowers and unmarried men, according to each tribe for the virgins from the Temple (on account of the consecration of the first-born children in the Temple, both males and females), took, according to a lot, the holy Virgin Mary, "from whom," according to the flesh, "he was born,"<sup>1</sup> our Lord Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit, not from the seed of a man nor by a union of body.<sup>2</sup> (3) Therefore, the Lord was born from the line of Judah, from the seed of David and Abraham according to the flesh, being God, in the forty-<second> year of the reign of Augustus.<sup>3</sup> (4) Augustus ruled fifty-six years and six months, and after him his son Tiberius succeeds the rule for twenty-three years. After Tiberius, Gaius [ruled] for three years, nine months, twenty-two days; after Gaius, Claudius for thirteen years; after Claudius, Nero for thirteen years; after Nero, Vespasian for nine years; after Vespasian, his son Titus for two years; after Titus, his brother Domitian for fifteen years and five months; after Domitian, Nerva for one year and four months; after Nerva, Trajan for nineteen years; after Trajan, Hadrian for twenty-one years; after Hadrian, Antoninus Pius for twenty-two years; after Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Verus, nineteen years. Commodus [ruled] for thirteen years; Pertinax for six months; Severus for eighteen years; his son Antoninus for six years; Macrinus for one year; another Antoninus [II] for four years; Alexander, not the Macedonian, for thirteen years; Maximinus for three years; Gordian for six years; Philip for six years; Decius for one year; Gallus and Volusianus for three years; Gallienus for fifteen years; another Claudius [II] for one year; Aurelian for four and a half years; Tacitus for six months; Probus for six years; the circle of Carus and Carinus and Numerianus for two years;

Diocletian for twenty years. (5) After Diocletian, Maximian, Licinius, Constantius, Constantine, Constans, Constantius [II] and Constantine [II], Julian, Jovian, Valentinian, Valens, Gratian up to this point after Diocletian dying, seventy years.<sup>4</sup> For this year is the ninetieth of Diocletian, the tenth of Valentinian and Valens, and the sixth year of Gratian, in the third consulship of Gratian Augustus and Equitius, the most illustrious, the second Indiction.<sup>5</sup>

## LXI

(1) Therefore, we all are in accordance with the ordering from the aforementioned Adam, and the order was not undone, nor are the things that are brought about by God allegorized. (2) Therefore, there is Adam, and there are leaves of the fig-tree, and the fig tree, and the Tree of the Knowing of Good and Evil, and the Tree of Life in the center of Paradise, and the serpent, and disobedience, and obedience, and there are rivers; and there is Eve and the bodily form. (3) "For all things are possible with God":<sup>1</sup> both to change the corruptible things into incorruption and to make the things on the earth to persevere in incorruption. (4) And let no one marvel: for he [the Son] came and showed this, having assumed corruptible flesh and "clothing" it on the divinity and having demonstrated himself incorruptible. "For who will accuse"<sup>2</sup> God? (5) And let us behold another insight. He expelled them, it says, outside of Paradise and placed Cherubim and the flaming sword to guard the entrance of the Tree of Life. And Adam and his family, having gone out, dwelt opposite Paradise. (6) Let no one be deceived by vain myths. "For God is able to raise up children from stones,"<sup>3</sup> and God is able even to change corruptible things into

incorruption and is able to make on the earth a resting place of Paradise, when he so wished. (7) For the earth is not of one god and heaven of another, but all things are his; and as he wishes, he gives as a gift incorruption to each. (8) For we also know the body of Adam has been formed from the earth, from which also our bodies [have been formed], and we have hope of everlasting life and of an incorruptible inheritance. For even the body of the Savior was from Mary and was united spiritually with the incorruption of the *Logos* in heaven. (9) All these things we collected together and provided them here, wishing to cast aside nothing of what has been written, but rather with simplicity to be presented and to be found faithful with respect to God, in which things in truth he wrote for us and gave the path of truth for our salvation: and it is fitting to yield to him alone to know the incomprehensible things.

## LXII

(1) This Origen introduced another mythical theory, in which allegorizing, God might ascribe appearances to men, when he [Origen] asserts that what the holy Scripture said are skin garments that God has made for Adam and his family were not skin garments: (2) "But," he says, "this skin garment was the fleshiness of the body or the body itself." "For after the disobedience," he says, "and after the eating from the tree, he [God] clad the souls in these bodies, that is, the flesh."<sup>1</sup> (3) And the whole saying is silly. For Origen himself really speculates and says: "for was God a leather-worker, in order that having worked leather he fashioned skin garments for Adam and Eve? Such a thing is most irrational!"<sup>2</sup> (4) What was easier, that God made heaven and earth out of nothing, or skin garments? For when did he not perform his miracles as he wished, and when has he not been able to change inanimate things into animate things? (5) The rod of Moses, being dry and wooden, he made an animate snake which follows

Moses, from which Moses was turning in flight, in order that he might show that it was not an apparition, but something which came to be true. How for forty years did the clothing of the people not wear out and was their hair not growing long and were their shoes not wearing out? (6) Let the silly men, who followed the madness of Origen on this topic, speak to me. With the Savior having risen from the dead and having cast aside the linens in the tomb, as it has been written, was he then appearing naked to his disciples, having risen from the dead with his body and soul? (7) When he was showing to those with Thomas his bones and flesh, hands, and side, clearly he was not naked. Therefore, who wove clothing for him after the Resurrection? (8) But you will say to me, the garments were entirely spiritual, [which] he made for himself. And if he was able to make such garments for himself, was he not able to make those skin garments for Adam and his family by his own will? Truly the allegory of Origen fails. (9) For if after the eating from the Tree, the flesh was created for Adam, from where, then, did God take the rib before he ate? As he was roused from the trance he says, "This is bones from my bones and flesh from my flesh."<sup>3</sup>

### LXIII

(1) "Therefore, in the future let no one cause troubles for us."<sup>1</sup> For thus the holy church of God forms a belief from the things from above. For Origen will not stand with us in the day of judgment. (2) For I marvel truly, how some trust in one who blasphemed his master. Such people ought to read the *Peri archon* of Origen, and the ones who suppose that they are sons of the catholic church ought to learn. And let them not dare to separate the Son from the divinity of the Father. (3) How possibly did Origen not deem it worthy to say that the Son sees the Father? But he says: "As the Son is not able to see the Father, the Holy Spirit is also not able to see the Son," and again, "The angels are not able to see the Holy Spirit, and men are

not able to see the angels.”<sup>2</sup> (4) And he deluded himself rather and those whom he deceived, but not the understanding one and faithful one and the one who believes in the truth and in the spiritual teaching. (5) Therefore, cease, Origen, and cease, you disciples of Origen. For the apostles and the prophets speak truth rather than you and your teacher. (6) Cease, you Gnostics, who are “knowledgeable” of the way, and cease, you Valentinians and Manichaeans and Marcionites, who have been led astray in all things. And cease, you Arians and Anomoeans and Sabelians and *Pneumatitai*, also [known as] the Pneumatomachoi, and Dimoerites, who foolishly cast aside the mind [of Christ]. (7) For the divine Scripture speaks truth in every way. But there is need of understanding for knowing God, to believe in him and his words, and [for knowing] the things which have been given freely by God and the things which have been given and the things which will be, and to know [God] according to the promise, the resurrection of the dead in perfection. For every heresy deceives, not having received the Holy Spirit according to the tradition of the Fathers in the holy catholic church of God.

#### LXIV

(1) And concerning all of these things, again in turn we will speak in accordance with our weakness. But from God deemed worthy of the holy catholic church of God and worthy also to have the foundation of this [church], we the least and lowly, according to the ability of our smallness provide in part concerning all things for those who wish to take care of their life. (2) That which has been said concerning the Father and Son and Holy Spirit was adequately sufficient. But in order that we might endeavor to explain more than sufficiently for the joy and preservation and assurance of those who believe, we gather together from all sides the testimonies of the divine Scripture for a breadth of festivity and exultation for the faithful who read them.<sup>1</sup> Again would that we not hesitate to indicate, as steadfast

and certain in God, our hope, that nothing has been changed in the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, but that the holy Trinity is of the same rank<sup>2</sup> and *homoousios*.<sup>3</sup> (3) Not from one place or another, nor from our own thoughts, do we make this teaching, but from our life, that is, from the Prophets and from the *parousia* of our Savior and his benevolence. (4) For he came; our life came and indicated the light again to us, finding us who have been led astray. For we were; we had been baptized in arrogance and blasphemies, the likenesses of idols, the atheisms of spirits, the commands of all evils. (5) Therefore, while I was unwillingly attached to these things (“for I was not doing what I was wishing, but I was being driven on to do what I was hating,” thus with sin serving me),<sup>4</sup> the holy Father sent his holy Son and in his mercy saved me and rescued me from all my downfalls.

## LXV

(1) “For the grace of our Lord and Savior appeared, teaching us in order that we, having renounced impiety and worldly desires, might live prudently, piously, and justly in the present age, awaiting the blessed hope and appearance of the glory of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, in order that he might ransom us from all lawlessness and might purify for himself a special people, zealous for good works.”<sup>1</sup> (2) “Having wiped out the debt record against us (with its ordinances), which was against us, he has taken it up from our midst, having nailed it to the cross; having stripped off the rulers and authorities, he made an example of them in the open, having triumphed over them in it.”<sup>2</sup> “Having shattered bronze doors and crushed iron bars,”<sup>3</sup> he indicated again the light of life, stretching out his hand, making a way, indicating the

foundations of the heavens, deigning to live again in Paradise. (3) Therefore, "he lived among us";<sup>4</sup> and having given to us "the righteous act of the law"<sup>5</sup> of the Spirit for knowing him, because the things concerning him are the beginning and end of life, he has become "a law of righteousness"<sup>6</sup> for us, "a law of faith,"<sup>7</sup> "a law of Spirit,"<sup>8</sup> free from the "law of sinful flesh."<sup>9</sup> (4) On which account "I rejoice with the law of God in accordance with the inner man."<sup>10</sup> Our inner [man] is Christ, if indeed he lives in us. (5) For he who died has become a way of life on our behalf, in order that "the living no longer live for themselves, but for the one who died and was raised for us,"<sup>11</sup> for the cause of life: "having remembered his oath for all peoples,"<sup>12</sup> according to David; "God was, in Christ, reconciling the world to himself, not reckoning to them their transgressions,"<sup>13</sup> (6) "because in him all the fullness was pleased to dwell and through him to reconcile all things to himself, having made peace through the blood of the cross."<sup>14</sup> (7) Therefore, he came near "in an economy for the fullness of the times,"<sup>15</sup> even as he has promised to Abraham and to the rest of the saints, "to restore all things in him, the things in heaven and the things on the earth."<sup>16</sup> (8) There was a separation and enmity "in the long-suffering of God,"<sup>17</sup> "but he reconciled in the body of his flesh,"<sup>18</sup> "having made both into one through him"<sup>19</sup> (for he came, "our peace"),<sup>20</sup> and, "having destroyed the dividing wall of partition, the enmity, in his flesh, having rendered powerless the law of the commandments in its ordinances, in order that he might create the two into one new man."<sup>21</sup> He commanded "the nations to be one body and sharers and joint-heirs of the promise,"<sup>22</sup> having said, "Come to me, all you who are weary and have been burdened, and I will give you rest."<sup>23</sup> (9) Therefore, "in what I was weak through the flesh," the Savior was sent to me "in likeness of sinful flesh,"<sup>24</sup>



fulfilling such an economy, in order that “he might redeem”<sup>25</sup> me from slavery, in order that [he might redeem] me from destruction, in order that [he might redeem] me from death, and he became for me “righteousness and sanctification and redemption.”<sup>26</sup> (10) [He became our] righteousness, having destroyed sin through his faith; sanctification, by setting [us] free through water and spirit and in his word; and redemption, through handing himself over, his blood, a ransom of the true Lamb on my behalf, a propitiation for the purification of the world, for the reconciliation of all of heaven and earth, “the mystery hidden before the ages and generations,”<sup>27</sup> fulfilling the times which have been determined. (11) He himself “will change the form of the body of our humiliation for becoming conformed with his glory according to the activity of his being able even to subject all things to himself,”<sup>28</sup> “because in him all the fullness of the divinity dwells bodily.”<sup>29</sup>

## LXVI

(1) Therefore, the receptacle of wisdom and of divinity, Christ, acting as a mediator, “reconciles all things to God in himself, not reckoning sins,”<sup>1</sup> fulfilling the hidden mysteries by faith in his covenant, which has been foretold by the Law and the Prophets, being declared Son of God, being called Son of David: for he is both, God and man, “mediator of God and men,”<sup>2</sup> true “house of God,”<sup>3</sup> “holy priesthood,”<sup>4</sup> giver of the Holy Spirit, the one [the Holy Spirit] who regenerates and renews again all things to God. Because “the *Logos* became flesh, and dwelt among us,”<sup>5</sup> and “we saw his glory as the glory of the Only-begotten from the Father.”<sup>6</sup>

(2) The rain, which combines its nature with trees and plants, produces bodies, and each is in the likeness of fruit; and in the olive the olive-oil becomes rich, receiving its essence from it; and

on the vine the sweet wine deepens in color; and on the fig-tree the fig becomes sweet, and in each of the seeds according to its form it ripens.<sup>7</sup> (3) Thus I believe the *Logos* of God in Mary became flesh, and in the seed of Abraham he was found as a man according to the promise. "For we found Messiah, whom Moses wrote about."<sup>8</sup> And as Moses was saying, "Let my utterance come down as the rain,"<sup>9</sup> and David [said], "Let him come down as rain upon fleece and as drops falling upon the earth,"<sup>10</sup> (4) (therefore, wool receiving the dew ripens the seed of the fleece, and the earth, receiving the rain, ripens the fruit of hope of farmers for receiving with the commandment of the Master; [the earth,] giving forth growth, readily hurries for receiving more from him); (5) thus indeed the Virgin Mary also, when she says, "according to what, will I know,"<sup>11</sup> "that this will be for me?"<sup>12</sup> she heard, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you: and on this account, that which is born from you will be holy and will be called Son of the Most High."<sup>13</sup> (6) Christ speaks in an angel, and the Master refashions himself in the mold of himself, "taking the form of a slave";<sup>14</sup> and Mary absorbs the *Logos* in conception, as the earth does the rain, and the *Logos* of God produces himself as a holy fruit, taking the nature of a mortal.<sup>15</sup> (7) This was from the same absorption as the earth and fleece, the fruit of true hope, for the saints in expectation, just as Elizabeth was saying, "Blessed are you among women and blessed is the fruit of your womb,"<sup>16</sup> which [fruit] the impassible *Logos* grasped, from the sufferings of humanity. (8) This one is "the living bread, the one who came down from heaven"<sup>17</sup> and giving life; this one is the fruit of the true olive-tree, the olive

oil of the anointing and of the compounding, which Moses prescribed before.<sup>18</sup> This one is the “true vine,”<sup>19</sup> which the Father alone cultivates, which has produced a cluster of grapes of joy for us; (9) this one is “living water, which <the> man who thirsts, receiving it, will not thirst again, but which is in his belly, springing up into everlasting life.”<sup>20</sup> Receiving from this, the new farmers gave a share to the world, but old farmers brought withering and ruin through unbelief. (10) By his own blood he sanctifies the nations, and by his own Spirit he leads the chosen up into heaven. “As many as are led by his Spirit, these”<sup>21</sup> live in God; and as many as are not, these, who still have been reckoned to death, are truly called soul-ish and fleshly. (11) Therefore, he commands [us] to set aside the works of the flesh, which are strongholds of sin, and to mortify the members of death through his grace and to receive the Holy Spirit, whom we did not have, the one who makes me alive who “died” long ago. Wherefore I, not receiving [the Spirit], will have been dead, for apart from his Spirit all are dead. (12) “Therefore, if his Spirit is in us, the one who raised him from the dead will make alive our dead bodies through his Spirit living in us.”<sup>22</sup> But, I believe, both Christ and his Spirit dwell in the just man.

## LXVII

(1) If Christ is believed [to be] from the Father, as God from God, and the Spirit [is] from Christ or from both<sup>1</sup> (as Christ says, “who proceeds from the Father,” and “this one will receive from what is mine”; and Christ from the Holy Spirit, “for that which is in her,” the voice of the angel says, “is from the Holy Spirit”),<sup>2</sup> I should understand the mystery that delivers me by faith, by hearing alone, by love for the one who came to me. (2) For God knows himself; Christ proclaims himself; the Holy Spirit manifests himself to the saints. In the holy Scriptures the Trinity is proclaimed to us and is believed simply, without strife

<from> a hearing of that which has been agreed. (3) From this faith is the salvation of grace, "the righteousness from faith apart from works of the law":<sup>3</sup> <for> it has been written that from the "hearing of faith,"<sup>4</sup> the "Spirit of Christ"<sup>5</sup> is given to those who are saved. (4) This very faith is indicated in general by the expressions of the heralds, as I myself believe, being instructed from the Scriptures: thrice holy, thrice equally holy,<sup>6</sup> thrice existent, thrice coexistent, thrice endowed with form,<sup>7</sup> thrice with equal form, thrice active, thrice co-active, thrice enhypostatic,<sup>8</sup> thrice with *hypostasis*<sup>9</sup> joined with one another.<sup>10</sup> This Trinity is called holy, being three, one concord, one divinity of the same *ousia*, of the same divinity, of the same *hypostasis*,<sup>11</sup> like from like, working an equality of grace of Father and of Son and of Holy Spirit. (5) And how to teach to others is left open [to God]. "For no one knows the Father except the Son, nor the Son except the Father and to whom the Son might reveal."<sup>12</sup> And he reveals through the Holy Spirit. (6) Accordingly, these, being three, whether of him or from him or with him, for each, are they being thought about worthily, even as he reveals them as light, fire, wind, and I believe with other likenesses of visions, as the man being supplied is worthy.<sup>13</sup> (7) Therefore, God himself, the one who said in the beginning, "Let there be light, and light came to be,"<sup>14</sup> which was visible, is the same as the one who illuminated us to see "the light," "the true one, who comes into the world, illuminating all men."<sup>15</sup> ("Send your light and your truth," says David.)<sup>16</sup> He is the same Lord who said, "In the fi-

nal days I will pour out from my Spirit upon all flesh, and their sons and their daughters will prophesy, and their youths will see visions,"<sup>17</sup> showing to us three Persons of holy worship, from a *hypostasis* which is threefold.<sup>18</sup>

### LXVIII

(1) "So I say that Christ has become a servant of the circumcision on behalf of the truth of God for the fulfillment of the promises,"<sup>1</sup> and that the Holy Spirit serves together [with him]. We have received from the divine Scriptures thus: Christ is sent out from the Father; the Holy Spirit is sent out. Christ speaks in the saints; the Holy Spirit speaks. Christ heals; the Holy Spirit heals; Christ sanctifies; the Holy Spirit sanctifies; Christ baptizes in his name, the Holy Spirit baptizes. (2) Thus the Scriptures say: "You will send your Spirit, and you will renew the face of the earth,"<sup>2</sup> which is similar to the saying, "You will send forth your word and you will consume all things."<sup>3</sup> (3) "While," it says, "they were worshiping the Lord and fasting, the Holy Spirit said, 'Indeed, set aside for me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them,'"<sup>4</sup> which is similar to the saying, "The Lord said, 'Enter into the city, and there it will be told to you what it is necessary for you to do.'"<sup>5</sup> (4) "So having been sent out by the Holy Spirit, they went down into Seleucia,"<sup>6</sup> is as Christ would say, "Behold, I send you out as sheep in the midst of wolves."<sup>7</sup> (5) "For it seemed good to the Holy Spirit that no other burden more than necessary be added,"<sup>8</sup> is as one would say, "I myself do not speak, but the Lord, that a wife should not be separated from her husband."<sup>9</sup> (6) "They went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, having been prevented by the Holy Spirit from speaking the word in Asia. But coming to Mysia

they were trying to go into Bithynia, and the Spirit did not allow them,"<sup>10</sup> is as Christ would say, "Going forth, baptize every nation,"<sup>11</sup> <or> "Do not take a purse, a walking stick, or sandals."<sup>12</sup> (7) "Who," it says, "were saying to Paul through the Spirit not to go up into Jerusalem,"<sup>13</sup> or Agabus [said], "The Holy Spirit says such things, the man whose belt this is,"<sup>14</sup> is similar to what Paul said, "If you seek proof of Christ who speaks in me?"<sup>15</sup> or "Remember the words of the Lord, that he said, 'it is good to give rather than to receive.'"<sup>16</sup> (8) "And now behold, I myself, having been bound by the Spirit, go,"<sup>17</sup> is as he would say, "Paul, a captive of Jesus Christ."<sup>18</sup> (9) "Except the Spirit warns me, saying in every city,"<sup>19</sup> is similar to the saying, "<The> Lord bears witness to my soul that I do not lie."<sup>20</sup> (10) "In power according to a spirit of holiness,"<sup>21</sup> is similar to the saying, "Holy is the one resting in the saints."<sup>22</sup> (11) And "circumcision of the heart in Spirit,"<sup>23</sup> is similar to the saying, "And you were circumcised with a circumcision not done by human hands in the putting off of the body of sins, in the circumcision of Christ."<sup>24</sup> (12) "If indeed the Spirit of God dwells in you,"<sup>25</sup> is similar to the saying, "As you received Christ, walk in him,"<sup>26</sup> and, "The Spirit of the Lord spoke in me, and his word was in my mouth."<sup>27</sup> (13) And "having the first-fruits of the Spirit,"<sup>28</sup> is similar to the saying, "Christ the first-fruits."<sup>29</sup> (14) "But the Spirit himself intercedes on our behalf,"<sup>30</sup> is similar to the saying, "who is at the right hand of God, who even intercedes at our behalf."<sup>31</sup> (15) "In order that the offering of the nations might be acceptable, being sanctified in the Holy Spirit,"<sup>32</sup> is similar to the saying, "Would that the Lord sanctify you, in order that you might be pure and blameless in the day of Christ."<sup>33</sup> (16) "God revealed to us through his Spirit,"<sup>34</sup> is similar to the saying, "when the one who set me apart from the womb of my mother was well pleased through his grace

to reveal his Son in me.”<sup>35</sup> (17) “We did not receive the spirit of the world, but the Spirit who is from God,”<sup>36</sup> is similar to the saying, “Test yourselves, if Christ is in you.”<sup>37</sup> (18) “You are a temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwells in you,”<sup>38</sup> is similar to the saying, “I will dwell in them and will walk [among them], and I will be their God and they will be my people.”<sup>39</sup>

## LXIX

(1) But he [Paul] also says that justification and grace are from both: “justified in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God,”<sup>1</sup> is similar to the saying, “Justified from faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.”<sup>2</sup> (2) “No one is able to say that Jesus is Lord, except in the Holy Spirit,”<sup>3</sup> and no one is able to receive the Holy Spirit except from the Lord; “There are differences of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are differences of services, but the same Lord; and there are differences of activities, but the same God who is accomplishing all things in all,”<sup>4</sup> and “from glory to glory, just as from the Lord, Spirit.”<sup>5</sup> (3) And “Do not grieve the Holy Spirit, in whom you were sealed for the day of redemption,”<sup>6</sup> is similar to the saying, “Or do we provoke the Lord to jealousy? Are we stronger than he?”<sup>7</sup> (4) “The Spirit says expressly,”<sup>8</sup> is similar to the saying, “The Lord almighty says such things.”<sup>9</sup> (5) And “My Spirit has stood in your midst,”<sup>10</sup> <is similar to the saying>, “If someone opens the door for me, I and the Father will enter, and we will make our dwelling with him.”<sup>11</sup> (6) Isaiah [said], “and the Spirit of God is upon him,”<sup>12</sup> and Christ [said], “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, on account of which he anointed me”;<sup>13</sup> and “God anointed Jesus, the one from Nazareth, with the Holy

Spirit,”<sup>14</sup> or “The Lord has sent me and his Spirit.”<sup>15</sup> (7) And the manifest voice of the Seraphim, crying, “Holy, holy, holy, Lord Sabaoth.”<sup>16</sup> (8) If you hear, “lifted up to the right hand of God, receiving the promise of the Spirit from the Father,”<sup>17</sup> or “to wait for the promise of the Father, which you heard”;<sup>18</sup> or that “the Spirit casts him out into the desert,”<sup>19</sup> or that he says, “Do not worry about what you might say, because the Spirit of my Father is the one speaking in you”;<sup>20</sup> or “if in the Spirit of God I cast out demons,”<sup>21</sup> or “The one blaspheming against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven by him,”<sup>22</sup> and what follows; or “Father, into your hands I will commit my Spirit,”<sup>23</sup> or “The child was growing and becoming strong in spirit”;<sup>24</sup> or “Jesus, filled with the Holy Spirit, returned from the Jordan,”<sup>25</sup> or “Jesus returned with the power of the Spirit”;<sup>26</sup> or “That which has been born from the Spirit is spirit,”<sup>27</sup> (is similar to the saying, “What has come to be in him was life”),<sup>28</sup> or “and I will entreat the Father, and he will send another advocate to you, the Spirit of truth”;<sup>29</sup> or “Because of what did Satan fill your heart (Peter [said] to Ananias), that you cheat the Holy Spirit?”<sup>30</sup> and after these things, “You did not cheat men, but God.”<sup>31</sup> Then God is from God, and God is the Holy Spirit, whom those who set aside the cost of the land for themselves cheated, or “who was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit”<sup>32</sup>—I do not have more to say than this. (9) The Son is God: “from whom,” it says, “Christ according to the flesh, the one who is God over all things”;<sup>33</sup> “Believe,” it says, “in the Lord Jesus, and you will be saved,” and, “He spoke,” it says, “to them the word of the Lord”;<sup>34</sup> “and when he led them into the home, he set before them a table and rejoiced, having believed in God with the entire household,”<sup>35</sup> or that “In the beginning was the *Logos*, and the *Logos* was with God, and the *Logos* was God”;<sup>36</sup> or “in order that they might adorn the teaching of our Savior



God,”<sup>37</sup> or “For the grace of God and Savior appeared to all men, teaching us”;<sup>38</sup> or “awaiting the blessed hope and appearance of the glory of our great God and Savior, Jesus Christ.”<sup>39</sup> (10) The service of the Spirit and of the *Logos* is the same. “Give heed,” it says, “to yourselves and to the entire flock, in which the Holy Spirit set you as overseers to shepherd the church of God,”<sup>40</sup> is similar to the saying, “I am grateful to the one strengthening me, to Christ Jesus our Lord, because he deemed me faithful, appointing me to service.”<sup>41</sup>

## LXX

(1) Therefore, the Son and the Holy Spirit, as has been demonstrated, work together with the Father: “for by the word of the Lord the heavens were established and by the breath of his mouth, all their power.”<sup>1</sup> The Holy Spirit is to be worshiped: “for it is necessary for those who worship God, to worship in spirit and in truth.”<sup>2</sup> (2) And if he works together these things, a creation does not make a creation, nor does the divinity become created, nor is God known in a limit or circumscription.<sup>3</sup> For he is unlimited,<sup>4</sup> uncontainable,<sup>5</sup> inconceivable, surpassing all things made of God. (3) Nor is a creation to be worshiped: “for they worshiped the creation in place of the one who created, and they became foolish.”<sup>6</sup> For how is it not foolish to speak of God as a creation and to disregard the first commandment which says, “Hear, Israel, the Lord your God, the Lord is one”;<sup>7</sup> “There shall not be a new god among you.”<sup>8</sup> (4) In the holy Scriptures different names are called of the Father and Son and

Holy Spirit. Of the Father: Father Almighty, Father of All, Father of Christ; and of the Son: *Logos*, Christ, "true Light";<sup>9</sup> and of the Holy Spirit: "Paraclete,"<sup>10</sup> "Spirit of truth,"<sup>11</sup> "Spirit of God,"<sup>12</sup> "Spirit of Christ."<sup>13</sup> (5) Therefore, [our] God and Father further is thought as "Light,"<sup>14</sup> but as exceedingly bright, "Power," "Wisdom." And if [our] God and Father is "Light," then the Son is "Light from Light," and because of this, "dwelling in unapproachable light."<sup>15</sup> (6) [Our] entire God is "Power," and because of this <the Son> is "Lord of powers";<sup>16</sup> [our] entire God is "Wisdom," therefore the Son is "Wisdom from Wisdom," "in whom all treasures of wisdom are hidden";<sup>17</sup> [our] entire God is "Life," therefore the Son is "Life from Life," "for I am the truth and the life."<sup>18</sup> (7) The Holy Spirit is from both, Spirit from Spirit. "For God is spirit";<sup>19</sup> divinity, he is the giver of gifts, most true, most brilliant, "Paraclete,"<sup>20</sup> premonitory of the purposes of the Father. (8) For as the Son is "angel of great counsel,"<sup>21</sup> thus also is the Holy Spirit. "But we received," it says, "the Spirit of God, in order that we might know that which was given to us by God, which we also speak about, not in the persuasive words of [human] wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit of God, comparing spiritual things to spiritual people."<sup>22</sup>

## LXXI

(1) But someone will say: "Therefore, we say that there are two sons, and how [then] is he only-begotten?" "No! Who are you, speaking against God?"<sup>1</sup> For if he [the Father] calls the one from him "Son," and the Holy Spirit the one from both, (what alone is by faith being thought by the saints, that he is shining,

illuminating, has illuminating activity, and makes a harmony "of light" with the "Father" himself), (2) by faith listen, O man, because the Father is Father of the true Son, entire light, and <the> Son is <Son> of the true Father, light from light, not in appellation alone, as things which are made or created. And the Holy Spirit is the "Spirit of truth,"<sup>2</sup> third light from the Father and Son.<sup>3</sup> (3) But all the others [sons and spirits] are by adoption and by name, not similar to these in activity or power or light or notion. As someone would say, "I begot sons and raised them up";<sup>4</sup> or as someone would say, "I myself said, you are gods and all sons of the Most High";<sup>5</sup> or as someone would say, "the one who has produced drops of rain";<sup>6</sup> or as someone would say, "from whom all lineages in heaven and on earth";<sup>7</sup> or as someone would say, "I who strengthen thunder and create wind."<sup>8</sup> (4) For not like the remaining fathers or patriarchs has the true Father begun to be Father, nor does he abandon at some point in time his existence as Father. For if he begins to be Father, then he was the son at some point in time of another father, before he himself was the Father of the Only-begotten.<sup>9</sup> As fathers are thought to be children in the likeness of their fathers, it is also an endless thing truly to find the father of this ancient history. (5) Nor like the remaining children, [those] by adoption, is the true Son new at being a son. For if he was new at being Son, there was some point in time when the Father was not Father of the Only-begotten.<sup>10</sup> (6) Neither like the remaining spirits is the "Spirit of truth"<sup>11</sup> created or made, nor like the remaining angels is he called "the angel of great counsel."<sup>12</sup>

(7) For some have a beginning and an end, but others have both an inconceivable beginning and might; and some create all things for infinite ages, working with the Father, but others are created by these, as they would will. And some worship these [creators], but others are to be worshiped by all created things; some heal that which has been made, but others receive healing from them. And some are judged according to worth, but others have righteous judgment; (8) and some are <in> time, but others happen not to be in time. And some illuminate all things, but other things are illuminated by these; and some call innocents on high, but others are called by the one who is perfect. And some give freely to all, but others receive gifts; and to say once for all, some hymn the Holiness in the heavens of heavens and in the remaining invisible places, but others, being hymned, worthily furnish gifts to those who are worthy.<sup>13</sup>

## LXXII

(1) Scripture says there are a great many spirits: “the one who makes spirits his angels [messengers] and a flame of fire his ministers,”<sup>1</sup> and “All you spirits, praise the Lord.”<sup>2</sup> (2) A gift of “discernment of the spirits”<sup>3</sup> is given to the worthy. For some [spirits] are heavenly, “rejoicing in the truth,” but others are earthly, fit for deceit and error; some are under the earth, children of the abyss and darkness. For the Gospel says, “He was entreating in order that he might not send them to depart into the abyss.”<sup>4</sup> In like manner, he was also commanding the spirits, and he was chasing out spirits with a word and “was not allowing them to speak.”<sup>5</sup> (3) And it is said, “a spirit of judgment and a spirit of burning”;<sup>6</sup> and, it is said, a spirit of the world (“We did not receive the spirit of the world,” it says)<sup>7</sup> and a spirit of man, “For who of men knows the things of man, except the spirit of man?”<sup>8</sup> and “a spirit passing and not turning around.”<sup>9</sup> “Because a spirit

passed through him, and he will be no more,"<sup>10</sup> and "You will take away their spirit, and they will die,"<sup>11</sup> and a spirit of prophets. (4) "Spirits of prophets are subject to prophets,"<sup>12</sup> and, "Behold, a lying spirit stood before the Lord, and he [the Lord] said to him, 'With what will you deceive Ahab?' 'And I will be,' it says, 'a lying spirit in the mouth of the prophets.'"<sup>13</sup> (5) And it is said that "a spirit of slumber"<sup>14</sup> is "a spirit of cowardice,"<sup>15</sup> and "a spirit of divination,"<sup>16</sup> and "a spirit of fornication,"<sup>17</sup> and "a spirit of tempest,"<sup>18</sup> and "a spirit of loquaciousness,"<sup>19</sup> and "a spirit of feebleness,"<sup>20</sup> and "an unclean spirit,"<sup>21</sup> and "a mute spirit,"<sup>22</sup> and "a speechless spirit,"<sup>23</sup> and "a spirit of impeded speech,"<sup>24</sup> and "an exceedingly fierce spirit,"<sup>25</sup> which is called Legion,<sup>26</sup> and "the spiritual things of wickedness."<sup>27</sup> Innumerable are the sayings by the wise concerning the spirits. (6) But just as many sons are by adoption or by a name, but not in truth, because they have a beginning and an end and <were conceived?> sinfully, thus also a great many spirits are by adoption or by a name, and might be sinful. But the Holy Spirit alone is called Spirit of the Father and Son, "Spirit of truth,"<sup>28</sup> and "Spirit of God,"<sup>29</sup> and "Spirit of Christ,"<sup>30</sup> and "Spirit of grace."<sup>31</sup> (7) For he gives good to each differently, "to one a spirit of wisdom, but to another a spirit of knowledge, to one a spirit of strength, to another a spirit of healings, to one a spirit of prophecy, to another a spirit of discernment, to one of tongues, to another of interpreting,"<sup>32</sup> and the remaining gifts, as it says, "and there is one same Spirit allotting to each as he wills."<sup>33</sup> (8) Because "Let your good Spirit lead me,

God,”<sup>34</sup> David says, or “The spirit blows anywhere it wishes”<sup>35</sup> (he is showing to us the enhypostatic [existence] of the Holy Spirit through these things), “and you hear his voice, but you do not know from where he comes and where he goes away.”<sup>36</sup> And “if you were not born of water and spirit,”<sup>37</sup> is similar, as Paul said, “for in Christ Jesus I begot you.”<sup>38</sup> (9) Concerning this one [the Spirit], the Lord [said], “When the Paraclete comes, whom I will send to you, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father, that one will bear witness concerning me,”<sup>39</sup> and, “Still I have many things to say, but you are not able to bear them just now. When that one comes, the Spirit of truth, he will lead you into all truth. For he will not speak from himself, but whatever he will hear, he will speak, and the things to come he will declare to you. That one will glorify me, because he will receive from what is mine and will declare all things to you.”<sup>40</sup>

### LXXIII

(1) If, therefore, “he proceeds from the Father”<sup>1</sup> and “will receive from what is mine,”<sup>2</sup> the Lord says, just as, “no one knows the Father except the Son, nor the Son except the Father,”<sup>3</sup> thus I dare to say that [no one knows] Spirit except the Son from whom he receives and the Father from whom he proceeds. (2) And [no one knows] the Son and the Father, except the Holy Spirit, the one who truly glorifies, the one who teaches all things, the one who bears witness concerning the Son, who is from the Father, who is of the Son, the only guide of truth, expounder of holy laws, instructor of the spiritual law, professor of the prophets, teacher of the apostles, illuminator of the Gospel doctrines, selector of the saints, true light from true light.<sup>4</sup> (3) The Son is a real Son, true Son, genuine Son, the unique one from the unique one, and the Spirit is with him, <not a Son> but being named “Spirit.” (4) This one is the God who is glorified in the church: always the Father, always the Son, and

always the Holy Spirit, sublime of sublime and highest, intellectual,<sup>5</sup> having immeasurable glory, to whom [all] things created and made are inferior, in general everything that is circumscribed and each thing that is encompassed. (5) The divinity is especially declared as one in the Law of Moses, and is very much proclaimed as two in the Prophets, and is made known as three in the Gospels, furnishing more for the knowledge and faith of the righteous person, according to seasons and generations.<sup>6</sup> Knowledge of it [divinity] is immortality, and adoption as a son comes to be from faith in it [divinity]. (6) But first it [knowledge] recounts the ordinances of the flesh, as though raising up externally the encircling wall of the temple in the Mosaic Law. But next it describes in detail the ordinances of the soul, as though adorning the holy things in the remaining prophecies. And thirdly, [it describes] the ordinances of the spirit, as though arranging the Mercy-seat and Holy of Holies in the Gospels for its dwelling: a holy tabernacle, holy temple, <which> holds only the righteous person who is joined with these. (7) And the one infinite divinity dwells in it, one incorruptible divinity, one inconceivable divinity, incomprehensible, indescribable, invisible, the only one knowing itself, manifesting itself to those it wills, raising up witnesses for itself, calling, predestining, glorifying, lifting out of Hades, sanctifying, (8) unifying again, for its glory and faith, these three things: heavenly things, earthly things, and under earthly things; spirit, soul, flesh; faith, hope, love; things past, things present, things future; age of age, ages of ages, Sabbaths of Sabbaths; circumcision of the flesh, circumcision of the heart, “circumcision of Christ in the putting off of the body of sins.”<sup>7</sup> (9) It completely makes pure all things for itself, invisible and visible things, thrones, dominions, rulers, authorities, powers.<sup>8</sup> Overall the same holy voice, from glory to glory uttering, “Holy, holy, holy,” <glorifying> Father in Son, the Son in Father, with the Holy Spirit, to whom is the

glory and the might into the ages of ages, Amen!<sup>19</sup> And the one who thus believes will say, "So be it, so be it!"

## LXXIV

(1) And concerning the Trinity and consubstantiality<sup>1</sup> of God the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, we who are weak and unskilled, using no sophisticated arguments<sup>2</sup> nor opposing them "with the trickery of men,"<sup>3</sup> but rather gathering together testimonies from the divine Scriptures, for those wishing for the discovery of the faithful and the refutation of wicked believers and vainglorious men, [we] have collected a portion [of the testimonies]. For great is the power of faith in the Holy Spirit, which has been proclaimed excellently in all the divine Scriptures.

(2) Since the assurance of our salvation is the assured confession of the Incarnation and the incarnate *parousia* of our Savior, and the confirmation of hope, both concerning the resurrection of the dead and our rebirth, adding again a little to this, our labor, for those wishing to read something more accurate, collecting from the same divine Scriptures and adding to our argument, we continue. (3) For since, as we already were taught in what has been written before, our Lord himself in his Gospel said to his disciples, "going forth, baptize all the nations in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe the commandments which I commanded you."<sup>4</sup> He is the holy *Logos*, the one who is enhypostatic, the one who came forth from the Father, through whom the ages have come to be, through whom the times and seasons [have come to be]. For there was not a season nor a time before the Son.

(4) For if there was time before the Son, then time is greater than the Son; and how is it that "through him all things came to be, and apart from him nothing came to be which has come



to be”?<sup>5</sup> Because if something has come to be, it has come to be through him; and he is uncreated and always exists: because the Father always was, and his Holy Spirit always was. (5) For if there was time before the Son, then in turn <another> will be sought through whom also was the time before the Son, and then countless things will turn our reasoning to an illusion, lurking in the opinion of men, or rather to a fornication of thoughts, and not <to that which?> concerns soundness of mind. (6) Therefore, there was not a time before the Son, since the Son has not come to be through time. But through the Son, times and the angels and all other created things [have come to be]. There was not ever a time when the Son was not, nor was there ever [a time] when the Spirit was not.<sup>6</sup>

## LXXV

(1) Some people are accustomed, deciding wrongly and not thinking, to differentiate the reading in the saying, “All things came to be through him, and apart from him nothing came to be,”<sup>1</sup> while thus setting aside the literal meaning, to accept an opinion of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. They err concerning the reading, and from the error of reading they stumble, being turned toward blasphemy.<sup>2</sup> (2) Thus the reading has: “All things came to be through him, and apart from him nothing came to be, that which has come to be in him,”<sup>3</sup> that is to say that if something has come to be, it came to be through him.<sup>4</sup> (3) Therefore, the Father always was, and the Son always was; and the Spirit breathes forth from Father and Son, and neither is the Son created nor is the Spirit created.<sup>5</sup> But after Father and Son and Holy Spirit all things, created and originated, not

existing at some point in time, came to be from Father and Son and Holy Spirit, through the *Logos* who always exists, with the Spirit, who always exists.<sup>6</sup> (4) Therefore, through the *Logos* himself all created things have come to be, [through] the heavenly king, the enhypostatic *Logos*, our Savior and benefactor. (5) For he is the holy Savior, the one who came down from heaven, the one who deemed worthy that our salvation be accomplished in a virgin womb, the one who has been born in turn from Mary, conceived through the Holy Spirit, the one who assumed the flesh, the *Logos* who became flesh, the one who did not change his nature, the one who with his divinity assumed humanity, the one who is perfect from the Father, the one who fulfilled the perfect economy, came into the world for us and for our salvation. (6) [He is] the one who assumed the flesh and the human soul, being perfect from the Father, who became incarnate among us not in appearance, but in truth, who perfectly formed for himself a man from Mary, *Theotokos*, through the Holy Spirit. (7) [He is the one] who did not dwell in a man, as it has been accustomed in the prophets to say that he dwells and acts in power, but the *Logos* himself who became flesh, who did not alter his being as God, who did not change the divinity into humanity, but with his own fullness of his divinity and with his own *hypostasis* of God-*Logos* and enhypostatic, assumed existence as a man and as much as is man.<sup>7</sup> (8) I say perfect man as <having> however much is in a man and whatever sort a man is. The Only-begotten came and assumed this, in order that in the perfect man, being God, he might work perfectly the whole of salvation, having omitting nothing of man, in order that any omitted part in turn might not become fodder for the Devil.

## LXXVI

(1) And if some people say that he has assumed only flesh, and not a soul, weaving myths and turning the Scripture into myths from the saying, "We have the mind of Christ";<sup>1</sup> from the very saying let them understand that the ones who say, "We have the mind of Christ"<sup>2</sup> were possessing their own mind and did not abominate this.<sup>3</sup> But if they had their own [mind] along with the mind of Christ, they were being filled full of both: on the one hand the mind of Christ, which is able to bring improvement, on the other hand their own [mind], which thinks rightly.<sup>4</sup> (2) And let them think also the same thing about Christ, that being God and a mind being in him, he had the mind of man, <if indeed?> he assumed a soul along with the flesh. (3) Not therefore as a man was he altering it, but he was becoming adorning of the mind, and corrector and improver. For as he assumed the flesh, not having been defeated by flesh, thus also having assumed the mind, he has not been defeated by a mind. (4) Therefore, contrarily and more greatly such men seriously fall into error. For from end to end the divine Scriptures expressly cry aloud, not declaring harsh things against the mind, but against the flesh. (5) "For of the flesh," it says, "the fruits are fornication, adultery, licentiousness, and things similar to these,"<sup>5</sup> and, "Those who are in the flesh are not able to please God."<sup>6</sup> And, "The flesh desires against the spirit."<sup>7</sup> But concerning the mind it says that "I will sing with my spirit, and I will sing also with my mind,"<sup>8</sup> and that "my mind is barren or fruitful."<sup>9</sup> (6) For God established the

mind, which the Scripture has been accustomed to call "heart," "guide" as it says, and driver of the entire vessel, discerner of the good and the bad, scrutinizer of the things springing up in us. "For the mind discerns statements, but the palate tastes food."<sup>10</sup> The mind in man is discerning, but not yet assenting, if it does not give itself to change.

## LXXVII

(1) So why did it seem good to some people to cast this [the mind] aside from the Incarnation of the Lord? And how did they help life, turning <the truth?> rather into confusion? Or what is this that hindered us or helped us, in order that thus I might say how they assisted Christ? Can it be that in order that they might make this grace great for him, they even say <about> him <that> he did not assume a mind?<sup>1</sup> (2) "For Galatians are foolish,"<sup>2</sup> and "Cretans are always liars,"<sup>3</sup> and "Ephraim is a foolish dove."<sup>4</sup> Our Lord, who became incarnate, has received all things completely in life, but rather he himself assumed [all things], having become shaper of his own body, he who assumed for himself the soul or put it on.<sup>5</sup> (3) Some people, wishing to make lacking the incarnate *parousia* of Christ and the perfect economy in him, I do not know why they, who do not think rightly, said that Christ has not assumed a mind. (4) But not because of <sinful thinking?> do they appear to <cast away?> the mind. For these men

believe that the mind is a *hypostasis*, and naturally they dare to say that <it is> the usual thing being said in Scripture, the spirit in man, as the Apostle [Paul] says, “in order that your spirit and soul and body might be kept complete on the day of our Lord Jesus Christ.”<sup>6</sup> (5) So they err: for if a mind is the spirit and the spirit a mind, as they also believe, but the soul is another <*hypostasis*> along with the mind and along with the spirit, no longer are two *hypostaseis* being combined into a man into one *hypostasis*, no longer is the soul alone enhypostatic and the body enhypostatic, but we find then four: the mind is one *hypostasis*, the soul another *hypostasis*, the spirit another *hypostasis*, the body another *hypostasis*.<sup>7</sup> (6) And if we search again, there will still be more: for since man has acquired many names, both “the inside man”<sup>8</sup> and “the outside man,”<sup>9</sup> and Scripture has said all these things in a mystical sense,<sup>10</sup> binding together our thinking, in order that we might leave behind nothing from salvation nor that there might be an excuse for us for departing from what has been set forth. For these things are in man, and it is not necessary to inquire closely into them. (7) Nevertheless, against the argument of those people, if the mind is the spirit, and the spirit the mind, and these things exist outside of the soul, again why does it say in Scripture, “I will sing with my spirit; I will sing also with my mind”?<sup>11</sup> For through this it demonstrated that the spirit is not the mind, nor the mind the spirit.

## LXXVIII

(1) Then again, “the soul which sins is the very one which will die”<sup>1</sup> declared that it [the soul] is not outside of the body. “For there were,” it says, “in the ship seventy souls,” and in no

way were there souls without a body, but bodies with souls.<sup>2</sup> And again it has been the custom to call [a person] “man” from the one name [“soul”], because there is a master of eighty bodies, in no way without souls. (2) Therefore, the *Logos*, who became flesh, <did not happen to be> without a soul, <as> also he was not without all [human] affairs. For when it says “soul,” it did not declare it without a body; nor when we say bodies, do we think they are without a soul. (3) So why did it seem a good thing for those who wish to say that the mind has been cast aside? Or for what did this help the church? Or what rather did it not disturb? And how is the one who thinks such things not making our salvation lacking? (4) For we are not able to think that the mind is another thing, nor are we able to say this [the mind] is a *hypostasis* in and of itself. But it is a composite and rational and thinking thing in each of those who are <not> mad, that is to say, it is the thought of man: as eyes are in the body, thus is a mind in a soul. And again we do not assert this argumentatively, but simply that it is the mental [aspect] of men. (5) So what is a man? Soul, body, mind, and as much as there is any other thing.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, what did the Lord come to save? Surely a complete man. So, then, he assumed all things in himself completely. (6) Whence otherwise could these things have been fulfilled in him, which were prophesied and were equivalent in a man, from mind and body and soul and the whole Incarnation, without sin? (7) For wisely the divine Word instructs us, saying, “Behold, my beloved child will understand, whom I chose, in whom my soul was well pleased; I will set <upon him> my Spirit,”<sup>4</sup> and what follows.<sup>5</sup> Then, at any rate, where has the understanding been fulfilled? If on the one hand in the divinity, then is the divinity lacking in understanding? “By no means!”<sup>6</sup> For this is fulfilled in the Lord’s-man.<sup>7</sup> And if it has been fulfilled in the Lord’s-man, how will an Incarnation, existing with-

out a mind, understand? This is impossible. (8) For if "he will understand" actually refers to Christ, and Christ is God-*Logos* on high, but who became flesh from Mary, and who became incarnate and "lived among us,"<sup>8</sup> according to what has been written, then unambiguously, with the mind, he accepted the economy, since understanding befits it [the economy]. (9) For because of this, concerning him the Gospel says, "he was advancing in wisdom and age."<sup>9</sup> The divinity was not admitting age nor lacking wisdom, being complete wisdom. The Incarnation of the Savior was advancing in wisdom, not without a mind present, since <otherwise> he was not able to grow wise. And he was advancing in age as a maturing child, as is true.

## LXXIX

(1) But if because of the assumption of the mind, sin itself is thought [to be assumed], then it is more remarkable, if we grant that he assumed flesh, without which sin is not accomplished: "for the works of the flesh are manifest,"<sup>1</sup> especially because we might grant it, that he also sinned in the flesh, having assumed the flesh. "For I know," the Apostle [Paul] says, "that nothing good dwells in me, that is, in my flesh."<sup>2</sup> (2) But who will dare to say, on account of the Savior assuming flesh, that he has been led astray by the flesh, and that he accomplished the things of the flesh which are not rational, in the ordering of all of his own vessel, similarly <good> and bad, and yet that he has possessed flesh which is human, but <in> no way stumbling. (3) For the God-*Logos* who came forth from on high from the Father, who consented to come to be in flesh, was guiding his vessel; and if he was wishing to check it from all useless, fleshly action, he was able. And if he was wishing, he was allowing it. But he was allowing it in the bodily uses that were rational and befitting to his divinity. (4) For truly possessing the mind, just as he truly was possessing the entire Incarnation, [the mind]

was not being directed toward irrational desires, nor was he doing or reckoning the things of the flesh as we do. But as God, who came to be in true flesh from the Virgin Mary, he was acting with flesh and with soul and with mind and with the entire vessel, he who dwelt with the race of men, from on high, from the Father, enhypostatic God-*Logos*. (5) But let not some people play tricks with this which is said analogically, as [the phrase] “hear my cry.”<sup>3</sup> For it has been said analogically on account of it being a prayer, and it is clear <that> the use was prophesied <for the> analogy of his fleshly *parousia*. And the [phrase] “he was advancing in age” is true.<sup>4</sup>

### LXXX

(1) But why are such people accustomed to say: If we say that Christ has become a complete human from Mary or has possessed <a mind>, do we not suppose that he fell under sin? “By no means!”<sup>1</sup> “For he did not commit a sin, nor was deceit found in his mouth.”<sup>2</sup> (2) For if he breathed his power on the saints, and those on whom he breathed bear witness that they were holy, just, having advanced in their days blameless,<sup>3</sup> by how much more at any rate was the *Logos* himself, “in whom all the fullness of the divinity was pleased to dwell bodily,”<sup>4</sup> (and if he assumed true flesh from Mary, the perpetual virgin, and truly a human soul and a mind, and if something else is in a man), holding all things in himself, being God, [but] not possessing things being apportioned to evil, things corrupted from wickedness, things being taken into carnal pleasure, things falling under the transgression of Adam? (3) And because of this the Apostle [Paul] says, “came to be from a woman, came to be under law,”<sup>5</sup> and again “found in form as a man.”<sup>6</sup> And “in form,” <and “as a man,”> and “came to be,” and “under law,” by drawing together both [texts], it indicates completeness and



impassibility; from “came to be,” [it indicates] being complete, and <from> “under law,” [it indicates] not being [a man] in appearance, and <from> “in form,” [it indicates] the certainty of his likeness, and from “as a man,” [it indicates] blamelessness. (4) Therefore, with these things being thus, let no one be deceived by empty myths. For if he who was begotten above truly from the Father was also born from Mary, and he both speaks truth above and speaks truth below; and if he is imperfect below, he is also imperfect above. But if he is perfect above, he is also perfect below.<sup>7</sup> He did not dwell in another perfect [man], but he perfected all things in himself. (5) And he rose from the dead, no longer being separated in the tomb into body and divinity and soul in the nether parts, no longer falling subject to [human] contact, no longer being kept in check, but entering doors which have been closed, being touched by Thomas, in order that he might not be likened to an apparition, but in truth. (6) The one who was believed by Thomas after the fulfillment of that which has been said before, “with my hands I sought out God, and I was not deceived,”<sup>8</sup> is the same God, the same man, the one who did not produce a mixture, but who united the two into one. (7) Not having come to annihilation, but having infused [both] with equal power, he united the earthly body with divinity into one power. Into one divinity he brought [them] together.<sup>9</sup> He is one Lord, one Christ, not two Christs nor two Gods.<sup>10</sup> (8) In him the body is spiritual; in him the divinity is incomprehensible, the one [body] which has suffered but did not become corrupt, the one which is impassible, incorruptible; the whole is incorruption. He is Lord God, who sits at the right hand of the Father, who did not leave aside the flesh, but who united the whole into one, and into one divinity, who sits at the right hand of the Father.<sup>11</sup>

## LXXXI

(1) So this is the Only-begotten, the perfect one, the uncreated one, the unchanging one, the invariable one, the inconceivable one, the invisible one, <the> one who became incarnate among us and who rose spiritually and “no longer dies,”<sup>1</sup> no longer being destitute, the one “who, being rich, on our account became destitute,”<sup>2</sup> the whole one who is spirit, the one who unites the fleshly and the divine, one Lord, King, Christ, the Son of God, who in heaven is seated at the right hand of the Father “above all rule and authority, power and every name that is being named.”<sup>3</sup> It says in the Gospel, “going forth, baptize all nations in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.”<sup>4</sup> (2) And this “and” which is in the middle was indicating that the Son is not a coalescence with the Father. But he knows the Father, true Father; and he demonstrated himself to be a true enhypostatic *Logos* and that his Holy Spirit is an enhypostatic Spirit and “Spirit of truth,”<sup>5</sup> uncreated,<sup>6</sup> unchanging,<sup>7</sup> invariable. (3) It cannot be that someone might suppose craftily, bearing against the faith and its “feet,” hiding and practicing cunning against the truth (“for God tests the heart and kidneys”).<sup>8</sup> (4) And the heretic says: “Clearly I believe that the Father is Father, and the Son is Son, and the Holy Spirit is Holy Spirit, and I confess three *hypostaseis* in one *ousia*. I say not another *ousia* besides the divinity, not another divinity besides the *ousia*.” But for the sake of being accurate we call it <one> *ousia*, in order that we might not say one and then another form of the divinity of the Trinity.<sup>9</sup> (5) For, as I said, such a one who

conceals craftily again also says cunningly: "I believe that the Father is Father; Son is Son; Holy Spirit is Holy Spirit." But he holds to such a hidden opinion, that from us [humans] having compared the divinity, he says in himself, that as I have a human body and soul and spirit, thus also does the divinity. (6) On the one hand the Father is as the saying "form," on the other hand the Son, as a soul in man, and the Spirit just as the breath through man. For some people practice cunning and believe thus about the divinity.<sup>10</sup> (7) But we did not learn thus. But behold, the Father in heaven bears witness through his voice; behold the Son in the Jordan; behold the Holy Spirit, who descends in the form of a dove, assumed the likeness. But in accordance with himself did he assume the likeness, in accordance with himself being a *hypostasis*, not a different kind besides that of the Father and Son, but of the same *ousia*, *hypostasis* from the same *hypostasis* of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. (8) Again in another way: behold the Father is seated in heaven. But again do not assume "seated" in a human way, but understand it indescribably and incomprehensibly. And it did not say the Son went up to the Father, but "he sat down at the right hand of the Father."<sup>11</sup> (9) And again concerning the Holy Spirit, the Only-begotten taught, saying, "I depart, and that one will come, the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of truth. And if I do not go, that one does not come."<sup>12</sup> And if the Spirit were a coalescence with the Son himself, he would not be saying, "I depart, and that one will come," but in order that he might demonstrate a *hypostasis* and a *hypostasis*. But the divinity is one, one God, one truth.<sup>13</sup>

## LXXXII

(1) And thus I have written for the one who wishes <to know?> the ordering of our life and steadfast confession, that which has been preserved without defilement in the catholic church, from the law and the prophets and Gospels and apostles, and from the times of the apostles until our own times. (2) But against a malice of confusion of the one and true faith, season after season, because of the heresies, [I have written concerning] our same faith (and hope and salvation) which was persecuted, but abided in its truth, while the heresies of each age defiled themselves and were estranged from the church.<sup>1</sup> (3) As even as recently again we hear of some people who appear to bring back the main issues, by some of the ascetics in Egypt and of the Thebaid and elsewhere of other regions, who think things similar to the Hieracites and speak of the resurrection of our flesh, but not [really] of this [flesh], but of another instead of it, as such people were diverted and diverted the truth of God and our steadfast hope into myths.<sup>2</sup> And on which account we are compelled to speak again concerning this.

## LXXXIII

(1) For unbelievers deny the entirety of the resurrection, and wicked believers vulgarly and foolishly have fallen from the true hope to thinking thus about the resurrection. (2) And *Hellenes*<sup>1</sup> are the ones who completely deny the resurrection because of the impiety of the multitude of transgressions which come to be among them. For they hate the resurrection on

account of which they are destined to be subjected to shame in the resurrection, having being ignorant about God and his commandments. Except that they will rise, even if they do not wish. (3) For creation itself expressly refutes them, intimating each day the form of resurrection. For the day falls, and we signify obscurely the way of the dead, a slumber of the night which is signified obscurely. The day appears over the horizon, awakening us and demonstrating the sign of a resurrection. (4) Fruits are plucked, and the point where they were is cut away; hence [this is a sign] of our departure, when our person is separated. The earth is sown and buds grow, because that which has been buried will rise after the cutting. A locust may die, having buried that which is conceived, cast off from it, into the earth, and after a season the earth returns the things which were buried there. The seeds of produce are sown and first “die,” then they bear fruit. “For if it does not die, it does not give life.”<sup>2</sup> (5) God made a seal of the resurrection in us through twenty [finger and toe] nails, which bear witness concerning our hope. But also as through the crown of hair upon the head, he proclaimed our resurrection. For the body seeming dead in us, that is our hair and nails, each being clipped and cut, grow back again, indicating the hope of resurrection.

#### LXXXIV

(1) And there are unspeakably many things to say from analogies against the confidence of the unbelievers. But the dove, a bird, did not persuade these men, nor the dormouse, an animal.<sup>1</sup> For such as this [animal] dies in the sixth month and the

bird in forty days, and according to their season come to life again. (2) Dung-beetles that are about to die hide themselves in a ball of dung, having buried such a ball in the earth and having covered it. And thus out of their secretion they are found, rising again from their remains. (3) Concerning the phoenix, the Arabian bird, there is too much for me to say. For already it has come in a story for both many faithful people and unbelievers. And such a subject comes to light of its own accord. Living five hundred years, when it should know that the season of its end is at hand, it makes a nest of sweet herbs and, carrying it, goes to the city of the Egyptians, thus called Heliopolis, but is translated as “On” in the Egyptian and the Hebrew dialect. (4) And with its wings, having beaten its own breast many times, bringing forth fire from its body it sets afire the underlying wood in this way. And thus it would offer itself as a sacrifice, and it burns to ashes all its flesh with its bones. (5) Out of the economy of God, a cloud is sent, and it rains and puts out the flame that consumed the body of the bird, after the bird is already dead and utterly scorched. (6) From the quenched fire the remains of its flesh, still coarse, remain, and in about one day that which was destroyed produces a worm. The worm grows feathers, becoming a young bird, and in three days matures. And having come to maturity, it manifests itself to those assisting in that place and again travels to its own homeland and rests.<sup>2</sup>

## LXXXV

(1) It occurs to me to wonder about the mistaken thinking concerning all things of the unbelieving *Hellenes* and other bar-

barians against all things, as in their myths they are not ashamed to indicate the resurrection in every way and to sing often concerning the resurrection, (2) as when their myths describe Alkestis, the daughter of Pelios, who died for her husband Admetos and has been raised by Heracles after three days and has been brought back up from places not to be entered. [They describe:] Pelops, the son of Tantalos, after the serving of his flesh by his own father to their falsely-named “gods”; (3) Amphiareos, <the> son of Oikles, who was restored to life by Asklepios; Glaukos, the son of Minos, who was made alive again with a certain herb by Polyeidios the son of Koiranos; Castor on account of his brother Polydeukes, who willingly chose to exchange his life with him [Castor] every other day; and Protesilaos, on account of Laodameia. (4) But [they describe] also Sisypheos and Tantalos and the daughters of Kaukasos, who have been called Erinnyes, and Teiresias, at the same time as these, hurled down to Tartaros, going to pay justice there, one on the rock and the other under a wheel, and others have been punished in other ways and still remain in punishment, as they have not been given to annihilation, but continue to exist in the body. (5) For if they were not possessing bodies, how were they given over to punishment by a rock and a wheel? And there are many things to say concerning these things for the demonstration of the faith in us and the refutation against them.

## LXXXVI

(1) But also those who originate from the heresies sing about things akin to these and things in unison with unbelief, in that some of the heretics, the Manichaeans, say that there will be a resurrection not of the body, but of the soul, and in like manner also the aforementioned *Hellenes* believe and join in approving the same thing, since their argument is silly, more so being put forward from their understanding.<sup>1</sup> (2) For if the heresies speak on the resurrection and actually believe in a resurrection,

they limit this with respect to souls. Such as this is absurd. For how will the soul, which has not fallen, be raised up? For we do not bury souls in tombs, but bodies. (3) For souls do not fall, but flesh, as also has been the custom to call dead bodies "fallen." Therefore, if a resurrection is confessed by them, in every point it is clear <that> it is not of a soul, but of a body that has fallen. (4) But the *Hellenes* again are refuted, they who deny the entirety of the resurrection. Bringing forth food and drink to tombs on the days which are called "common," they offer meats and pour wine libations, benefiting not at all the dead, but rather harming themselves. (5) They are, however, compelled from custom to confess the resurrection of the dead. For they attend to the bodies placed there of those who died, and they address the buried dead by name. "Rise," they say, "O So-and-So, eat and drink and enjoy yourself." (6) And if thither they believe that the souls endure where the remains of those who died have been buried, there is an expectation for some such good for the souls. For they endure [until] the future day and the resurrection of rebirth, until they receive their compounded and united bodies, even if the children of the *Hellenes* abhor the flesh as being bad and completely destroyed and not having hope of living again. (7) And if they do not do this in this way, binding fast with some argument the better souls with a condemnation of the *ousia* of the bodies, rather do they throw about the notion, limiting them [the souls] to wait with the dead remains? Or for what sort of expectation of hope do they stand by, let them say! (8) But it is clear that they do not believe that the souls are in a tomb, but in some storehouses of God which have been set aside for each soul, according to the worth of what they accomplished and governed in life. The bodies were laid down with their own hands, each in a coffin for bodies or ossuaries. It would be silly that there be the one notion and ordering for all of these people, as has been confessed on all sides, but for the unbelievers, that contrariwise the true things are utterly denied and the possibilities to be hoped for in God have not been affirmed among them.



## LXXXVII

(1) But concerning these things I believe that sufficient things have been said, since we have provided a few things from the many illustrations. (2) And concerning those who appear to be Christians, (but being persuaded by Origen and confessing the resurrection of the dead, both of our flesh and of the body of the Lord, that holy one which has been received from Mary, and saying that this flesh is not raised, but another in place of this is given from God), how rather would we not say of them that they have a more impious notion and a heresy more foolish than the opinion among the *Hellenes* and the rest? (3) For first, if another [flesh] in place of this is raised according to their argument, the judgment of God is not just, according to their myth, judging another flesh in place of the one that sinned or bearing another body for the glory of the royal inheritance of heaven in place of the body that has toiled with fasts and sleeplessness and mortifications in the name of God.<sup>1</sup> (4) Also, how will the soul alone be judged according to the argument of the heresies, if the body that has sinned together [with it] is not present? For such a soul, when it says that the sins have come to be of the body, would contradict the judgment of God. (5) For there is even “proof” with respect to the argument of those who are carried away with contentiousness and not with truth. For [the soul] it is able to say: “I did not sin, but the body [did]. For since I came out of the body, neither did I fornicate nor commit adultery, nor did I steal nor murder nor commit idolatry; I did not do anything evil and fatal.”<sup>2</sup> (6) And its defense will be found reasonable. And when [the soul] speaks reasonably in defense, what will we say? Is the judgment of God then undone? But “does God inflict his wrath unjustly against men? By no means!”<sup>3</sup>

## LXXXVIII

(1) We know that "all things are possible for God."<sup>1</sup> And he is also able to produce a body without a soul, and he is able <to make> bodies which have become obliterated come to life again and the very things to be set in motion on their own without souls, if he wishes, as even already through most holy Ezekiel he made such an economy. (2) For he was saying to the holy prophet, "Tell, son of man, bones to be united to bones and joint to joint."<sup>2</sup> And behold, would that you marvel at the power of God, because not as yet were souls being inserted. But with the bones being dry, not only did they have the power to move at the command of God, but also the bones were filled with understanding and knowledge that was not random. (3) For the bones for the feet were not proceeding near to the parts of the head according to forgetfulness, nor were the vertebrae of the neck, wandering about, seeking out the position round about the joints of the ankles. But each of the bones both was moved and was proceeding in accordance with understanding and was positioned by its own joint. (4) If at any rate God wishes, he is able also to raise a body without a soul. For in this he showed his power, in the first coming to life again, that thing which was despaired of by men, through commanding Ezekiel. (5) And he did not say, "Tell, son of man, the spirit to go first." But after making easy through faith that which is hard, I mean uniting the bodies, then he commanded the souls to enter into the same bodies. "And rose," it says, "a great assembly."<sup>3</sup> (6) Therefore, it showed that God is able to make to come to life again even bodies apart from souls, just as has been shown by example, but the body is not able to be judged on its own accord. For it possesses a just defense toward the judgment of God. (7) For it even affirms it, saying, "Sin was from that soul; I myself was not guilty. For since I was released and that [soul] was away from me, I did not commit adultery, did I? I did not fornicate, did I? Nor did I steal, nor commit idolatry, nor do any of such

offenses, did I?"<sup>4</sup> And the judgment of God will be ineffectual according to the argument of those who love contentiousness. (8) Because of this, as one man has come to be from God, composed of the body and the soul, again the just judge raises up the body and puts its soul in it. And thus the judgment of God will be just, with both [body and soul] having a share either of retribution on account of sin or of virtue on account of religion and the future reward to be given to the saints.

### LXXXIX

(1) For believing that we have these things sufficiently for the demonstration of the truth of our hope, we provided a few things, instead of many. Because of those who say that another body is raised instead of that which falls, again with toil we continue, wishing to aid those who wish to understand and lest they be tempted to destroy their life. (2) For would that it be that we, the least and worthless, labor and help both ourselves and all, and that the resurrection of our flesh not be denied, in which the whole treasure and foundation of all sound reason and hope of all service are ordered according to what has been said: "having this treasure in earthen vessels,"<sup>1</sup> and what follows. (3) For being weak, we practice self-restraint; humble, we live in chastity; lacking power, we desire to practice charity on account of the reception of what is being expected, [that is,] of the resurrection of the dead. (4) And thus has been established the canon of faith and of hope of the love of God and of the testimony on behalf of the name of God in persecutions, tortures, and other punishments of men on those who do not deny the resurrection of our flesh. But they believe that which is "sown" in the earth will be raised. (5) For the divine Scriptures gave to us two clear and true testimonies, through which we are able to know the hope of our resurrection and not to be overthrown by the myths of vainglorious men who were deceived and wrote deceit in this life. So lest I provide too many testimonies (for there

are not a few in the New and Old [Testaments] concerning our hope and resurrection), I will say this briefly.

## XC

(1) If that which is raised were something else, just as some people assert, the Apostle [Paul] would not maintain strongly, saying, "For it is necessary that this which is corrupt put on incorruption, and that which is mortal put on immortality."<sup>1</sup> (2) Since it is also necessary concerning the glory of the saints, as they are destined both to be cleansed and to be changed in glory after the resurrection (just as it says, "it is raised in glory"),<sup>2</sup> for us to be established in hope, the holy Scripture says, "You fool, what you sow is not made alive, if it did not die. And you do not sow the very body which will come to be, but it may be a seed of wheat or some other seed. And God gives to it a body as he wished."<sup>3</sup> (3) It said this for the glory of those being raised in brilliance. And in order that it might show that the "seed" itself is receiving the glory, on his own account the one even "who spoke in Paul"<sup>4</sup> said in the Gospel concerning the resurrection: "Unless the seed of wheat which fell to the earth dies," he says, "it remains alone. But if it dies, it bears many seeds."<sup>5</sup> (4) Then at any rate the Apostle [Paul] said a "seed," and the Savior pointed out the same seed of the body on his own account. So what will we say? The very thing which was sown, his own body, that is to say the "seed," rose? Or was there another thing from him which rose out of the tomb after the three days? (5) As the angels say, "He rose; he is not here,"<sup>6</sup> and as he says to Mary, "Do not hold onto me. For not yet have I ascended to my Father,"<sup>7</sup> and as he shows his hands and side to Thomas, saying, "Do not be an unbeliever but a believer."<sup>8</sup> (6) For unbelieving is the saying, "He did not rise wholly," and wickedly believing is the saying, "The very thing which even died did not rise." But believing is the saying that the body itself rose; and from the same body which he raised, he appointed ours for the hope of truth.

## XCI

(1) For to this end he even let alone the marks of the nails, not wiping them away, nor the mark of the spear, and indeed at any rate he entered through closed doors.<sup>1</sup> For his fleshly [body] rose a spiritual one, but not another besides the one which is, but the very one which is, united to the divinity, adorned in the immateriality of the spirit. (2) For if it was not of an immateriality of spirit, what sort of opening was receiving the bulky body? But in order that he might demonstrate that that very thing which is corruptible [bodies] of us is clothed in incorruption in truth (for if it is also mortal, it is clothed in immortality), he entered through closed doors, in order that he might demonstrate that that which is dense is rarefied, and that which is mortal is immortal, and that which is corruptible is incorruptible.<sup>2</sup> (3) In order that he might put to shame all those who do not believe in our salvation, I mean the resurrection, the one who, changes his body into immateriality and commingled the <flesh after the> resurrection into spirit, did not cast aside the scars of the nails nor the mark of the spear. (4) But he demonstrated that very thing [body] which has suffered on the cross, that it was not something else which rose nor was he producing another thing from himself, but that the very one which has suffered is impassible, and he himself is the fallen seed which rose, but rose incorruptible. (5) And again in order that we might not believe some part has been raised from him, on the one hand the whole [body] itself did not see destruction, (for it says, "You will not give your holy one to see destruction,"<sup>3</sup> and on the other hand the whole [body] itself rose, <for> it says, "He rose; he is not here."<sup>4</sup> (6) If he was raised and is "not here," he truly rose. And the Scriptures do not err, being our life. And in order that those who have been deceived might not find an excuse, he showed his bones and flesh to Thomas and was saying to his disciples, "See me, that I myself am. For a spirit does not have bones and flesh, just as you behold me having."<sup>5</sup>

## XCH

(1) And if someone who is contriving deceit says, "But the body of our Savior was special on account of it only having been received from Mary and without a seed of man, then at least was it also another [body] of Adam besides our own, because only he received it from the earth without a seed of man?" But no one is able to say or to demonstrate this. (2) But if again someone contriving deceit says, "The whole [body] alone of Christ rose, but ours is not raised, but another instead of it." So why does it say, "Christ rose, the first-fruit of those who have fallen asleep"?<sup>1</sup> Even the body itself is one thing, a first-fruit of those which are raised. (3) How Christ has become the first-fruit of those who have fallen asleep, let them learn, and again let them not turn to another error, and let them not believe that other Scriptures deceive. (4) For before him he raised Lazarus<sup>2</sup> and the son of the widow, the one in Nain.<sup>3</sup> And Elijah raised the dead,<sup>4</sup> but also Elisha raised two dead people, one while still present and one buried.<sup>5</sup> (5) But those who arose again have died, and they wait for the one and universal resurrection. Christ, "first-fruit of those who have fallen asleep,"<sup>6</sup> because he rose, "no longer dies; death no longer rules him,"<sup>7</sup> according to what has been written.<sup>8</sup> (6) For he died once, enduring passion on our behalf because of our passions. He tasted of death once, "of death on a cross,"<sup>9</sup> the *Logos*, who went to death willingly for us, in order that by means of death, he might put death to death: (7) the *Logos* who became flesh, not suffering in divinity, but suffering together with humanity, a suffering being reckoned to him, with him remaining in immortality, but rather his whole self being immortality. (8) For he said, "I am the life."<sup>10</sup> And not through flesh is there hope for us. "Accursed," for it says, "is the one hoping in man. And he will be like a tamarisk-shrub."<sup>11</sup>

### XCIII

(1) So what will we say? Christ was not a man? From what has been foretold, it is clear to all that unambiguously we confess that the Lord, God-*Logos* has become man not in appearance, but in truth. But he was not a man who came in a progression of divinity. (2) For the hope of our salvation is not in dependence upon a man. For no one of all the men from Adam, was able to accomplish salvation, but [only] God-*Logos*, having become a man, in order that our hope may not be dependent upon a man, but upon the living and true God, who became man. (3) "For every priest who is taken from among men is appointed on behalf of men,"<sup>1</sup> according to what has been written. Whence from our flesh, the Lord who came took up the flesh, and the God-*Logos* became a man like us, in order that that in divinity he might give to us salvation and in his humanity might suffer on behalf of us men, undoing passion through passion and putting death to death through his own death. (4) The passion was reckoned to the divinity, even though the divinity is impassible, because thus the holy and impassible God-*Logos*, who came, was well-pleased. (5) A thing such as this is an analogy: it is as if a person has clothed himself with a cloak, and on the cloak, blood besprinkled might stain the cloak. And it did not reach the body of the one who has clothed himself, but the stain of the blood is reckoned to the one who has clothed himself with the cloak. (6) Thus Christ has suffered in the flesh, I say, in the Lord's-man himself, which the holy God-*Logos* himself, who came from the heavens, formed. As the holy Peter says, "put to death in flesh, but made alive in spirit,"<sup>2</sup> and again, "So with Christ suffering in flesh on our behalf, may you also prepare the same intention."<sup>3</sup> (7) Even as the blood on the cloak is reckoned to the one wearing it, the passion of the flesh was reckoned to him in his divinity, although it suffered nothing, in order that the world may not have hope in man, but in the Lord's-man, (8) with the divinity taking up the passion to be reckoned to it,

in order that the salvation on behalf of the world might be from an impassible divinity, in order that the passion which came to be in the flesh might be reckoned to the divinity, even though it suffered nothing, in order that the Scripture might be fulfilled which says, "for if they had known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory,"<sup>4</sup> and what follows.

## XCIV

(1) So he was crucified; the Lord was crucified, and we fall down and worship him who has been crucified, the one who was buried and rose on the third day and ascended into heaven. "O depth of the riches both of wisdom and knowledge of God,"<sup>1</sup> according to what has been written. (2) "For in part we know, and in part we prophesy,"<sup>2</sup> as a drop from a sea, drawing for ourselves from the knowledge of God and comprehending an analogy of such an economy, the grace of our hope with the good pleasure of the Father, by the will of the Son, together with the will of the Holy Spirit, <the mystery?> of the same economy of God. (3) All the Scriptures here and there were holding fast the proclamation of the resurrection, but the completion was being preserved for the *parousia* of the enhypostatic *Logos* himself. (4) "For Christ is the fulfillment of the law,"<sup>3</sup> according to what has been written. For where was the divine Scripture not speaking concerning the resurrection?<sup>4</sup> First the blood of Abel proclaims it, for after his dying, "he still speaks,"<sup>5</sup> the Scripture says. "Enoch was transformed and was not found and did not see death. For he was well-pleasing to God."<sup>6</sup> Noah constructed an ark from the command of God, accomplishing a rebirth for himself with his household home.<sup>7</sup> (5) Abraham in old age receives a child, "although the body already was dead";<sup>8</sup>



and from the dead, God has given hope, especially with “the mother Sarah” being “dead.” And that which “has been made old and has approached destruction,”<sup>9</sup> the fount which became barren from the ordering [of life] according to the custom of a woman, receives back the power for the sowing of a seed, and the aged woman conceives <as if> a younger woman. And from “death,” Isaac was handed over living to his father.<sup>10</sup> (6) For God, handing over to the father a living son from the dead, was proclaiming the hope of the resurrection. (7) Jacob points out the subject, not assigning the hope of his bones in second place, for he was taking care of such, not as being destroyed, but as going to come to life again. And not incidentally, he was commanding that they be brought back out of the land of the Egyptians.<sup>11</sup> (8) And Joseph indicated this: “You will carry up my bones together,” saying: “for with a visit the Lord will watch over you.”<sup>12</sup> If there was no hope of resurrection, why was there the care for his bones <in the> command to the just men concerning the bones that were undergoing decay? (9) The first expression to Moses is the testimony of God: “I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob,”<sup>13</sup> of those who are “asleep” in the world, but living beside me. One and the same Spirit is the one who spoke in the Law and who teaches in the Gospel. For to the Sadducees the Savior indicated this: “The one who speaks in the prophets; <behold>, I am he.”<sup>14</sup>

## XCV

(1) And let the staff of Aaron show, being dry perhaps for many years and left behind in the tent from evening until dawn. For with men, after labors, living branches, through twelve months according to a period of a completed year, produce fruit, when the sun warms and rain waters and dew spreads out, causing [them] to grow, night and day, (2) <but> in one night God made a difficult thing easy. For the dry staff sprouted and

shot forth leaves and ripe fruit.<sup>1</sup> For God showed the similar things with the future resurrection, which will be brought about by him. (3) When children are conceived in accordance with sacred marriage, which the Lord revealed, first a seed of the natural ordering is sown, as the Lord made known, in the procreative womb. When the cycle of time is accomplished, that which was sown in the belly is brought to completion through nine months' time, and I mean under the calculation of nine months that which is conceived and begotten is accomplished fully. (4) But in the resurrection it will not be thus, for the work will be in an instant. "For a trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised incorruptible."<sup>2</sup> As the Lord showed in the tent of the testimony, the nuts, which become "pregnant" on the living branches through twelve months, cover over on the dry staff, and sprouts come to be in the course of one night. (5) And not only [this], but also within a single instant of time did he accomplish fully what comes to be through twelve months, as has been said. And in like manner the babe who comes to be through nine months in the womb, who through much time has been put together, is completed, <but> in the resurrection what has been completed is made to rise in an instant.

## XCVI

(1) Let the power of the Lord persuade the unbelievers; no one "resist his purpose."<sup>1</sup> Let him listen to Moses, and let him show. "What is in your hand?" says the Lord. And he said, "A staff."<sup>2</sup> The staff itself was wooden, and entirely dried. And he says, "Throw it on the ground. And he threw the dry staff."<sup>3</sup> (2) And God was making wet that which was dry, and not only wet, but even alive, but also having been changed in nature and having been fashioned differently in *ousia*.<sup>4</sup> (3) The work was

not an illusion. For a truth of God is accomplished by a command, and it is not a fantasy. For in all things he set our thinking straight through the truth of Moses. (4) For the prophet knew that that which happened when he fled was not in appearance, but in truth. For if he knew that which happened was a fantasy, he would not have run away from the face of the serpent. (5) But not again will this become a snare for those who love contention and said, "Because the staff was another, 'God gave' to it a different sort of 'body, as he willed.'"<sup>5</sup> And so first let them learn that he did not animate one in place of another, (6) but that he animated that very one which was dry. [Let them learn] that this is the body that was given to the staff and being set in motion by him, as a type or form, that God was not calling it for judgment nor did he wish to judge the serpent in place of the staff, (7) but he accomplished the certainty of the resurrection through the staff. God was making known his own power, in order that one might not disbelieve his power in all things. And he did the very thing with all assurance, for he did not raise some part of the staff, but he changed the whole staff, as he willed.

## XCVII

(1) And because these things are thus, and the dead have hope of everlasting life and "those in the tombs will rise,"<sup>1</sup> summon again for me the trustworthy Moses as witness. For with Reuben having committed trespasses, his father, the holy Jacob the patriarch, curses him and says, "Reuben, my firstborn and first of my children, broken out in insolence as water, may you not boil over. For you went up into the bed of your father, and you uncovered it," he says, "where you went up."<sup>2</sup> (2) And in the Hebrew, *elthothar*, the very thing which is being translated as "may you not return," or "would that you not add," or again "may you not abound," is simplified in the phrase, "may you not boil over." And interpreters translated it thus. (3) And <if> you

wish to learn that these things are thus, and that death was limited by his father to this man who has sinned, Moses will clearly explain to you. (4) For even he [Moses] blessing the twelve tribes, having come to Reuben and having known that Levi [would be] priest (for in the hand of the priesthood, sins were atoned for and bound), he says, "Let Reuben live, and may he not die."<sup>3</sup> (5) But how was the one who had been buried one hundred and twenty-six years before able to live? (6) But since he also knew completely that the future resurrection is going to be, he knows [that there will be] a second death, that which is through condemnation on the day of judgment. Wishing to relieve him at the price of the one punishment from what is in the future, he [Moses] says, "Let him live" (7) (indicating the resurrection, for he knew that all will live), "and may he not die," that is, may he not be charged with the second death, the one which is through condemnation and with eternal torment. (8) For if he [Moses] cared about the penalty of life for him, it was sufficient only to say, "Let Reuben live." But since he gives an indication concerning what is in the future, he says, "Let Reuben live, and may he not die."<sup>4</sup>

### XCVIII

(1) And whence might someone be able to collect so many testimonies concerning our hope and expectation of the resurrection, of the one in truth and not in appearance? (2) For let the vainglorious and lovers of contention speak their folly, whether at some time a part of bodies rises and part of all in turn, or again of whom the whole is raised, and of whom in turn is the partial resurrection, and of whom the whole body. What is such a partiality as this? Then is there "partiality with God"?<sup>1</sup> "By no means!"<sup>2</sup> (3) Let us investigate how or when saints raised a dead person in parts and not the whole body. The son of the widow in Zarephath rose whole, and a part was not left behind.<sup>3</sup> The son of the Shu-

nammite woman rose whole and allowed none of his limbs not to rise.<sup>4</sup> (4) And <the> Lord raised Lazarus, and he did not leave behind a remnant in the tomb. But with the grave-clothes and other coverings <he rose?>,<sup>5</sup> and [there is] not at all a use for clothes in the day of judgment. (5) He raised the whole son of the woman in Nain,<sup>6</sup> the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue,<sup>7</sup> the daughter of the centurion.<sup>8</sup> And O, the vain opinion of those who reckon such things, that he raises a part and leaves behind a part! (6) Let us see from the very ones who have been presented and who already equally have become of hope to us. All of Enoch was transferred,<sup>9</sup> and he has never seen death. And all of Elijah was taken up in body,<sup>10</sup> and he has never seen death, in order that in two living bodies he [God] might present to us the perfect resurrection. (7) And in order that no one may doubt, he <presented?> two figures of two firstborn men of our resurrection. Enoch was among the uncircumcised, and the uncircumcision did not prevent the resurrection nor the reception of the body throughout a course of living life. Elijah was in circumcision, in order that <the> resurrection might not be believed to be for some and not others, but wholly universal. (8) Elijah was [living] in virginity, in order that he might declare to the world the preeminence of virginity, as well as immortality, and the incorruption [associated] with the body. But in order that the resurrection and the permanence of the body might not be believed to be only in the case of virginity, Enoch was not a virgin, but was temperate and begot children. And these two men are living, persevering in body and soul for the sake of hope.

## XCIX

(1) And so that no one may doubt again, he also led down others into Hades with their bodies. For the earth opened its mouth and swallowed Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Korah and On, and they, living in body and soul, descended into Hades. For from the very time they were handed over to judgment,

neither [were they] loosed from their bodies, nor was a remnant handed over, nor parts, but with all handed over, with body and soul, into punishment.<sup>1</sup> (2) Job says, “until I come to be again,”<sup>2</sup> and, “this body, the one suffering these things,”<sup>3</sup> and, “You renew me,” and again, “Your youth will be renewed as of the eagle.”<sup>4</sup> Isaiah [says], “The dead will rise and those in tombs will be raised.”<sup>5</sup> For he came, the one “who loosens in courage those who have been bound, similarly those who provoke, those who dwell in graves.”<sup>6</sup> (3) Job says, “A man dead no longer arose, nor will he know his place.”<sup>7</sup> For truly even day-by-day the resurrection does not come to be, but has been determined in one day. Proving that he knew in what sort of appointed time he was awaiting, straightaway he solved the question: “until heaven is not stitched together.”<sup>8</sup> (4) For so far as heaven and earth are, still also bodies exist on the earth. But whenever “the one rolling heaven as a scroll” and shaking the earth may come, then “even those who are in the dust of the earth will be raised.”<sup>9</sup> (5) Because of this, he [God] says to Ezekiel, “Son of man, tell bones to be united to bones and joint to joint,” and thus it came to be; and “to come to be on them sinews and veins, and flesh and hair and nails.”<sup>10</sup> And again, “Say, son of man, ‘Come, wind, from the four corners of the earth,’”<sup>11</sup> from the places that are manifestly locked storehouses of souls. (6) And for what reason does the Lord himself not speak, but commands a man to speak? Because what the Lord says at once he also does, and it is no longer undone. He ordered the man to speak, in order that after the rising again, the hope of our salvation might be indicated at the time, and a word of man might be undone, and not [a word] of the Lord. He was intending those bones to die again. But whenever the Lord may say, “Rise again,” they are raised and do not die. For a word of God will not be undone.

## C

(1) Because of this also, the Lord, who came in the flesh, raised the dead, in order that that which exists through the flesh might die again, until the flesh itself might rise and might no longer die, and [in order that] he [the Lord] might no longer stay silent, saying to only one: "Rise,"<sup>1</sup> "Come out,"<sup>2</sup> until he might come and might speak no longer singly, "Rise," but "Let all rise," accomplishing the universal resurrection. For he is the resurrection of the dead.<sup>3</sup> (2) For thus after the rising from the dead, he raised no one <except> of those who recently died. For with him rose "all bodies of the saints who have died, and they were seen by many,"<sup>4</sup> "[they who were] entering into the bridal-chamber with him,"<sup>5</sup> according to what has been written in the Gospel. (3) And it did not say, "a part of the bodies of the saints rose," but "bodies of the saints." And "they were made visible to many," not being other people besides those who have died, but being recognized by their own, because they had died not long before. (4) And our Lord, wishing to show the miracle to others, indeed showing, he was making those difficult things easy. And when he goes to the girl who recently died, the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue, although she has died that very hour, he deemed it worthy to say to her, "Rise, child,"<sup>6</sup> indeed with "Rise," reinforcing what has already been undone, since she was still on the bed. (5) The son of the widow in Nain, since he was already being carried out in the coffin, he raised him more easily: "for he grasped the coffin"<sup>7</sup> and did not say anything to the child, but only grasped the coffin, and he arose. (6) What is still deepest and greater by far compared with a hope of men, is when he came to Lazarus on the fourth day, neither did he say "Rise," nor did he grasp the tomb with his hand. But thus at once he calls on his own authority, "Lazarus, come out."<sup>8</sup> (7) By far the [saying] "come out" is easier and more feasible in comparison with the grasping, but the grasping again is easier by far than the ordering, "Child, rise." Thus

the holy *Logos* of God does all things, in order that he might show the hope of the resurrection to us.

## CI

(1) If I wished to select all the testimonies from all the Scriptures, on the one hand our mind is small, both humble and uneducated; nevertheless, on account of the many I extend my argument to a greater length. I will speak briefly, because our salvation is concise, and overall, it is of the one hope of the resurrection which has been proclaimed to us. (2) These things unbelievers do not believe, false believers corrupt, lovers of contention do not accept, the vainglorious reject. May God offer his mercy to all and shine through those of their thoughts that have been darkened. (3) For the *Hellenes*, who did <not> receive the Holy Spirit, will be put to shame by the truth and all the aforementioned testimonies, but especially by you, the sons of the holy church of God and of the orthodox faith. (4) For may you teach, you who received the Holy Spirit and were deemed worthy of the well-placed word “in the opening of the mouth,”<sup>1</sup> first, that you were deemed worthy to be disciples of Christ, of the “chief shepherd”<sup>2</sup> and “of the guardian of our souls.”<sup>3</sup> Because you, who gathered together nourishment for the flocks of Christ, your own people, <and> in such a manner are caring both for yourselves and the sheep of God, and I say, the one wishing to be helped in all ways, may you rear them from the holy land that was hinted at by Moses. (5) Who, of those thinking well of you, the devout and trusted of guardians, O orthodox men and sons of the church (for by saying “some,” I speak of all the sons of the truth, according to what has been written), who will doubt concerning these things? (6) For being sons of a wise and most courageous “woman,” whose fame was in the hands of Solomon, who says, “Who will find a courageous woman?”<sup>4</sup> (as being rare, nay rather a single one), may you choose that which is stronger and love that which is helpful. (7) Think with me that the courageous woman is the church of God, your



mother, than which nothing is more courageous, dying in accordance with each persecution, being roused on behalf of the name of her husband.

## CII

(1) So this most gentle woman asks her groom in the Song of Songs exactly, "Where do you tend your flock? Where do you make it sleep at noon?"<sup>1</sup> Christ tends his flock in the aforementioned holy land; and not only does he tend his flock, but he also orders to loosen the sandals of the feet of the shepherds, as he says first to Moses. (2) Having received the tradition from him, you yourselves also lead by the hand first those being led steadfastly into the holy knowledge, taking care that the sandals of each be untied. (3) And the sandals of each of us are different. For by each person's own action, each person was shod. And the rest of you disciples and each one listening to good shepherds, [each one] who on the one hand was shod with idolatry, was unshod by your admonition, on the other hand another was unshod from adultery, another from fornication, another from theft, and [another] who [was unshod] from greed. (4) Not only [these], but also renouncing hateful arguments and shameful statements, with glorious hopes "under the mighty hand"<sup>2</sup> of the good Shepherd through you good men, each of the disciples hands himself over to be tended. For each will be kept in all ways from error. (5) And set the truth before your eyes, marking idols as false and openly proclaiming the error concerning them (for you do not believe in these dead ones, since they never lived), and always teaching reasonably all people that they [idols] are empty and vain and never existing.<sup>3</sup> (6) For they were not ever existing, in order that those men may be <something>. But they are demonic, a juxtaposition of human thinking, encouraging the pretexts for pleasures. And

thence by each person, one's own passion has been undertaken as an established object of worship. (7) For first straightaway when this was innovated by men through the ill works of demons, this "foremost idolatry,"<sup>4</sup> was spoken as an opinion, and idols were formed in rough drawings.<sup>5</sup> Thereafter his own skill, which each person was possessing in his hands, through which he had means, he was handing down for an object of worship to his own children. And through his own handiwork he was molding for himself gods out of wood, even just as a potter from clay, a woodworker from wood, a gold-worker from gold, and a silver-smith [from silver].

### CIII

(1) Still again each person was conceiving his own passion into likenesses <before> his own eyes, some blood-thirsty man thinking up Ares; an adulterer or adulteress, the promiscuous Aphrodite; a tyrant, who gave new wings to Nike. (2) For an austere person and one who has gaped at worldly things was drawing the figure of Kronos, and the one who is becoming feminine Kybele and Rhea because of the state of flux, I think, of the confusion from the bodies. (3) Besides a wandering man or woman was forming the huntress Artemis and drunkard Dionysos and heavy-laborer Herakles, and someone promiscuous Zeus and Apollo. (4) And what is it to me to tell of the multitudes of countless passions which exist in men? Most of all, the Egyptians, who strayed, not only worshiped their own passions, but winged and four-footed things, both things on land and in the water, some untamed wild things and those which were given in order to them by the holy God as slaves, "they exchanged."<sup>1</sup> (5) And as they are irrational in their thinking, they

worship above all the animals, the ones deified by them, and they do not feel shame: a barking dog, a reptile-eating cat, a licentious he-goat, a gentle sheep, a many-toed and most gloomy crocodile, a poison-eating ibis, kites, falcons, most servile crows, a twisted and most odious snake. (6) And in general, O, the great shame of those who do not understand their refutation with their sense of sight, of those who neither receive perception with their ears nor understand with their thinking among those who become foolish.<sup>2</sup> (7) Having been struck at any rate with a bad fate, they are neither being illuminated by their own philosophers nor becoming fellow-spectators with those who contemplate the truth.<sup>3</sup> (8) For they do not listen to Diagoras, the one who lit a fire underneath his own wooden Herakles because of a lack of wood and mockingly says to it, "carry on indeed, Herakles, may you come, finishing your thirteenth labor, boiling our dish for us."<sup>4</sup> Indeed, having taken and splintered it, laughing at his own god as if not existing, jesting, he was feeding himself with it serving up breakfast.

#### CIV

(1) Another person, Herakleitos, says to the Egyptians: "If gods exist, on account of what do you bewail them?" (For shrilly bewailing Typhon and Osiris and other subterranean gods that have been buried, they lament). This man at any rate says, "If gods exist, on account of what do you bewail them? But if they

have died, you bewail them in vain.”<sup>1</sup> (2) Another person, a comic named Eudaimon, says, “If indeed gods exist, I am not able to speak concerning them nor explain what sort of kind they are. For there are many things which hinder me.”<sup>2</sup> (3) And Homer says, “The rule of many is not good.”<sup>3</sup> And Philemon, another comic, says, “Those who worship one god have good hopes for salvation.”<sup>4</sup> (4) For Apis the chaff-eating bull straightaway was struck in the thigh with a sword by Kambyeses, the king of the Assyrians, in order that, if blood flowed, it might be proved as not a god.<sup>5</sup> (5) And the followers of Kronos do not deny that their own god was enclosed with iron chains; thus they believe. And if someone is in prison, not simply is it that he is subject to one large [prison], but also as a criminal such a one is in prison.<sup>6</sup> (6) And if also there will be an argument from me concerning Isis, the one being called by name now both Atthis and Io, daughter of Apis the Cappadocian, also called Inachus, I am ashamed equally to proclaim the deeds of those people.<sup>7</sup> (7) I will not, however,

be ashamed to talk about what things they are not ashamed to worship. Let the worshipers of this one [Isis] and of foam-born Aphrodite be ashamed, they who exhort their own daughters and wives and sisters to imitate the deeds of the gods themselves.<sup>8</sup>

(8) And simply loving Osiris, their own brother, <and> Typhon, the other brother, they enlist their own siblings against one another. Much is the shame of the goddess, the one who does not have a sense of respect for her own brother, but who loves and is not satisfied with men from the outside [of her family], but even drew near to her own brother. (9) And not only this, but also she intimates fratricide because of her own insatiable desire of lust for her nearest. (10) And she conceives one child, Horos, <for whom?> she was not able to prove who truly is his legitimate father. For if she names Typhon, it is doubtful that he was his begetter. But if [she names] Osiris, who would prove the accuracy of this? (11) Such a mother was teaching <him that he became> a “good” god, taking him and prostituting herself ten years in Tyre.<sup>9</sup> (12) But making Apis, king of the inhabitants of Sinope, into the god Serapis, they were slaves to a tyrant rather than to truth.

## CV

(1) These are the “rewards” of the gods being honored among the Egyptians, about each of whom in turn much time will be spent in speaking. But the *Hellenes*, who suppose that there is some great thing among them, who philosophize only with arguments and sharpness of tongue and not with deeds, were ruined most of all. (2) Whosoever derives Kronos from Ouranos, saying that he has been produced from Ouranos and

has cut the members of his own father (O wicked deed and shameful opinion!); if the latter had not been cut, there would have been many Kronos-es.<sup>1</sup> (3) This “noble” one, he who until having overtaken his father was not satisfied with the first impiety, but on the one hand while young wronged his father (4) and on the other hand having become old, swallowed his own children, Poseidon and Pluto. But searching out Zeus and being duped by Rhea, he swallowed a large stone that was swaddled in place of the baby, perhaps just as if a god. (5) Being of “well-born” parents, as much as thus I can say, the son of this [god], Zeus being his name, was venturing to become the husband of all women, and the son of this [god] was Hermes. And would that according to the laws he became someone married, and not always seeking out illicit love and not an evil-doer! (6) For he seduces Penelope, having become a he-goat for the sake of pleasure. And I suppose he was becoming a he-goat on account of the vigor of the intermingling of the part covered by the “beard.” (7) With respect to Danae, he [Zeus] was becoming gold, in order that he might seduce the prudent virgin, who was confined in her home. But that one was not ever able to become gold, but being an imposter, he tricked the virgin by bribing her with gold. (8) And with Leda, in turn he becomes a swan, indicating again the clamor of the burning of his pleasure. (9) As an eagle, yet never having taken wing, he sits himself before others as a teacher of corrupters of boys. Never having become an eagle, but in a notorious ship, which is named “eagle” because of its speed, having sailed past Troy and having snatched away Ganymede, the son of the king, he caused ruin. (10) And with respect to Pasiphaë, he became a bull, in like manner also with respect to Europa.<sup>2</sup>

## CVI

(1) And what is it to me to speak about the multitudes of this “noble” corrupter and teacher of corrupters? Of whose tomb

there are clearly not [just] a few.<sup>1</sup> For in the island of Crete on the mountain called Lasios up to now [one] is pointed to with a finger.<sup>2</sup> (2) For there are not one or two Zeus-es, but even three and four have become the number.<sup>3</sup> For one of them is the aforementioned son of Kronos, the one who cast down into Tartarus his own father in the Kaukasian mountain,<sup>4</sup> but another is called Latiarios, from whom gladiators have come to be. And another is [surnamed] Goat-singer, he who even set fire to his own hand.<sup>5</sup> (3) Perhaps, being a god, he forgot that fire stings, and he was not in possession of the foreknowledge of the one speaking to the he-goat-satyr, the one who first found fire and approached to kiss it, [who said]: "Do not touch, he-goat. For when you touch, you will burn your beard."<sup>6</sup> (4) And not one Athena has come to be, but many. One roaming and wandering around the lake Tritonis, but another is a daughter of Oceanos, another a daughter of Kronos, and many others.<sup>7</sup> (5) There are many Artemis-es. One is the Ephesian, another is the daughter of Zeus and others in like manner not a few.<sup>8</sup> And Dionysos-es: the Theban, but another is the son of Semele; one is [leader] over the Korybantes, and one being torn apart by the Titans, and one initiating into mysteries the meat distribution of the Kouretes.<sup>9</sup> (6) Heracles is called among them a warder against evil, all of whose deeds I will leave unspoken, but I will explain one from them all, that one which is commended among them forthwith. It would be enough for this man to take up this labor, in order that he might become "salvation" in this life. For if he did not corrupt fifty virgins in one night, how was the world being "saved"? Rather, he was destroying it.<sup>10</sup> (7) And

simply I confess to you, I find it difficult to describe in detail their wicked deeds. (8) Still the cruelest kings and tyrants, who have had certain longed-for persons and have buried them in the ground, though not having anything more to give to these [dead], (indeed such things and they themselves are perishable in accordance with who and what they are), for their affection of those [dead] they have handed down to their own subjects (as an error for the world) that their tombs are to be worshiped as [if they were tombs of gods], in dependence upon a wicked pretext.<sup>11</sup> As with Antinoös, the one who has been buried in [the city of] Antinoös and being laid in a pleasure-boat by Hadrian; he [Hadrian] arranged this.<sup>12</sup> (9) And Timogenes in Asia,<sup>13</sup> both Kanobos, the helmsman of Menelaos, and the wife of this man, Enmenouthis, buried with funeral rites in Alexandria, are honored on the bank of the sea, standing apart twelve mile-markers. And Marnas, the slave of Asterion of Crete, [was buried] among the Gazaoi, and Kasios the shipmaster among the Pelusians.

## CVII

(1) So investigate all these things whenever in the midst of the church. Thus unbind those who were brought to a wicked model of a deadly path, and lead others from adultery into temperance and do not deliver them only from seeking out illicit love, but also from despising their own [wives] in accordance with continence, as yet “the season is short,”<sup>1</sup> as the holy Apostle [Paul] says. And instruct fornicators, in order that they might not be punished having done the unlawful action in the midst of both God and men. (2) And whenever you impart all these things, laboring through oral expression and through deeds, persuade them to accept all things from you, having done all things first in deed and having been modeled on you, confirming your words through your deeds, with which you taught yourselves first, in



order that you might also instruct others. (3) For even keeping silence, maintain the manner of the sun, which “teaches” all people everywhere even in silence. For simply rising and keeping silence, it teaches better all of their skills. (4) And whenever you impart the benefit of all these things to your children or so to most faithful brothers, lead them forward on the one hand to walk upon the earth, on the other hand to have “citizenship in heaven.”<sup>2</sup> Engender the zeal of monks in the greatest number. (5) By the firmest faith without dissimulation in you, who abhor heretics, who muzzle Manichaeans, Marcionites, and the rest similar to them, expel them from the fold of God, dismissing and bridling all of their pretexts. (6) For how many things are being spoken aloud boldly against God and against his holy prophets! Being vain and devoid of the Holy Spirit, they blaspheme against the Creator of all! And how many good things God gave through his holy prophets to all men according to the gift of prophecy, these [heretical] men hate the deepest things of the law and such things of the prophets, indeed being earthly and concerned with corporeal things, questioning, they do not perceive.<sup>3</sup> (7) They blaspheme falsely. Straightaway do not hesitate to shake off their error from those who are listening, <refuting> them from true proofs. For through such statements, fools are brought down, just as twigs in a current of a swollen river.

## CVIII

(1) They said that “good” is the God of the law,<sup>1</sup> who, being ignorant where Adam is, was asking, saying, “Adam, where are you?”<sup>2</sup> And he says to Cain, “Where is Abel, your brother?”<sup>3</sup> and to Abraham, “Where is Sarah, your wife?”<sup>4</sup> and many other things such as these.<sup>5</sup> (2) The very ones who say such things believe in God the Savior [only] in mouth and not in truth,

[that is] in the one who is God and has foreknowledge, who inquires the very things [in the New] similarly to the Old Testament: "Where have you placed Lazarus?"<sup>6</sup> and, "Who touched me?"<sup>7</sup> and, "Do you have bread with you?"<sup>8</sup> and, "What do you wish?"<sup>9</sup> or, "Whom do you seek?"<sup>10</sup> (3) Well, then, the refutation against these people is obvious and easy. For as the Son, who has foreknowledge, inquires, thus also the Father himself inquires in the Law, the one who is the same always and unchanging. (4) For if he says, "Where have you placed Lazarus?"<sup>11</sup> he is ignorant neither of the Gospel nor the Old Testament. For he says, "Where have you placed him?" wishing to convict the women who have not exhibited the same faith in proportion to the Shunammite woman, and indeed at any rate of that woman who had [faith] in a man, that is, in Elisha the holy prophet,<sup>12</sup> and of those around Martha who have [faith] in God.<sup>13</sup> (5) And if he says, "Who touched me?"<sup>14</sup> he says it not from ignorance, but in order that he might persuade the woman to confess of her own accord, in order that the Son of God might not bear witness concerning himself, but might be glorified by others.<sup>15</sup> (6) And when he said, "Do you have bread with you?"<sup>16</sup> on this he speaks, in order that the small quantity of bread might be indicated to all and that the greatness of his miracle might be marveled at, through so much bread for so large a throng that was fed. (7) And when he said, "Whom do you seek?"<sup>17</sup> he demonstrates that the ones who seek and "the ones who seek Jesus"<sup>18</sup> (who is interpreted as "healer" and "savior"),<sup>19</sup> are the ones who have been deceived, in order that when they slay him they might cease from the salvation of this man.<sup>20</sup>

## CIX

(1) So even as we pointed out the things which are said concerning the economy of our Lord in a human sense, it [the economy] was not without a share of foreknowledge (for someone among those who think rightly ought not say that he, being near the location, is ignorant of where they have buried Lazarus, even if for the reason for which we said he was asking the way, recently being far away from Galilee and pointing out by himself that Lazarus has died). Thus also we resolve reasonably these things concerning the Old Testament. (2) When God said, "Adam where are you?"<sup>1</sup> he was not being ignorant, but demonstrating from what sort of height to what kind of depth of shame Adam has fallen. (3) And [God says], "Where is Abel, your brother?"<sup>2</sup> because him whom it was necessary for you [Cain] to bear always in your bent arms and to be together always with him, you have cast unto the ground next to you. (4) For he points out from what is being conveyed, that he was asking not on account of ignorance, but convicting him in saying that "the ground is accursed by your deeds, and you are accursed from the ground, which opened its mouth to receive the blood of your brother from your hand."<sup>3</sup> For it says, "Behold, his voice cries out to me."<sup>4</sup> (5) And, "Where is Sarah, your wife?"<sup>5</sup> he said, not being ignorant. For when was he ignorant, the one who knew that she was laughing in the tent?<sup>6</sup> Therefore, he was not asking out of ignorance, but in order that he might inspire her "daughters," the ones who "proclaim godly fear,"<sup>7</sup> to learn the struggle of that woman, whenever they may endeavor to minister to saints out of their own labors. (6) For that woman, taking the initiative in so great a service, herself making unleavened loaves and preparing so great a service together with her own maidservants, was not seeing the faces of those being served, [thus] leaving behind a model of suitable prudence for our times. And these things will suffice as proof against the opposing arguments of the irreverent.

## CX

(1) If they might say that “good” is the God of the law,<sup>1</sup> the one who defrauded the Egyptians and taught his own people to despoil while they were leaving the land of Egypt,<sup>2</sup> the irreverent do not know that nothing is destroyed by God, and that his judgment is righteous,<sup>3</sup> and “God is not mocked.”<sup>4</sup> (2) For why were the Egyptians believing that the Jews were seeking to do these things without reward and not just for [a few] years, but two hundred fifteen with the two hundred fifteen years of Joseph?<sup>5</sup> (3) For with a sojourn determined to be of four hundred thirty years for Abraham and his seed, as it says, “Your seed will be sojourners in a foreign land,”<sup>6</sup> that which was determined was completed.<sup>6</sup> (4) So by his compassion God divided the years of sojourn of his [people]. And forthwith, when they had been in the land of the Canaanites two hundred fifteen years, he laid hold of them and set apart the other two hundred fifteen years for them after they had gone into Egypt.<sup>7</sup> (5) For the number of these years thus is proportioned. It was then the seventy-fifth year of Abraham. Therefore, there passed from

Abraham's seventy-five years, until the birth of Isaac, twenty-five years. Isaac begets Jacob, deriving sixty years, and eighty-five years have passed. And Jacob, with eighty-nine years having passed, begets Levi, and there were one hundred seventy-four years. Levi, when forty-four years have passed, begets Kohath. And in the forty-seventh year of Levi, Jacob travels down into Egypt, and there passed two hundred eleven years. And after their entrance into Egypt there were another four years, and the two hundred fifteen years are fulfilled.<sup>8</sup> (6) Thereupon again I count the remaining two hundred fifteen years of the sojourn of the Israelites. Kohath, after the descent into Egypt, in his sixty-fifth year begets the father of Moses, Abraham. Then there passed from the first Abraham, from his seventy-fifth year, until the birth of the last Abraham, two hundred eighty years, but from the descent into Egypt, sixty-five years. (7) Abraham, being seventy years old, begets Moses, and there passed from the first Abraham three hundred fifty years, but from the descent into Egypt, one hundred thirty-five years. (8) Moses, in his thirtieth year, treads the Red Sea, exiting with the Israelites out of Egypt. And there passed from the great Abraham three hundred eighty years, but from the journey down into Egypt, one hundred sixty-five years. (9) They spent the remaining fifty years after the crossing of the Red Sea until the meeting in Palestine, not because of the length of the route, but because of the fighting and being hindered by the peoples found on their route. (10) So there passed from the seventy-fifth year of the great Abraham, from whom the prognostication itself was given to him by God, as far as Moses and the arrival into Palestine of the sons of Israel, four hundred thirty years, but from the journey down into Egypt and until their arrival <into> Palestine, two hundred fifteen years.

## CXI

(1) So for the Israelites, who labored without reward for so many years, was there no just reward to be given by God and men to them upon completion? Therefore, God is not unjust, leading them out of their homes from that place with spoils. (2) But if someone might doubt that the years were not enumerated thus, let him listen to Moses, who says, "the settling of the sons of Israel in the land of Canaan and in the land of Egypt was four hundred thirty years."<sup>1</sup> (3) So with the most just reward of the Lord being taken care of, what sort of irreverent opposing argument still remains for those who wish to bring down blame against the holy God? No one should at any time blame the true God. But those who blame, blame themselves. (4) Some other irreverent opposing argument is declared by them, similar to the first, that "'Good' is the God of the law, who defrauded the Canaanites, in order that he might give their place to the Israelites," "houses which they did not build, and olive groves and fig-trees and vineyards, which they did not plant."<sup>2</sup> (5) To whom I will say: O irreverent ones! If God were as a man, what is being said or done today may pass, and nothing of his would be held in esteem. But since God "is God and not a man,"<sup>3</sup> he, the avenging one, would not forget for many generations the things which are being brought up against him. For if they are ignorant of this matter, let them learn.

## CXII

(1) All know that the righteous Noah became the remnant of the world after the Flood. So as both he and his three sons were left remaining, seeing how he was just and attempting to establish his children as devout, in order that they might fall under the same evils as also those in the Flood, not only through words was he teaching devotion to these men, but also through an oath from each one of them he demanded goodwill toward

[each] brother.<sup>1</sup> (2) And he divided, as an heir of the world, having appointed the entire world under God to his three sons, dividing by inheritances and portioning out each part according to an inheritance for each.<sup>2</sup> (3) And to Shem, the firstborn, the inheritance fell from Persian and Bactrian land up to <the length> of the Indian land, <and breadth from the Indian land> up to the land of the *Rhinokourouroi*.<sup>3</sup> The land of the *Rhinokourouroi* itself lies in the middle of Egypt and Palestine, opposite the Red Sea. (4) To Ham, the second [son], from the same land of the *Rhinokourouroi* up to that of Gades to the south.<sup>4</sup> To Japheth, the third [son], from Media up to that of Gades and the *Rhinokourouroi* to the north.<sup>5</sup>

### CXIII

(1) So to Shem there came to be children and twenty-five children of children, up to when the tongues were divided.<sup>1</sup> And they have been scattered about into tongues and tribes and kingdoms. (2) Their names are as follows:<sup>2</sup> Elymaeans, Paioni-

ans, *Lazones*, *Kossaiioi*, *Gasphēnoi*, <Palestinians>, Indians, Syrians, Arabs (also [known as] the <*Tai>anoi*), Arians, *Mardoī*, *Hyrkanoi*, Magusaeans, Troglodites, Assyrians, Germans, Lydians, Mesopotamians, Hebrews, *Koilēnoi*, Bactrians, *Adiabēnoi*, *Kamēioi*, Saracens, Scythians, *Chiones*, Gymnosophists, Chaldeans, Parthians, *Eētai*, *Kordylēnoi*, *Massunoi*, Phoenicians, *Madiēnaioi*, *Commagēnoi*, Dardanians, *Elamasēnoi*, *Kedrousiōi*, Elamites, Armenians, Cilicians, <Egyptians>, Cappadocians, <Phoenicians>, people from Pontus, <*Marmaridai*>, *Biones*, <*Kares*>, Chalybes, <*Psyllitai*>, *Lazoi*, <Mossynoikoi>, Iberians, <Phrygians>. (3) To Ham, the second son, there were children and thirty-two children of children, up to the same division of tongues.<sup>3</sup> Ethiopians, Troglodytes, *Aggaoi*, *Taiēnoi*, Sabinoi, Fish-eaters, *Hellānikoi*, Egyptians, Phoenicians, *Marmaridai*, Carians, *Psyllitai*, *Mossynoikoi*, Phrygians, *Makōnes*, *Makrōnes*, *Syrtitai*, *Leptimagnitai*, Bithynians, Numidians, Lycians, *Mariandēnoi*, Pamphylians, *Moschesidioi*, Pisidians, *Augalaiōi*, Cilicians, *Maurousioi*, Cretans, *Magardai*, *Noumidoi*, *Aphroi*, and also the *Bizakēnoi*, *Nasamōnes*, *Phasgēnoi*, *Mazikes*, *Garamoi*, *Getouloi*, Blemmyes, *Axōmitai*. These men control [the land] from Egypt up to the Ocean. (4) And their islands are: *Koursoula*, *Lopadousa*, *Gaulos*, *Ridē Melitē*, Corcyra, *Mēnē*, *Sardanis*, *Gortuna*, Crete, *Glaukos*, *Ridē Thera*, *Karianthos*, *Astupalaia*, Chios, Lesbos, Tenedos, Imbros, *Iasos*, Samos, Cos, Cnidus, *Nissuros*, Megisti,



and Cyprus.<sup>4</sup> (5) And to Japheth, the third son, there were children and fifteen children of children, up to the same division of tongues.<sup>5</sup> Medes, Albanians, *Gargianoï*, Armenians, *Arraioï*, Amazons, *Kōloi*, *Korzēnoi*, *Beneagēnoi*, Cappadocians, Galatians, Paphlagonians, *Mariandēnoi*, *Tibarēnoi*, Chalybes, Mossynoikoi, Colchians, *Melagchēnoi*, Sarmatians, Germans, Maeotians, Scythians, *Tauroi*, Thracians, *Basternoï*, Illyrians, Macedonians, Hellenes, Libyans, Phrygians, Pannonians, *Istroï*, *Ouennoi*, *Dauneis*, Iapygians, Calabrians, *Hippikoi*, Latins (also [known as] the Romans), Tyrrhenians, Gauls (also [known as] <the> Celts), Ligurians, <Campanians>, Celtic-Iberians, Iberians, Gauls, Aquitanians, Illyrians, *Basantes*, *Kannioï*, *Kartanoï*, Lusitanians, *Ouakkaioï*, Britons, Skotoi, Spaniards. (6) And their islands are: Britain, Sicily, Euboea, Rhodes, Chios, Lesbos, Cythera, Zakynthos, Cephallenia, Ithaca, Corcyra, Cyprus.<sup>6</sup> (7) If somewhere a name of a people or an island has been registered doubly, in an inheritance of one and again of another, according to the common territories or according to settlements which came to be at some opportunity or according to an acquisition of Ham, who claimed more and took a part of Shem's, let no one wonder or doubt.<sup>7</sup>

## CXIV

(1) Therefore, when these peoples thus had come to be from the three sons of Noah, and when the world had been divided into three for the three sons, as I stated before, an oath was demanded from them by their father that no one tread upon the inheritance of his brother. (2) They said in the oath that the one who transgresses the command of the oath and all his seed are to be destroyed utterly.<sup>1</sup> (3) So when Palestine and all that

is near it fell under into the share <of> Shem, Canaan the son of Ham, being greedy, later attacked the land of the Palestinians, that is Judaea, and was snatching it away.<sup>2</sup> (4) And God was patient, giving time for repentance, in order that those [born] of Ham might repent and give back to the people of Shem their own apportionment of land. But those people were not repenting but were wishing to fill up their measure. (5) Then God, who is just, after many subsequent generations, avenges the transgression of the oath. For thus it was necessary that the measure of the Amorites be paid in full.<sup>3</sup> (6) For Shem begets Arpachshad. Ham begets Canaan, and Canaan begets, after the greedy gain, the Amorite and the Girgashite and *Pherezaion* and *Euaion* and *Aroukaion* and *Aradion* and Sidonian people.<sup>4</sup> (7) Therefore, the generations up to the avenging of Shem thus are accounted. Shem, the one who was defrauded, begets Arpachshad, as we said. Arpachshad begets Cainan, Cainan [begets] Shelah, Shelah Eber, and the building of the tower happens.<sup>5</sup> Eber begets Peleg, and the division of the earth and of tongues happens. Peleg begets Reu, <Reu> Serug, Serug Nahor, Nahor Terah, Terah Abraham, Abraham Isaac, Isaac Jacob, the one named Israel, from whom are the Israelites. Jacob [begets] Judah, Judah Perez, Perez Hezron, Hezron Aram, Aram Aminadab, Aminadab Nahshon, and Nahshon Salmon. This is the lineage of those who have been born from Shem.<sup>6</sup> (8) So these men, who were wronged by the sons of Ham and deprived of

their own place, God avenges, having utterly destroying those of Canaan according to their oath, and the seed of Shem recovers its own land. So God did not do wrong, portioning out just things to each share. "For God is not mocked,"<sup>7</sup> as I said before.

## CXV

(1) So in the Exodus, binding the community to himself, God says to Moses, "loosen the sandals from your feet."<sup>1</sup> For all who intend to come near to purification baths first loosen [their sandals]. (2) Therefore, since much time has passed, and every single one, "strayed in his own way,"<sup>2</sup> and this community remained in its own evils, God was not yet revealing "the water of new birth."<sup>3</sup> But he was delaying for many years, and later he revealed to the holy church the all-holy water. (3) He was loosening the sandals in Moses, removing the outside garment in the prophets, having left only the girdle for Jeremiah,<sup>4</sup> <and> in John having exchanged all the garments of the world, he was fashioning one from camel hair.<sup>5</sup> But in the Savior himself and to his disciples he put off the "form of the world."<sup>6</sup> And from heaven on high after the purification of the waters, he has put on a garment "of fire and of spirit."<sup>7</sup> (4) But although they saw the grace of this, the Israelites did not know that he is God. On which account also the prophet by way of accusation was lamenting these people on account of the future disgrace [to be committed] by them against the Savior, saying: "Do you repay these things to the Lord, foolish and heartless people?"<sup>8</sup> (5) For they did not know him, that he was in the beginning with whom <the> Father counseled together, saying, "Let us make man according to our image and according to our likeness."<sup>9</sup> (6) For the "Let us make" is not indicative of the number one. But at any rate the Father counseled together with the Son

and Holy Spirit. "For by the word of the Lord, the heavens were established, and by the breath of his mouth all their power."<sup>10</sup>

(7) They did not understand the one who says expressly in the same book, that "the Lord rained fire from the Lord and brimstone upon Sodom and Gomorrah from heaven."<sup>11</sup> For "the Lord fire" rained, the one who came to Abraham, from "[the] Lord from heaven," who sent him. (8) They did not know that he was the one who cast them from Egypt, nor did they understand the prophet who says, "and you Bethlehem are not least"<sup>12</sup> (for how is it possible to call a city "least" which held him whom heaven and all things have not been able to hold?), and that "from you will come forth for me the one who rules."<sup>13</sup> And if he goes forth from Bethlehem and is a man, how is he even spoken of as God?

## CXVI

(1) It troubles them that he is God and man. For in this <it says>, "His pathways are from the beginning, from the creation of the world."<sup>1</sup> This is not any longer of a man, but of God. (2) They have not remembered that "Behold, the virgin will bear in her womb and will bring forth a son, and they will call his name Emmanuel."<sup>2</sup> The [phrase] "they will call" indicates the way of the saints and of the faithful, of the sons of the church. (3) For they are being scrutinized by the Lord-slayer Jews concerning the Savior who ask, "How do they confess [faith] in the one who was crucified?"<sup>3</sup> They [Jews] hear from the same faithful ones that "with you he has been crucified, but among us he is God." (4) They [Jews] did not listen to David and did not know his word, which he, perceiving in the Holy Spirit, was saying, shuddering at the future economy of his Lord, saying,

“The Lord said to my lord, sit at my right hand,” and what follows.<sup>4</sup> (5) Therefore, the Sabbath, “the one of old has passed,”<sup>5</sup> but the true Sabbath is proclaimed among us. The first circumcision did nothing, cutting one very small member, but the heavenly circumcision operates exceedingly well, “cutting” the entire body. (6) For the water and the holy invocation do not come to be in one member of a man, but they seal, purify, cut the whole body of the man, [and] free it from all evils. (7) At any rate, the holy church received these mysteries. And terrible “enemies,” who are called “kinsmen,”<sup>6</sup> revolted against it [the church], not being from the true faith of the Lord’s apostles (“for if they were from them, they would have remained with them”).<sup>7</sup> (8) But being bastard children and promiscuous, they again desire a wicked desire for food through Egyptian fish and figs,<sup>8</sup> blaspheming above and below the Son of God, Ariomaniacs, whom we already exposed in the arguments before this, and others are Sabellians. (9) And the Sabellians completely deny that the Son and the Holy Spirit exist, saying that the Son himself is the Father and the Father himself is the Son and the Holy Spirit himself is the Father, as the Son and Holy Spirit do not exist.<sup>9</sup> They are Neo-Jews and Lord-slayers who are refuted.<sup>10</sup> (10) Ariomaniacs, the most impious of all, the ones who dare to divide and alienate the Son from the paternal *ousia*, do not think the Son worthy to be equal in honor to the Father nor to have been begotten from the *ousia* of the Father. (11) And other “offspring” of these people, the ones before this with the others placed earlier, would that they, blaspheming the Holy Spirit, were enumerating themselves in relation to the Jews. They are Neo-Sadducees and Neo-Samaritans and ignorant, dead, and unbelieving ones!<sup>11</sup>

## CXVII

(1) In order that we might not “through ink and paper”<sup>1</sup> make for ourselves the testimonies against these people too far apart, so as not to make it difficult for those reading aloud, the testimony of the Jordan, along with the other testimonies, will suffice for the same Sabellians, as I already said. (2) For the Son truly arrives in the Jordan, having become God-man, not having substituted a change,<sup>2</sup> but having assumed flesh, not through a seed of a man, but having taken up a body from the holy Virgin, conceived through the Holy Spirit, a perfect body, that is to say, a perfect man with soul and body. (3) So God and man have been with John in the Jordan, being one, the same Son and Christ and Lord. The Father from on high declares, bearing witness to the Son, the one who was in the Jordan, “This is my Son, the beloved.”<sup>3</sup> (4) And the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove descended on him who has gone down into the water, in order that he might point out the very things which are pure, for the sake of those intending to be baptized in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit. (5) The Son’s saying, “I am in the Father, and the Father in me,”<sup>4</sup> will suffice for the Arians along with those spoken of before.<sup>5</sup> For here he pointed out the equality of the Son with the Father and his genuineness. (6) For the offspring of the Arians, the ones who blaspheme the Holy Spirit, two testimonies, which already have been placed beforehand along with the other testimonies, will suffice. One is from Daniel, which thus has: (7) in the oven of fire, Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, praising God, include with themselves the entire creation of God, and they say, “Bless the Lord, all you works of the Lord.”<sup>6</sup> They accounted for the heavens and angels and moon and sun and powers, both the earth and sea and all things in them, and nowhere did they account together the Son

and Holy Spirit with the creations. The Seraphim sanctify the Trinity equally, not once, not twice, not four times, but saying “holy” three times.<sup>7</sup>

## CXVIII

(1) Let Peter again refute these people, censuring those around Ananias and saying, “You tested the Holy Spirit,” and he says, “You have not lied to man, but to God.”<sup>1</sup> (2) The Apostle [Paul] knows, as we often said, that the Holy Spirit is not alien from God, saying, “He searches even the depths of God.”<sup>2</sup> That which is not from the *ousia* of God is unable to search the depths of God. (3) We know that the Father is Father, Son is Son, Holy Spirit is Holy Spirit, Trinity in unity. For one is the unity of Father and Son and Holy Spirit, one *ousia*, one lordship, one will, one church, one baptism, one faith.<sup>3</sup> (4) And let them cease, they who are against the holy virgin of Christ and [his] chaste bride, that is, our mother, the holy church. (5) For her children undertook, from the holy fathers, that is, the holy apostles, to protect the faith, and at the same time both to pass it down to their children and to proclaim it. (6) And from those whose sons you yourselves are, most honored brothers, may you also pass down this teaching to your children. (7) Thus saying these things and things similar to them from the divine Scriptures to establish yourselves and those listening to you, may you, faithful and orthodox men, not cease teaching, guiding, instructing this holy faith of the catholic church, as the holy and only virgin of God undertook from the holy apostles of the Lord to protect [it]. (8) And thus help each of those who are being catechized, who intend to come to holy baptism, not only to proclaim to their sons in the Lord “the believing,” but also to teach specifically, as the same mother of all, both you and us, “the saying”.<sup>4</sup>

(9) We believe in one God, almighty Father, Maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible.<sup>5</sup> (10) And [we believe] in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, who was begotten from the Father before all the ages, that is, from the *ousia* of the Father, Light from Light, true God from true God, begotten not made, *homoousios* with the Father, through whom all things came to be, both that which is in the heavens and that which is on the earth, who for the sake of us men and for the sake of our salvation descended from the heavens, and was made flesh from the Holy Spirit and Mary the virgin and became man, and was crucified on our behalf in the time of Pontius Pilate and suffered and was buried, and rose on the third day according to the Scriptures and ascended into the heavens and is seated at the right hand of the Father, and is coming again with glory to judge the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there will not be an end. (11) And [we believe] in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of life, the one who proceeds from the Father,<sup>6</sup> the one who is worshiped and glorified together with the Father and Son, the one who spoke



through the prophets. (12) [We believe] in one holy catholic and apostolic church. We confess one baptism for the forgiveness of sins; we await the resurrection of the dead and life of the future age. Amen.

(13) Those who say that there was ever [a time] when he was not and that before he was begotten he was not, or that he came to be out of non-existence or from another *hypostasis* or *ousia*, saying that the Son of God is in flux or variable, these people the catholic and apostolic church anathematizes. (14) And this is the faith handed down from the holy apostles and <affirmed/ written down?> in a church [at] the holy city by all the holy bishops together then, more than three hundred ten in number.<sup>7</sup>

## CXIX

(1) Since in our generation some other successive heresies emerged, that is, in the time of Valentinian and Valens, the emperors in the tenth year of their reign and again in the sixth year of Gratian, that is, in the ninetieth year of Diocletian the tyrant.<sup>1</sup> (2) Because of this, both you and we, and all the orthodox bishops, and in short the entire holy catholic church, against the heresies which have emerged subsequently, in accordance with the faith of those holy fathers which has been ordained earlier, thus speak, especially to those coming to holy baptism, in order that they may declare and speak thus:<sup>2</sup>

(3) We believe in one God, almighty Father, Maker of all things both visible and invisible,<sup>3</sup> (4) and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten from God the Father, only-begotten,<sup>4</sup> that is, from the *ousia* of the Father, God from God, Light from Light, true God from true God, begotten not made,<sup>5</sup> *homoousios* with the Father,<sup>6</sup> through whom all things came to be, both that which is in the heavens and that which is on the earth, both visible and invisible.<sup>7</sup> (5) [We believe in] the one who, for the sake of us men and for the sake our salvation, descended and was made flesh, that is begotten perfectly from holy Mary the ever-virgin through the Holy Spirit, who became man,<sup>8</sup> that is, assumed a perfect man, soul and body and mind and all that is a man apart from sin: (6) who not from a seed of man nor <having come to be> in a man,<sup>9</sup> but in himself formed anew flesh into one holy unity,<sup>10</sup> not just

as he breathed and spoke and operated in prophets, but perfectly became man.<sup>11</sup> (7) "For the *Logos* became flesh,"<sup>12</sup> not having substituted a change,<sup>13</sup> nor changing his own divinity into humanity,<sup>14</sup> <but> having united [these] in one holy perfection and divinity of his own.<sup>15</sup> For the Lord Jesus Christ is one and not two, the same God, the same Lord, the same king.<sup>16</sup> (8) [We believe in] the same one who suffered<sup>17</sup> in flesh and rose and ascended into the heavens in the body itself, gloriously seated at the right hand of the Father,<sup>18</sup> who comes in the body itself in glory to judge the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there will not be an end.<sup>19</sup> (9) And [we believe in] the Holy Spirit, the one who spoke in the Law and declared in the prophets, descended upon the Jordan, speaks in the apostles, dwells in the saints.<sup>20</sup> (10) Thus we believe in him,<sup>21</sup> because he is the Holy Spirit, Spirit of God,<sup>22</sup> perfect Spirit, Spirit Paraclete,<sup>23</sup> uncreated,<sup>24</sup> who proceeds from the Father<sup>25</sup> and receives from the Son and is being believed.<sup>26</sup> (11) We believe in one catholic and apostolic church and in one baptism of repentance and in a resurrection of the dead and a just judgment of souls and of bodies and in a kingdom of heavens and in everlasting life.<sup>27</sup> (12) Those who say that there was ever [a time] when the Son or the Holy

Spirit was not, or that he came to be from non-existence<sup>28</sup> or from another *hypostasis* or *ousia*,<sup>29</sup> saying that the Son of God or the Holy Spirit is mutable or variable, these men the catholic and apostolic church,<sup>30</sup> the mother of both you and us,<sup>31</sup> anathematizes. And again we anathematize those who do not confess a resurrection of the dead<sup>32</sup> and all the heresies which are not of this right faith.

(13) Because you and your children, most blessed, are thus believing and fulfilling the commandments from this faith, we hope that you pray always on our behalf to have a portion and inheritance in the same faith and in the inheritance of its commandments. (14) And pray for us, you and all who thus believe and guard the commandments of the Lord, in Christ Jesus our Lord, through whom and with whom is glory to the Father with the Holy Spirit for ages of ages. Amen. (15) Up to here, beloved brothers, our deficiency and enfeebled power of thinking have been compelled to approach, although your goodness has changed our minds, even if we are insufficient to offer [anything] beyond our measure, so that we are in need of aid, we who are being stretched. But the faithful one in heaven knows all things. (16) But peace to all who submit to this canon of this true and orthodox faith and upon the Israel of God.<sup>33</sup> Greet all the saints in the Lord. The slaves of the Lord greet you, and especially I, Anatolios, the one who wrote down this book, of the treatise named *Ancoratus*, and I pray that you have strength in the Lord.