

Epifanio de Salamina

# PANARION

LIBRO II, PARTE I

## Prólogo

Here likewise are the contents of this first Section of Volume Two; counted consecutively from the beginning of the sections it is Section Four. It contains eighteen Sects:

Encratites, who are an offshoot of Tatian, reject marriage and say that it is of Satan, and forbid the eating of any sort of meat.

Phrygians, also called Montanists and Tascodrugians. They accept the Old and the New Testaments but, by boasting of a Montanus and a Priscilla, introduce other prophets after the [canonical] prophets.

Pepuzians, also called Quintillianists, with whom Artotyrites are associated. They derive from the Phrygians but teach different doctrines. They venerate Pepuza, a deserted city somewhere in Galatia, Cappadocia and Phrygia, and regard this as Jerusalem. (There is another Pepuza as well.) And they allow women to rule and to act as priests.

Their initiation is the stabbing of a small child. And they tell the story that Christ was revealed in female form to Quintilla, or Priscilla, there in Pepuza.

They likewise use the Old and the New Testaments, revising them to suit their own taste.

Quartodecimans, who celebrate the Passover on one day of the year, whichever day is the fourteenth of the month—whether on a Sabbath or a Lord's Day—and both fast and hold a vigil on that day.

Alogi, or so I have named them, who reject the Gospel of John and the eternal divine Word in it who has (come down) from on high, from the Father, and so accept neither John's Gospel itself, nor his Revelation.

Adamians, by some called Adamizers, whose doctrine is not true but ridiculous. For they assemble stark naked, men and women alike, and conduct their readings, prayers and everything else in that condition. This is because they are supposedly single and continent and, since they regard their church as Paradise, do not allow marriage.

Sampsaeans, also called Elkasaites, who live to this day in Arabia, the country lying north of the Dead Sea. They have been deceived by Elxai, a false prophet whose descendants were Marthus and Marthana, two women who are still worshipped as goddesses by the sect. All their doctrines are quite like those of the Ebionites.

Theodotians, who derive from Theodotus the shoemaker, of Byzantium. He excelled in the Greek education, but when he was arrested with others during the persecution in his time, only he fell away. Because he was reproached after the martyrdom of the others, to escape the charge of denying God he thought of the expedient of calling Christ a mere man, and taught in this vein.

Melchizedekians, who honor Melchizedek and claim he is a power of some sort and not a mere man, and have dared to ascribe everything to his name and say as much.

Bardesians. Bardesianes came from Mesopotamia. At first he was a follower of the true faith and excelled in wisdom, but after he swerved from the truth he taught like Valentinus, except for a few small points < in > which he differs from Valentinus.

Noetians. Noetus was from Smyrna in Asia. From conceit he taught, among other things, that Christ is the Son-Father,<sup>1</sup> < and said > that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are the same. (2) He also said that he was Moses; his brother, he said, was Aaron.

Valesians. They live, I believe, in the chief village of Philadelphia in Arabia, Bacathus; they make eunuchs of all who happen by and accept their hospitality. Most of them are castrated eunuchs themselves. (2) They teach certain other things which are full of heresy, reject < the teachings > of the Law and the Prophets, and introduce certain other obscenities.

Purists (Cathari), who are connected with Navatus of Rome, entirely reject the twice-married, and do not accept repentance.

Angelics. These have entirely died out. Either they boasted of angelic rank, or they<sup>2</sup> were called Angelics < because they worshipped\* > angels.

Apostolics, also called Apotactics. These too < live > in Pisidia; they accept only persons who renounce the world, and they pray by themselves. They are quite like the Encratites, but have opinions which are different from theirs.

Sabellians, whose opinions are like the Noetians' except that they deny that the Father has suffered.

Origenists, the disciples of one Origen. They are obscene, have unspeakable practices, and devote their bodies to corruption.

Other Origenists, the disciples of the Origen who is called Adamantius the Author. They reject the resurrection of the dead, represent Christ and the Holy Spirit as creatures, allegorize Paradise, the heavens and all the rest, and foolishly say that Christ's kingdom will come to an end.

These, in turn, are the eighteen Sects of Volume Two, Section One.

## I

### **Contra los Encratitas, secta del Cristianismo**

1,1 Certain persons whom we call Encratites are the successors of Tatian. They were led astray and deceived by Tatian in person, but have ideas different from his and in their own turn have devoted themselves to worse foolishness. (2) Even today their numbers are increasing in Pisidia and the land called Scorched Phrygia.<sup>2</sup> (Perhaps the country has come to be called this by divine dispensation, for this very reason—its inhabitants have been scorched by the perversity of such error, and so much of it. For there are many sects in the area.)

1,3 There are also Encratites in Asia, Isauria, Pamphylia, Cilicia and Galatia. And by now this sect < has > also < been planted > in Rome < to > an extent, and at Antioch in Syria as well—not everywhere, however.

1,4 Encratites too say that there are certain sovereign authorities,<sup>3</sup> and that the < power > of the devil is ranged against God's creatures<sup>4</sup> because the devil is not subject to God; he has power of his own and acts as in his own right, and not as though he had fallen into perversity.<sup>5</sup> For they do not agree with the church, but differ from its declaration of the truth.

1,5 As scriptures they use principally the so-called Acts of Andrew, and of John, and of Thomas, and certain apocrypha,<sup>6</sup> and any sayings from the Old Testament that they care to.

1,6 They declare that marriage is plainly the work of the devil<sup>7</sup> And they regard meat as an abomination—though they do not prohibit it for the sake of continence or as a pious practice, but from fear and for appearance' sake, and in order not to be condemned for eating flesh.<sup>8</sup>

1,7 Encratites too celebrate mysteries with water.<sup>9</sup> They do not drink wine at all,<sup>10</sup> and claim that it is of the devil, and that those who drink and use it are malefactors and sinners. (8) And yet they believe in the resurrection of the dead—which goes to show that, for people who have gone this far wrong, everything is crazy. (9) Indeed, a person with sense can see, and wonder, and find himself nonplussed about everything the heretics say and do, because none of their speech and behavior hangs together and admits of any appearance of truth.

2,1 For if they use the Old and New Testaments, where are there any different authorities? The two Testaments are in agreement about one < authority > and proclaim the knowledge of < one Godhead >. (2) And if there is a resurrection of the dead too, how can lawful wedlock be of the devil? For God says, "Be fruitful and multiply;"<sup>11</sup> and the Lord says, in the Gospel, "What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."<sup>12</sup> And the apostle says, "Marriage is honorable, and the bed undefiled."<sup>13</sup>

2,3 But when they are confronted with such arguments they malign Paul by calling him a drunkard.<sup>14</sup> And they seize on certain texts against wine drinkers which they go hunting for to suit their taste and support their fiction, and say that anything like wine is of the devil. "Noah drank wine," they say, "and was stripped naked. (4) Lot got drunk, and unknowingly lay with his own daughters. The calf was made during a drinking bout. And the scripture says, 'Who hath confusion? Who hath contentions? Who hath resentments and gossip? Who hath afflictions without

cause? Whose eyes are inflamed? Is it not they that tarry long at wine, that seek out the place where drinking is?"<sup>15</sup>

2,5 And they track down other texts of this kind and make a collection of them for the sake of their own credibility, without realizing that all immoderation is in every way grievous, and declared to be outside of the prescribed bounds. (6) For I would say this not merely of wine, but of every form of intemperance. The Lord was teaching this lesson when he said, "Let not your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness and cares of this life."<sup>16</sup> So was the text, "If thou be given to appetite, be not desirous of a rich man's meats, for these attend on a life of deceit."<sup>17</sup> (7) And further, when the holy apostle was ridding the church of the intemperate and greedy he said, in anger at their gluttonous desires, "Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats; but God shall destroy both it and them."<sup>18</sup>

2,8 Besides, Esau lost his birthright over a wheat mash—as the scripture says, calling the same thing a "wheat mash" and a "lentil mash."<sup>19</sup> (I imagine it was not made of wheat—that is, not made of grain. I think the scripture was probably describing the leftover lentils—which had already been boiled, and which had been put back on the fire and heated up again—as "< boiled > on the fire," because they had been heated up after cooling off. (9) And as Noah was stripped naked after using wine but without coming to any harm, so Esau came to the harm of losing his birthright, but from hunger and greed rather than from wine. And no falsely applied text is of any avail when set beside the truth, nor is any invention of dramatic fiction.

3,1 They pride themselves on supposed continence, but all their conduct is risky. For they are surrounded by women, deceive women in every way, travel and eat with women and are served by them. For they are outside of the truth, "having the form of godliness, but denying the power thereof."<sup>20</sup> (2) For if a person neglects any part of a work such as this, through the one part which he neglects he has given up the whole of it. And so it is that their mysteries are celebrated only with water, and are

not mysteries but false mysteries, celebrated in imitation of the true ones. (3) Hence the Encratites will be defeated on this point too, by the plain words of the Savior, “I will not drink henceforth of this *fruit of the vine*, until I drink it new with you in the kingdom of God.”<sup>21</sup>

3,4 Disabling this sect in its turn with the mighty hand of the truth—like a stinging insect deprived of teeth—let us go on to the rest, calling on the God of all, as we always do, to be our guide and our defender against horrors, and to be the help of our judgment as he is the giver of our wisdom. May I thus learn the truth from him and be able to expose the < nonsense\* > of the others and, by the speech of the truth, make the medicinal antidote for them from many fragrant herbs. May it be given ungrudgingly: for healing, to those who have already contracted [the disease]; as a treatment, to those who are coming down with it; as a preventative, to those who are about to learn something they did not know; and to myself, for God’s salvation and reward.

## II

### **Contra los Frigios o Montanistas, secta del Cristianismo**

1,1 Out of these in turn there emerges another sect, called the sect of the Phrygians. It originated at the same time as the Encratites, and is their successor. (2) For the Montanists had their beginning about the nineteenth year of Hadrian’s successor Antoninus Pius,<sup>2</sup> while Marcion, Tatian, and the Encratites who succeeded him had theirs in Hadrian’s time and after Hadrian.

1,3 These Phrygians too, as we call them, accept every scripture of the Old and the New Testaments and likewise affirm the resurrection of the dead. But they boast of having one Montanus as a prophet, and Priscilla and Maximilla as prophetesses, and by paying heed to them have lost their wits. (4) They agree with the holy catholic church about the Father,

the Son and the Holy Spirit,<sup>3</sup> but have separated themselves by “giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils”<sup>4</sup> and saying, “We must receive the gifts of grace as well.”

1.5 God’s holy church also receives the gifts of grace—but the real gifts, which have already been tried in God’s holy church through the Holy Spirit, and by prophets and apostles, and the Lord himself. (6) For the apostle John says in his Epistle, “Try the spirits, whether they be of God;”<sup>5</sup> and again, “Ye have heard that Antichrist cometh, and now many Antichrists have come. They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have continued with us: but that it might be made known that they were not of us. For this cause write I unto you, little children,”<sup>6</sup> and so on. (7) The Phrygians are truly not “of” the saints themselves. They “went out” by their contentiousness, and “gave heed” to spirits of error and fictitious stories.

2.1 For see here, by their thesis itself they are convicted of inability to keep their contentious promises. If we must receive gifts of grace, and if there must be gifts of grace in the church, why do they have no more prophets after Montanus, Priscilla and Maximilla?<sup>7</sup> Has grace stopped operating, then? Never fear, the grace in the holy church does not stop working! (2) But if the prophets prophesied up until a certain point, and no more < after that\* >, then neither Priscilla nor Maximilla prophesied; < they delivered their prophecies after > the ones which were tried by the holy apostles, in the holy church.

2.3 Their stupidity will be refuted in two ways, then. Either they should show that there are prophets after Maximilla, so that their so-called “grace” will not be inoperative. Or Maximilla and her like will be proved false prophets, since they dared to receive inspiration after the end of the prophetic gifts—not from the Holy Spirit but from devils’ imposture—and delude her audience.



2,4 And see how they can be refuted from the very things they say! Their so-called prophetess, Maximilla, says, “After me there will be no prophet more, but the consummation.” (5) See here, the Holy Spirit and the spirits of error are perfectly recognizable! Everything the prophets have said, they also said rationally and with understanding; and the things they said have come true and are still coming true. (6) But Maximilla said that the consummation would come after her, and no consummation has come yet—even after so many emperors, and such a lapse of time! (7) There have been about 206<sup>8</sup> years from Maximilla’s time until ours, the twelfth year of Valentinian and Valens and the < eighth > of Gratian,<sup>9</sup> and we have yet to see the consummation which was announced by this woman who boasted of being a prophetess, but did not even know the day of her own death.

2,8 And it is plain to see that none who have estranged themselves from the truth have retained any soundness of reason. Like babes bitten by the perennial deceiver, the serpent, they have surrendered themselves to destruction and to being caught outside the fold and dragged off to be the wolf’s meat < and > thus perish. This is because they did not hold on to the Head but deserted the truth and hazarded themselves in shipwreck, and in the surf of all sorts of error. (9) If Maximilla says there will never be another prophet, she is denying that they have the gift, and that it is still to be found among them. If their gift persists [only] until Maximilla, then, as I said before, she had no portion of the gifts either.<sup>10</sup>

3,1 For she has gone astray. The Lord has set his seal on the church, and perfected the gifts of grace < in > her. When prophets were needed the same saints, filled with the Holy Spirit, delivered all the prophecies for our benefit<sup>11</sup>—[delivered them] in the true Spirit, with sound mind and rational intellect, in proportion to their < faith > in the gifts of grace the Spirit was giving to each, and “in proportion to the faith.”<sup>12</sup> (2) But what have these people said that was beneficial? What have they said that was in proportion to the faith? Indeed, how can they be any but the persons of whom the Lord said, “Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves?”<sup>13</sup>

3.3 By comparing what they have said with <the teachings> of the Old and New Testaments—which are true, and which have been delivered and prophesied in truth—let us determine which is <really> prophecy, and which false prophecy. (4) A prophet always spoke with composure and understanding, and delivered his oracles by the Holy Spirit’s inspiration.<sup>14</sup> He said everything with a sound mind like “Moses, the servant of God and faithful in all his house, who saw the glory of God <apparently, and not in dark speeches.”<sup>15</sup> And thus the man who *saw*\* > was called a prophet in the Old Testament. (5) Scripture says, “The vision which Isaiah the son of Amoz, the prophet, *saw*:<sup>16</sup> *I saw* <the> Lord sitting upon a throne high and lifted up. And I *saw* Seraphim and Cherubim, and I heard the Lord saying unto me, Go and tell this people, Hear indeed and ye shall not understand; and see indeed, and ye shall not perceive.”<sup>17</sup> And after hearing this from the Lord he went to the people and said, “Thus saith the Lord.” (6) Can’t you see that this is the speech of a sober person who is not out of his senses, and that the words were not delivered as the speech of a mind distraught?

3.7 Similarly, when the prophet Ezekiel heard the Lord say, “Bake thee bread on human dung,”<sup>18</sup> he said, “Not so, Lord; nothing common or unclean hath at any time come into my mouth.”<sup>19</sup> (8) Understanding that which had been threateningly said to him by the Lord, he did not go ahead and do [it] as though he were out of his senses. Since his mind was sound and rational he prayed and said, “Not so, Lord.” These—both the teaching and the discussion—are marks of <the> true prophets, whose minds are sound in the Holy Spirit.

3.9 And who can deny that Daniel was filled with all wisdom and in possession of his senses? He found the answers to Nebuchadnezzar’s riddles, (10) recalled Nebuchadnezzar’s dreams when they had eluded even the dreamer, and with his soundness of mind and the superiority of his gift, gave the explanation at once. For he had wisdom greater than everyone’s by the gift of the Holy Spirit, who truly gives wisdom—to the

prophet and to those who, through the prophet, are vouchsafed the teaching of the truth.

3.11 But when the Phrygians profess to prophesy, it is plain that they are not sound of mind and rational. Their words are ambiguous and odd, with nothing right about them. (4,1) Montanus, for instance, says, “Lo, the man is as a lyre, and I fly over him as a pick. The man sleepeth, while I watch. Lo, it is the Lord that distracteth the hearts of men, and that giveth the heart to man.”<sup>20</sup>

4.2 Now what rational person who receives the “profitable” message with understanding and cares for his salvation, can fail to despise a false religion like this, and the speech of someone who boasts of being a prophet but cannot talk like a prophet? (3) For the Holy Spirit never spoke in him. Such expressions as “I fly,” and “strike,” and “watch,” and “The Lord distracteth men’s hearts,” are the utterances of an ecstatic. They are not the words of a rational man, but of someone of a different stamp from the Holy Spirit who spoke in the prophets.

4.4 When the Phrygians are undertaking to combine falsehood with truth and rob of their intelligence persons who care for accuracy, they pile up<sup>21</sup> texts to make a false case for their imposture, and < to prove their lies from them\* >, say that certain scriptures bear a resemblance to it. < For instance >, the holy scripture has said, “God sent an ‘ecstasy’ upon Adam, and he slept.”<sup>22</sup>

But Adam’s case was nothing like theirs. (5) In their case God did not mean to fashion a body—his reason for putting Adam into a trance—and, of his extreme lovingkindness, give them a similar experience. (6) God brought the unconsciousness of sleep upon Adam, not distraction of mind.

There are many different forms of ecstasy. We call stupefaction from excess of wonder an ecstasy; and madness is called ecstasy because it is *out* of touch with reality. (7) But Adam’s “ecstasy” of sleep was so called in a different sense, one related to the activity of his body, especially because the holy Adam whom God’s hand had fashioned was cast into a very deep trance.

5,1 For it is indeed plain that the sacred scripture was right to call this ecstasy. When someone is asleep, all his senses leave him and take a rest. Though the sense of sight is there, for example, it does not see; the eye is closed, and the mover in the man, the spirit or soul, is at rest. (2) If there is an unpleasant odor in the house or even a pleasant one, the sense of smell is there but does not perceive the odor; this sense has gone off to take a rest. (3) If there are bitter, or salty or sweet fluids in the mouth, the sense of taste does not perceive them; it lies in the ecstasy of rest without doing what it did in the man when he was awake.

5,4 The ear is there, but the hearing is not functioning as a sense. And if people are talking in the house it often does not hear what anyone says unless the man wakes up; for the time being, its function is suspended. (5) Creatures can be crawling on our bodies, but we do not feel their touch on our bodies unless their onslaught is severe; the whole body has abandoned its activity for the rest of sleep.

5,6 For the body is made of earth and envelops the soul, and since God made it serviceable to us in this way, it is allowed a time of withdrawal from its full sensation to a state of rest. The soul itself does not abandon its function of governance or thought. (7) It often imagines and sees itself as though it were awake, and walks around, does work, crosses the sea, addresses crowds—and sees itself in more situations, and more striking ones, in its dreams.<sup>23</sup> (8) But it is not like a madman, or an ecstatic in a transport. He takes frightful things in hand while awake in body and soul, and often does grievous harm to himself and his neighbors. He does not know what he is saying and doing, for he has fallen into the ecstasy of folly.

6,1 Beloved, I have needed to gather all this material < about > the various kinds of ecstasy because of the text, “The Lord sent an ecstasy upon Adam, and he slept.”<sup>24</sup> (2) And I have explained why going to sleep is called an “ecstasy from the Lord” in that passage. It is because of the compassion and lovingkindness God has granted to all, so that one may be removed from care and the business of living to the rest of sleep. (3) In Adam’s case, however, God further called it ecstasy because it made him insensitive to pain for a time, because of the side God meant to take from him and make into his wife.

6,4 But Adam's senses and wits were not in abeyance. He recognized Eve as soon as he awoke, and said, "This is now bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called 'wife,' for she was taken out of her husband."<sup>25</sup> (5) And as you see, he was aware of the past and the present, and made a prophecy of the future. Look here, by saying "bone of my bone" he took notice of what had happened while he was asleep. And he was aware of the present; after his wife had been made he was aware that she had been taken from < his > body. (6) And of the future he prophesied, "For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother and shall cleave unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh."<sup>26</sup> These are not the words of a man in an ecstasy or without understanding, but of a person of sound mind.

7,1 But if I also have to speak of "I said in my ecstasy, all men are liars,"<sup>27</sup> the meaning of this, again, is different. These are not the words of a madman and an ecstatic < as the Phrygians claim\* >—far from it!—(2) but of someone who is very surprised, and is taking more notice than usual < of > things that are < not > fit to be said and done. For since the prophet was astonished, he also speaks with astonishment here.

7,3 The prophets fell into trances, < but\* > not into distraction. Peter too was in an "ecstasy,"<sup>28</sup> not because he was irrational but because he saw things other than what men usually see in the everyday world. (4) "For he saw a sheet let down, bound at the four corners, and in it all manner of four-footed beasts and creeping things and birds of the air."<sup>29</sup> (5) Observe that St. Peter was rational, and not out of his mind. For when he heard < the words >, "Arise, kill and eat,"<sup>30</sup> he did not obey like a person of unsound mind, but told the Lord, "Not so, Lord; nothing common or unclean hath at any time come into my mouth."<sup>31</sup>

7,6 And the holy David said, "< I said >, all men are liars."<sup>32</sup> In saying, "I said," he was speaking for himself, and saying that people lie. Thus he was not lying—but he expressed great astonishment because he was amazed

and astounded at God's lovingkindness and the things the Lord had told him. (7) And, seeing that everyone is in need of God's mercy, he ascribed truth-telling to the Lord alone, and realized that every human being is deserving of punishment—thus evidencing the true Spirit, who spoke in the prophets and revealed to them the depths of the exact knowledge of God.

7,8 Abraham too fell into ecstasy—not the abeyance of his wits but the distraction of fear. He saw the furnace and the torches about sundown < and was afraid, as\* > other prophets said when they saw visions in their right minds. (9) Moses, for example, said, "I fear exceedingly and quake."<sup>33</sup> But Abraham knew what the Lord was saying, for < scripture says >, "Thou shalt *know* of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger 400 years in a land that is not theirs."<sup>34</sup> (10) And you see how plain it is that everything was said in truth by the prophets with sound mind and sober reason, and not in madness.

8,1 But even though they choose to reply, "The former gifts are not like the latter,"<sup>35</sup> how can they prove it? The holy prophets and the holy apostles prophesied alike. (2) In the first place, those who saw the two men in white when the Savior ascended into heaven did not see them in derangement, but with sound minds heard [them say], "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up unto heaven? This same Jesus, who is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come,"<sup>36</sup> and so on. (3) And then, as I said, Peter was in his right mind when he saw, heard, and gave his answer, and said, "Not so, Lord."<sup>37</sup>

8,4 Agabus spoke prophetically and hinted at his meaning with an unusual gesture, when he took Paul's girdle, bound his own feet, and said, "He whose girdle this is, him shall they bind and carry to Jerusalem."<sup>38</sup> (5) And in turn, prophets came down to Antioch and declared that there would be a world-wide famine, and their prediction did not fail; to show that they were true prophets, the scripture adds at once, "Which thing came to pass in the days of Claudius Caesar."<sup>39</sup>

8,6 And the most holy apostle Paul prophesied, “Now the Spirit saith expressly that in the last days harsh times shall come,”<sup>40</sup> and so on. (7) And again, in another place, “Some shall fall away from sound doctrine, giving heed to seducing < spirits > and doctrines of devils, forbidding to marry and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be partaken of by us < who receive them > with thanksgiving.”<sup>41</sup> (8) The material before this < will > itself < make it plain > that < this > has clearly come true, in you and in others like you. Most of these sects forbid marriage and enjoin abstinence from foods, though they do not do this for discipline’s sake or for greater virtue with its rewards and crowns, but because they regard these creatures of the Lord as abominations.

9,1 Now the holy catholic church reveres virginity, monogamy and purity, commends widowhood, and honors and accepts lawful wedlock; but it forbids fornication, adultery and unchastity. (2) This will show the character of the holy catholic church and the false customs of the others—[show], < likewise >, who has seen fit to avoid every imposture, crooked path and uphill track. (3) For I have said before—as has just been said by the most holy apostle and I shall now repeat—that it was to make us secure and distinguish the character of the holy catholic church from the imposture of the sects, that Paul said how arrogantly the sects which forbid matrimony and prescribe abstinence from foods prohibit God’s good ordinances by law.

9,4 For it was < with > a certain fitness that the divine Word said, “Wilt thou be perfect?”<sup>42</sup> in the Gospel. Although he makes allowances for human clay and its frailty, he rejoices in those who can show the marks of piety and choose to practice virginity, purity and continence. Still, he honors marriage to one spouse, (5) even though he prefigures the gifts of the priesthood chiefly by means of persons who stayed continent after one marriage, and persons who remained virgin, and his holy apostles so established the canonical rule of the priesthood, with decency and holiness.<sup>43</sup> (6) But if, from frailty, someone needs to contract a second marriage after the death of his wife, the rule of the truth does not prohibit this—that is, provided he is not a priest.

But these people do forbid it—"forbidding to marry,"<sup>44</sup> as scripture says. They expel anyone who has contracted a second marriage, and make their rule against second marriage a matter of compulsion.

For our part, we lay necessity on no one. As a good counsel we urge those who can [to follow this rule], but we lay no necessity on one who cannot, and surely do not expel him from life.<sup>45</sup> (9) The holy word everywhere declared that we must bear with the frailty of the weak. We shall find at once that, to shame people like these < who expel persons\* > who do not have the same gift as they, the holy apostle says, "Younger widows refuse; (10) for after they wax wanton against Christ they will marry, having condemnation because they have left their first faith."<sup>46</sup> For widows who have promised and broken their promise have condemnation, while those who made no promise, but married from frailty, will not have condemnation. If they were to have condemnation, why did Paul say, "Let them marry, guide the house."<sup>47</sup>

10,1 We find then that every prophet, whether in the Old Testament or in the New, prophesies with understanding, as St. John said in Revelation: "The Lord *revealed* these things to his servants through his servant John,"<sup>48</sup> and, "Thus saith the Lord." (2) The person who said this was sound of mind and understanding—see how < he says the same as the Old Testament prophets who say\* >, "Thus saith the Lord," and "the vision which he saw."

10,3 But this Montanus, who has deceived his victims with his boast of being a prophet, describes things which are not consistent with sacred scripture. For in his so-called prophecy he says, "Why sayest thou, [Only] he that is more than man can be saved?"<sup>49</sup> For the righteous shall shine an hundredfold brighter than the sun; and the least of you that are saved, an hundredfold brighter than the moon."

10,4 But the Lord confounds him. And it is he who has the power to grant radiance to the faces of the saints, who made Moses' face shine, and who will transform his saints, who are sown in dishonor and raised in



glory, at the coming resurrection of bodies. (5) Not transform bodies other than their own but change their own bodies, raised entire, and receiving glory, after < the resurrection >, from him who gives glory unstintingly to his saints. For as Lord and God he has the power to grant and bestow glory.

10,6 But although he has < the power > to grant this, he did not make promises like Montanus'; he said, "Your faces shall shine as the sun."<sup>50</sup> Now if Jesus Christ, who has the power and is our true Master and Lord, says that the faces of the righteous will shine *as* the sun, how can Montanus promise a hundred times more? (7) Only if he is like the one who promised Adam, "Ye shall be as gods,"<sup>51</sup> and secured his expulsion from the glory he had and the enjoyment of Paradise, and his degradation to the corruption of death.

11,1 This same Montanus goes on to add, "I am the Lord God, the Almighty, dwelling in a man." (2) Happily the sacred scripture, and the course of the Holy Spirit's teaching, keeps us safe by giving us warnings so that we will know which are the counterfeits of the strange spirit and the opposites of the truth. (3) Simply by saying this, Montanus has suggested that we remember the words of the Lord. For the Lord says in the Gospel, "I came in my Father's name and ye received me not. Another shall come in his own name, and such a one will ye receive."<sup>52</sup> (4) Montanus is thus in total disagreement with the sacred scriptures, as any attentive reader can see. And since he is in disagreement, < he himself >, and the sect which like him boasts of having prophets and gifts, are strangers to the holy catholic church. He did not receive these gifts; he departed from them.

11,5 What rational person would dare to call these people prophets instead of < saying > that such prophets are deceivers? Christ taught us, "I send unto you the Spirit, the Paraclete,"<sup>53</sup> and to give the signs of the Paraclete, said, "He shall glorify me."<sup>54</sup> (6) And in fact it is plain that the holy apostles glorified the Lord after receiving the Paraclete Spirit, while this Montanus glorifies himself. The Lord glorified his Father; and in turn, the Lord Christ glorified the Spirit by calling him the Spirit of truth.

Montanus, however, glorifies only himself, and says that he is the Father almighty, and that < the deceitful spirit\* > which dwells in him < is the Paraclete\* >—proof positive that he is not the Father, was not sent by the Father, and has received nothing from the Father. (7) “In the Lord was all the fullness of the Godhead pleased to dwell bodily,”<sup>55</sup> and “Of his fullness have all the prophets received,”<sup>56</sup> as St. John has told us. (8) And see how all the ancient [prophets] announced Christ, and how those who came after them glorified Christ and confessed him. But Montanus intruded himself by saying that he was somebody, proof that he is not Christ, was not sent by Christ, and has received nothing from Christ.

11,9 This pathetic little nobody, Montanus, says in turn, “Neither angel nor messenger, but I the Lord, God the Father, have come.”<sup>57</sup> In so saying he will be exposed as a heretic, for he is not glorifying Christ, whom every regular gift which has been given in the holy church truly glorified. (10) For we shall find that Montanus is outside the body of the church and the Head of all, and “does not hold the Head, from whom the whole body, knit together, increaseth,”<sup>58</sup> as scripture says. For the actual true Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, showed that he was a Son; but Montanus even says that he is the Father.

12,1 When you Phrygians say you left the church over gifts of grace<sup>59</sup> how can we believe you? Even though you are disguised with the title of “Christian,” you have launched another enemy attack on us. You have taken up the barbarians’ quarrel and mimicked the enmity of the Trojans, who were also Phrygians! (2) Things that are different from gifts and—as your own prophets say—not the same kind that the Lord promises, cannot be gifts.

12,3 And in turn, you introduce us to—Maximilla! Even your names are different and scary, with nothing pleasant and melodious about them, but with a certain wildness and savagery. (4) At once this Maximilla, who belongs to these so-called Phrygians—listen to what she says, children of Christ! “Hearken not unto me, but hearken unto Christ!”<sup>60</sup>

12,5 Even where she seemed to be glorifying Christ, she was wrong. If she were Christ's she would talk like the holy apostles, as each < of them > says—Peter first, who says, "We have heard of him."<sup>61</sup> And the Lord himself says, "He that heareth you, heareth me."<sup>62</sup> And Paul says, "Be ye imitators of me, as I am of Christ."<sup>63</sup>

12,6 But in the act of lying she is telling the truth, even against her will. She is right to say not to listen to her, but to Christ. Unclean spirits are often forced to denounce themselves < as > not of the truth and to show, willy nilly and under duress, who their Lord is.<sup>64</sup> (7) As the damsel with the oracular spirit said, "These men are servants of the most high God";<sup>65</sup> and [as the demon in the Gospel said], "Why hast thou come before the time to torment us? I know thee who thou art, the holy one of God."<sup>66</sup> So Maximilla, under compulsion, said not to listen to her, but to Christ. (8) Now how can those who have heard this from her and believed her care to listen to her—when they have learned from her not to listen to her, but to the Lord! In fact if they had any sense they shouldn't listen to her, since her oracles are of the earth.

12,9 And don't tell me that she was in a rational state! A rational person doesn't condemn himself in his own teaching. If she said anything like, "Don't listen to me," what sort of spirit was speaking in her? (10) For if she spoke humanly, then she was not in the Holy Spirit—for it is plain that in saying, "Do not listen to me," she was speaking humanly, and was not in the Holy Spirit. But if she was not in the Holy Spirit from on high but was thinking humanly, she knew nothing and was no prophetess. For she did not have the Holy Spirit, but spoke and delivered her oracles with human intelligence.

12,11 But if she did speak and prophesy in the Holy Spirit—what sort of Holy Spirit would say, "Don't listen to me?" The blindness of deceit is stone blind—and great is the word of God, which gives us understanding in every way, so that we may know what has been spoken by the Holy Spirit's inspiration, here in the person of the Father, there in the person of the Son, there in the person of the Holy Spirit!

12,12 And if the spirit in Maximilla were a holy < spirit >, it would not forbid its own utterances. “*One* is the Holy Spirit, that divideth to each as he will.”<sup>67</sup> (13) And if he has the power to divide as he will, and is called the Spirit of knowledge and the Spirit of piety, and is said to be the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ, proceeding from the Father and receiving of the Son and not foreign to the Father and the Son—then he didn’t say, “Do not listen to me!” (14) For the Spirit gave Christ’s message and Christ sends the Spirit, and casts out devils by the Holy Spirit. And the Son gives the Father’s message and the Father sanctified the Son and sent him into the world, that they might know him, and might glorify him as they glorify the Father. And the notion of those who separate themselves from the following of Christ is all wrong.

13,1 In turn the same Maximilla—this “rational knowledge and teaching,” if I may be sarcastic—says, “The Lord hath sent me perforce, willing and not willing, to be votary, herald and interpreter of this burden and covenant and promise, to impart the knowledge of God.”<sup>68</sup> (2) Let us look to the firm foundation of our life, beloved, and the lighted pathway, and not trip on words of the adversary and the prey of the strange spirit. (3) See the prophet here, who spoke like that and denounced herself, not willingly but under compulsion. Our Lord did not come into the world unwillingly, and was not sent under compulsion by the Father. (4) He has the will in concert with the Father, and the performance of it in concert with the Holy Spirit. And as he himself has the will—and the giving of grace to all, not perforce but by his superabundant lovingkindness—in concert with the Father, even so, those whom he has called, he has called of their own choice, imposing no necessity and clapping no collars on them. (5) For he says, “Ye that thirst, *come* to me,”<sup>69</sup> and again, “If any man *will come* after me let him follow me.”<sup>70</sup> And he said the same through Isaiah: “If ye be *willing* and hearken.”<sup>71</sup> And later, to show who was speaking, the prophet said, “For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken these things.”<sup>72</sup>

13,6 And are you fully aware of their disagreement with the sacred text, and the difference between their notion and opinion, and the faith and following of God? (7) For Maximilla also said that she compelled the willing and the unwilling [to know God]—so that her very words make her a liar. She neither taught the knowledge of God—which she did not know—to the willing, nor compelled the unwilling [to learn it]. (8) It goes without saying that the whole world does not know Maximilla’s name, or her misstatements. And their erroneous notion is all wrong, and no part of God’s truth.

14,1 Phrygians also venerate a deserted spot in Phrygia, a town once called Pepuza though it is now leveled, and say that the heavenly Jerusalem will descend there.<sup>73</sup> (2) And so they resort there, celebrate certain mysteries<sup>74</sup> on the site, and, as they suppose, sanctify < themselves >. For this breed is also to be found in Cappadocia and Galatia—and in Phrygia as I said, which is why the sect is called the Phrygian. But they are in Cilicia too and, for the most part, in Constantinople.

14,3 But to omit nothing that bears on the name of every sect I have discussed, I shall also speak, in its turn, of the Tascodrugians’. For this name is used either in this sect itself, or the one after it, which is called the sect of the Quintillianists—for this name too originates with these people themselves.

14,4 They are called Tascodrugians for the following reason. Their word for “peg” is “tascus,” and “drungus” is their word for “nostril” or “snout.” And since they put their licking finger, as we call it, on their nostril when they pray, for dejection, if you please, and would-be righteousness, some people have given them the name of Tascodrugians, or “nose-pickers.”<sup>75</sup>

14,5 They say that a shocking, wicked thing is done in this sect—or in its sister sect, the one called the sect of the Quintillianists or Priscillianists, and Pepuzians. (6) At a certain festival they pierce a child—just a little

baby—all over its body with bronze needles and get its blood for sacrifice, if you please.<sup>76</sup>

15,1 But I am content with what I have said about this sect in its turn, beloved. I promised to withhold nothing about any sect I know, but to disclose what I have learned by word of mouth, and from treatises, documents, and persons who truly confirmed my notion. (2) Thus, by writing no more than I know, I will < not > appear to be guilty of inventing my own false charges against people, and of getting into the same position as they by not telling the truth, but declaring things that they have neither seen, heard, nor learned from the true teaching of the Holy Spirit.

15,3 I give all the facts, as I said, with accuracy, about each sect, and make these shocking disclosures for the readers' correction. And I prepare a sort of medicine made of refutation from the words of sacred scripture and right reasonings, (4) and compound < it > in the Lord for two purposes: for the recovery of the sufferers from their illness and great pain, but for (5) a prophylactic, as it were, for those who have never contracted the disease. Thus may I too be called a disciple of the Lord's disciples for imparting the medicine of the truth to the wise, and a disciple of the Savior himself, the help of bodies and souls.

15,6 Now, with the power of Christ, let me set myself to go on to the rest, since I feel that this here will be enough for this sect. I have crushed its poison, and the venom on its hooked fangs, with the cudgel of the truth of the cross. For it is like the viper of hemorrhage, whose mischief is to drain the blood from its victims' entire bodies and so cause their deaths. (7) For this sect and the sect of Quintillianists do the same thing. They stab the body of an innocent child and get its blood to drink, and delude their victims by < pretending\* >, if you please, that this is initiation in the name of Christ.

15,8 But as we go on to the rest by the power of Christ, let us call upon his truth that we may track down the meaning of each imposture, and after detecting and refuting it, render our accustomed thanks in all things to God.

### III

#### Contra los Quintilianos o Priscilianistas, secta del Cristianismo

1,1 The Quintillianists in their turn, who are also called Pepuzians and known as Artotyrites and Priscillianists, are the same as the Phrygians and derive from them, but in a certain way are different. (2) For the Quintillianists or Priscillianists say that either Quintilla<sup>2</sup> or Priscilla—I cannot say for certain, but one of them, as I said, slept in Pepuza and, as the deluded women said, Christ came to her and slept beside her, thus: (3) “Christ came to me in the form of a woman,”<sup>3</sup> she said, “dressed in a white robe, imbued me wisdom, and revealed to me that this place is holy, and that Jerusalem will descend from heaven here.” (4) And so even to this day, they say, certain women—men too—are initiated there on the site, so that those women or men may await Christ and see him.<sup>4</sup> (5) (They have women they call prophetesses.<sup>5</sup> I am not sure, though, whether this custom is theirs or the Phrygians’; they are associated and have the same ideas.)

2,1 They use the Old and the New Testaments, and likewise affirm the resurrection of the dead. Their founder is Quintilla, along with Priscilla who was also a Phrygian prophetess.

2,2 They cite many texts pointlessly, and give thanks to Eve because she was the first to eat from the tree of wisdom.<sup>6</sup> And as scriptural support for their ordination of women as clergy, they say that Moses’ sister was a prophetess.<sup>7</sup> What is more, they say, Philip had four daughters who prophesied.<sup>8</sup>

2,3 In their church seven virgins often come in carrying lamps, if you please, dressed in white, to prophesy to the people. (4) They deceive the congregation with a show of some sort of inspiration and, as though urging them to the mourning of penitence,<sup>9</sup> get them all weeping, shedding tears and pretending to mourn for humankind. (5) They have woman bishops, presbyters and the rest;<sup>10</sup> they say that none of this makes any difference because "In Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female."<sup>11</sup> (6) This is what I have learned [about them]. However, they call them Artotyrites because they set forth bread and cheese in their mysteries and celebrate their mysteries with them.<sup>12</sup>

3,1 But every human illusion < comes of > deserting the right faith and opting for something impossible, and for various frenzies and secret rites. For if they do not cling to the anchor of the truth but entrust themselves < to their own reason\* >, their minds are always maddened, and bring them [to frenzy] for any reason at all. (2) Even though it is because of Eve that they ordain women to the episcopate and presbyterate, they should listen to the Lord when he says, "Thy resort shall be to thine husband, and he shall rule over thee."<sup>13</sup> (3) And they have overlooked the apostle's command, "I suffer not a woman to speak, or to have authority over a man,"<sup>14</sup> and again, "The man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man,"<sup>15</sup> and, "Adam was not deceived, but Eve, deceived first, fell into condemnation."

What a profusion of error there is in this world!

3,4 And now that < I have squashed\* > a toothless, witless < serpent\* > like a gecko, I shall pass this sect by, beloved, and go on to the rest, calling upon God as the help of my lowliness, and for the fulfillment of my promise.



#### IV

### Contra los Cuartodecimanos, secta del Cristianismo

1,1 From these two intermingled sects of Phrygians and Quintillianists or Priscillianists, another one, called the sect of the Quartodecimans, emerged in its turn. (2) These too hold all the doctrines that the church does; but they lose hold of them all because of not adhering to the proper order and teaching, but still to Jewish fables. And yet their doctrines are not the same as the Jews', "For they know not what they say nor whereof they affirm."<sup>2</sup>

1,3 Quartodecimans contentiously keep the Passover on one day, once a year,<sup>3</sup> even though their doctrine of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit is good and in agreement with < ours >, and they accept the prophets, apostles and evangelists, and likewise confess the resurrection of the flesh, the judgment to come and everlasting life. (4) But they have fallen into an error, and one of no small importance, by supposedly following the letter of the Law's saying, "Cursed is he who shall not keep the Passover on the fourteenth day of the month."<sup>4</sup> (5) Others though, who keep the same one day and fast and celebrate the mysteries on the same one day, boast that they have found the precise date in the Acts of Pilate, if you please; it says there that the Savior suffered on the eighth before the Kalends of April.<sup>5</sup>

1,6 They will keep the Passover on whichever day it is that the fourteenth of the month falls;<sup>6</sup> but the ones in Cappadocia keep the eighth before the Kalends of April as that same one day. (7) And there is no little dissension in their ranks, since some say the fourteenth day of the month, but some, the eighth before the Kalends of April. (8) Furthermore, I have found copies of the Acts of Pilate which say that the passion came on the fifteenth before the Kalends of April.<sup>7</sup> But in fact, as I know from much minute investigation, I have found that the Savior suffered on the thir-

teenth before the Kalends of April<sup>8</sup> Some, however, say it was the tenth before the Kalends of April.<sup>9</sup>

1,9 But the Quartodecimans too have departed from the prescribed path. (But I am afraid of making my discussion of them extremely long too, for I have a great deal to say.) (2,1) After he had finished the entire Law, the law-giver Moses was commanded by God to put all the curses in the last book, Deuteronomy—not only the curse about the Passover, but the ones about circumcision, tithing and offerings. (2) Thus if they avoided one curse they fell foul of many. They would be accursed if they were not circumcised and accursed if they did not tithe; and they are accursed for not presenting offerings at Jerusalem. (3) Shame on the people who get themselves into all kinds of quarrels! Well may we quote the wise saying of the Preacher, expressly set forth for us by the Holy Spirit: “This the preacher doth know, that God hath made the wise man a straight path, but they have sought for themselves many ways.”<sup>10</sup>

2,4 In what way is their idea not wrong? In the first place, if they keep the Passover on the fourteenth of the month, they need to take the lamb on the tenth and keep it until the fourteenth, and there is no longer one day of fasting but five: the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth. (5) But if the paschal lamb is killed toward evening, by its dawning this fourteenth day makes six days in the fast, and there will no longer be one fast day—and their quest for one day has failed, since there is no one day.

2,6 For the types [of the Lord’s death and resurrection] have been combined at the cost of no little godly study. Christ needed to be slain on the fourteenth of the month in accordance with the Law, so that their light that illumined them under the Law would go out for them, since the sun had risen and hidden the light of the moon. (7) For the moon is on the wane after the fourteenth. Hence even in the Law the Jewish synagogue was dimmed by Christ’s incarnation and passion, and the Gospel outshone it—although, because the Law was not abolished but served to prove the truth, the Law was not destroyed but fulfilled.

2,8 So too, at the celebration of the Passover in Jericho the sacred scripture at once added, “And the children of Israel kept the Passover and ate it in Gilgal, and the manna ceased.”<sup>11</sup> (9) This was its further testimony to them, and its prophecy that their angelic, heavenly food, which they called manna,<sup>12</sup> would come to an end because of the Lord’s suffering for their denial of God.

3,1 But since she makes the combination she does, God’s holy church does not miss the truth of the observance of this mystery in any way. (2) She observes not only the fourteenth day, but also the seventh as it recurs regularly < in the > order of the seven days of the week, so that the resurrection and the festival will correspond with the deeds of the Lord < just as > they do with the type [of them]. (3) And she observes not only the fourteenth day of the lunar month, but the course of the sun as well, so that we will not keep two Passovers in one year and not even celebrate one in another.

3,4 We observe the fourteenth day, then, but we wait until after the equinox and bring the end of our fulfillment [of the commandment]<sup>13</sup> to the sacred Lord’s Day. But we take the lamb on the tenth day by acknowledging the name of Jesus through its “iota,”<sup>14</sup> so that, < by > the true canonical practice of them, we will neglect no part of this life-giving < festival > of the Passover in accordance with the entire truth.

3,5 However, since by Christ’s power I am done with the swollenness of this gudgeon or toad, I shall pass it by and give my attention to the rest, making my usual supplication for God’s help.

## V

### **Contra los Antijoanistas, secta del Cristianismo**

1,1 Following these sects—after the the ones called Phrygians, Quintillianists and Quartodecimans—there arose another sect, like a feeble snake which cannot bear the odor of dittany—that is, storax—or of frankincense or southernwood, or the smell of pitch, incense, lignite or hartshorn.

(2) For those who are familiar with them say that these substances have the effect of driving poisonous snakes away; and some call dittany “tit-tany”<sup>2</sup> because professional physicians use it as an aid for women in childbirth.<sup>3</sup> I may thus appropriately compare it with the divine Word who descended from the heavens, and has been begotten of the Father outside of time and without beginning.

1,3 Solomon says of a foolish, worthless woman, “She hateth a word of sureness.”<sup>4</sup> These people too have hated the Gospel’s surenesses, since they are of the earth and at enmity with the heavens. (4) Therefore, for fear of the Holy Spirit’s voice which says, “The voice of the Lord restoreth the hinds,”<sup>5</sup> < they reject his proclamation of the divine Word\* > who told his servants and apostles, “Lo, I have given you power to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy.”<sup>6</sup> (5) For this is the voice that restores the hinds, the voice which resounded in the world through the holy apostles and evangelists, to trample on the devil’s opposition. < One of > these, St. John, checked this with the utmost effectiveness, and tried the power of the deceived, and of the snakelike heretics.

2,1 But these people will not prevail in the ark. The holy Noah is directed by God’s command to make the ark secure, as God says to him, “Thou shalt pitch it within and without”<sup>7,8</sup>—to prefigure God’s holy church, which has the power of pitch, which drives the horrid, baneful, snake-like teachings away. For where pitch is burned, no snake can remain. (2) The holy storax incense stuns them, and they avoid its sweet odor. And the power of southernwood or frankincense < drives them away\* > if it grows over the serpent itself and sprouts above its den.

2,3 For in the same place—I mean in Asia—where Ebion, Cerinthus and their coterie preached that Christ is a mere man and the product of sexual intercourse, the Holy Spirit caused this sacred plant or shrub to sprout which has driven the serpent away and destroyed the devil’s tyranny. (4) For in his old age St. John was told by the Holy Spirit to preach there,<sup>9</sup> and bring back those who had lost their way on the journey—

[bring them], not by force but of their own free choice, by revealing God's light to the obedient, which is in God's holy teaching. (5) But how long must I go on? It is a fact that no snake can stay any longer or make its den where southernwood grows; and where God's true teaching is, a den of snake-like teaching cannot prevail but will be destroyed.

3,1 Now these Alogi say—this is what I call them. They shall be so called from now on, and let us give them this name, beloved, Alogi. (2) For they believed in the heresy for which <that\* > name <was a good one\* >, since it rejects the books by John. As they do not accept the Word which John preaches, they shall be called Dumb.<sup>10</sup> (3) As complete strangers to the truth's message they deny its purity, and accept neither John's Gospel nor his Revelation.

3,4 And if they accepted the Gospel but rejected the Revelation, I would say they might be doing it from scrupulousness, and refusing to accept an "apocryphon" because of the deep and difficult sayings in the Revelation. (5) But since they do not accept the books in which St. John actually proclaimed his Gospel, it must be plain to everyone that they and their kind are the ones of whom St. John said in his General Epistles, "It is the last hour and ye have heard that Antichrist cometh; even now, lo, there are many Antichrists."<sup>11</sup> (6) For they offer excuses [for their behavior]. Knowing, as they do, that St. John was an apostle and the Lord's beloved, that the Lord rightly revealed the mysteries to him, and <that he\* > leaned upon his breast, they are ashamed to contradict him and try to object to these mysteries for a different reason. For they say that they are not John's composition but Cerinthus', and have no right to a place in the church.

4,1 And it can be shown at once, from this very attack, that they "understand neither what they say nor whereof they affirm."<sup>12</sup> How can the words which are directed against Cerinthus be by Cerinthus? (2) Cerinthus says that Christ is of recent origin and a mere man, while John has proclaimed that <he > is the eternal Word, and has come from on high and been made flesh. From the very outset, then, their worthless quibble is exposed as foolish, and unaware of its own refutation. (3) For they appear to believe what we do; but because they do not hold to the certainties of the message God has revealed to us through St. John, they will be convicted of shouting against the truth about things which they do

not know. (4) They will be known to them, though, if they choose to sober up and take notice; I am not discarding the teachings of the Holy Spirit in all their importance and certainty.

4,5 For they say against themselves—I prefer not to say, “against the truth”—that John’s books do not agree with the other apostles.<sup>13</sup> And now they think they can attack his holy, inspired teaching. (6) “And what,” they argue, “did he say, ‘In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.’<sup>14</sup> And, ‘The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we knew his glory, glory as of an only Son of a Father, full of grace and truth.’<sup>15</sup> (7) And immediately afterwards, ‘John bare witness and cried, saying, This he of whom I said unto you,’<sup>16</sup> and, ‘This is the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world.’<sup>17</sup>

“And next he says, ‘They that heard him said, Rabbi, where dwellest thou?’<sup>18</sup> and in the same breath, (8) ‘On the morrow Jesus would go forth into Galilee, and findeth Philip, and saith unto him, Follow me.’<sup>19</sup> (9) And shortly thereafter he says, ‘And after three days there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee, and Jesus was called, and his disciples, to the marriage supper, and his mother was there.’<sup>20</sup> (10) But the other evangelists say that he spent forty days in the wilderness tempted by the devil, and then came back and chose his disciples.”

4,11 And dense as they are, they don’t know that each evangelist was concerned to say what the others had said, in agreement with them, while at the same time revealing what they had not said, but had omitted. For the will was not theirs; both their order and their teaching came from the Holy Spirit. (12) If our opponents want to attack John, they must learn that the other three did not begin from the same point in the narrative.

For Matthew was the first to become an evangelist. The first issuance of the Gospel was assigned to him. (I have spoken largely of this in another Sect;<sup>21</sup> however, I shall not mind dealing with the same things again, as proof of the truth and in refutation of the erring.) (5,1) As I said, Matthew was privileged to be the first < to issue > the Gospel, and this was

absolutely right. Because he had repented of many sins, and had risen from the receipt of custom and followed Him who came for man's salvation and said, "I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance,"<sup>22</sup> it was Matthew's duty to present the message of salvation < first >, as an example for us, who would be saved like this man who was restored in the tax office and turned from his iniquity. From him men would learn the graciousness of Christ's advent.

5,2 For after the forgiveness of his sins he was granted the raising of the dead, the cleansing of leprosy, miracles of healing and the casting out of devils, so that he < would > not merely persuade his hearers by his speech, but publish<sup>23</sup> good tidings with actual deeds—[publish] the tidings of their salvation through repentance, to the perishing; the tidings that they would arise, to the fallen; and the tidings that they would be quickened, to the dead.

5,3 Matthew himself wrote and issued the Gospel in the Hebrew alphabet, and did not begin at the beginning, but traced Christ's pedigree from Abraham. "Abraham begat Isaac," he said, "and Isaac begat Jacob,"<sup>24</sup> and so on down to Joseph and Mary. (4) And he wrote at the beginning, "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David," and then said, "the son of Abraham."<sup>25</sup> Then, coming to his main point, he said, "The birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise. When as his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together she was found with child of the Holy Ghost. (5) And Joseph, being a just man, sought to put her away privily. And lo, the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream saying, Put not away thy wife; for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost. (6) For lo, she shall bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus. He shall save his people from their sins. And this was done," he said, "to fulfill that which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Behold the virgin shall be with child,"<sup>26</sup> and so on.

5,7 "And Joseph," he said, "being raised from sleep, did so and took unto him his wife, and knew her not till she brought forth her first-born son, and he called his name Jesus. (8) Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judaea in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, saying, Where is he that is born king of

the Jews? For we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him.”<sup>27</sup>

5.9 Now then, where is the story of Zacharias? Where are the subjects Luke discussed? Where is the vision of the angel? Where is the prophecy about John the Baptist? Where is the rebuke of Zacharias, so that he could not speak until the angel’s words had come true?

5.10 Where are the things Gabriel told the Virgin? Where is his reassurance, when Mary answered the angel himself with wisdom and asked, “How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?”<sup>28</sup> And where is his accurate and clear explanation, “The Spirit of the Lord shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee?”<sup>29</sup>

6.1 Well, what shall I say? Because Matthew did not report the events which Luke related, can St. Matthew be in disagreement with the truth? Or is St. Luke not telling the truth, because he has said < nothing > about the things that had been previously dealt with by Matthew? (2) Didn’t God give each evangelist his own assignment, so that each of the four evangelists whose duty was to proclaim the Gospel could find what he was to do and proclaim some things in agreement and alike to show that they came from the same source, but otherwise<sup>30</sup> describe what another had omitted, as each received his proportionate share from the Spirit?

6.3 Now what shall we do? Matthew declares that Mary gave birth in Bethlehem < and > < describes\* > Christ’s incarnation in terms of the pedigree he traces from Abraham’s and David’s line. St. Mark, we find, says none of this (4) but begins the Gospel with the event that took place in the Jordan and says, “The beginning of the Gospel, as it is written in Isaiah the prophet, A voice of one crying in the wilderness.”<sup>31</sup> (5) < Is Mark lying, then? Of course not! There was no reason for him to repeat information which had already been given\* >. Similarly, the things St. John discussed, and confirmed in the Holy Spirit, were not just meant to repeat what had already been proclaimed, but to speak of the teachings the others had had to leave to John.

6.6 For the whole treatment of the Gospel was of this nature. After Matthew had proclaimed Christ’s generation, his conception through the Holy Spirit, < and > his incarnation as a descendant of David and Abraham,



an error arose in those who had not understood the narrative which was intended in good faith to provide assurance of these things from the Gospel. (Not that the Gospel was responsible for their error; their own wrong notion was.) (7) And this was why Cerinthus and Ebion held that Christ was a mere man, and < misled\* > Merinthus,<sup>32</sup> Cleobius<sup>33</sup> or Cleobulus,<sup>34</sup> Claudius, Demas<sup>35</sup> and Hermogenes,<sup>36</sup> who had loved this world and left the way of the truth. (8) For they contradicted the Lord's disciples at that time, and tried to use the genealogy from Abraham and David as proof of their nonsense—not in good faith, but seizing on it as an excuse. (9) For they were often contradicted by St. John and his friends, Leucius and many others. But shamelessness struck its forehead, and did its best to bring its own woes on itself.

6,10 Mark, who came directly after Matthew, was ordered by St. Peter at Rome to issue the Gospel, and after writing it was sent by St. Peter to Egypt. (11) He was one of the seventy-two who had been dispersed by the Lord's saying, "Unless a man eat my flesh and drink my blood, he is not worthy of me"<sup>37</sup>—as < can be > plainly proved to the readers of the Gospels. Still, after his restoration by Peter he was privileged to proclaim the Gospel by the Holy Spirit's inspiration.

6,12 He began his proclamation where the Spirit told him, and put the opening of it at the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar, thirty years after Matthew's account. (13) Since he was a second evangelist, and gave no clear indication of the divine Word's descent from on high—he does this everywhere plainly, but not with as much precision [as Matthew]—a darkening of their minds fell once more upon these misguided people, so that they were not held worthy of the Gospel's illumination. (14) "Look," they said, "here is a second Gospel too with an account of Christ, and nowhere does it say that his generation is heavenly. Instead," they said, "the Spirit descended upon him in the Jordan and < there came\* > a voice, 'This is my beloved Son, with whom I am well pleased.'"<sup>38</sup>

7,1 Since this was the conclusion that had been reached by these stupid people, the Holy Spirit compelled St. Luke and spurred him on to raise the

minds of the misguided from the lowest depths, as it were, and once again take up what the other evangelists had omitted. (2) < But > lest some misguided person should think his description of Christ's generation fictitious, he carried the matter back, and for accuracy's sake went through his whole account in the fullest detail. (3) And he produced those who had been ministers of the word as his witnesses in support of the truth; and he said, "Inasmuch as many have attacked,"<sup>39</sup> to show that there were attackers—I mean Cerinthus, Merinthus and the others.

7.4 What does he say next? "It seemed good to me, having attended closely to them which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, to write unto thee, most excellent Theophilus"—whether he said this because he was then writing to someone named Theophilus, or to every lover of God—"< that thou mayest know > the certainty of the things wherein thou hast been instructed."<sup>40</sup> (5) And he said that the instruction was already written, as though Theophilus had already been instructed by others, but had not learned the precise truth from them with certainty.

7.6 Next he says, "There was in the days of Herod the king a priest named Zacharias of the course of the high priest Abijah, and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron, and her name was Elizabeth."<sup>41</sup> (7) And he begins before Matthew. Matthew had indicated a period of thirty years from the beginning, while Mark—like Matthew and Luke—had set down what happened after < the > thirty years, the event which truly took place in the Jordan. (8) But Matthew began his account thirty years before the event at the Jordan and the baptism. Now Luke told of the period of six months before the Savior's conception, and again, the period of the nine months and a few days following the conception of the Lord, so that the entire period of time [described in Luke] is thirty-one years and a bit more.

7.9 Luke also describes the shepherds' vision, [which was shown them] by the angels who brought them the tidings. And he describes how Christ was born in Bethlehem, laid in a manger in swaddling clothes, and circumcised the eighth day, and how they made an offering for him forty days later in obedience to the Law, Simeon took <him> in his arms, and Anna the daughter of Phanuel gave thanks for him; and how he went away to Nazareth and returned to Jerusalem each year with his parents, who

made the offerings for him that the Law required. But neither Matthew nor Mark has dealt with any of this, and certainly not John. Instead, they said, “the Spirit descended upon him in the Jordan and < there came\* > a voice, ‘This is my beloved Son, with whom I am well pleased.’”<sup>42</sup>

8,1 And so, as they go through their refutations of the Gospel account, certain other Greek philosophers—I mean Porphyry, Celsus,<sup>43</sup> and that dreadful, deceitful serpent of Jewish extraction, Philosabbatius—accuse the holy apostles, though they [themselves] are natural and carnal, make war by fleshly means and cannot please God, and have not understood < the things which have been said > by the Spirit.

8,2 Tripping over the words of the truth because of the blindness of their ignorance, each < of them > lit upon this point and said, “How can the day of his birth in Bethlehem have a circumcision eight days after it, and forty days later the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the things Simeon and Anna did for him, (3) when an angel appeared to him the night he was born, after the arrival of the magi who came to worship him, and who opened their bags and offered him gifts? As it says, ‘An angel appeared to him saying, Arise, take thy wife and the young child and go unto Egypt, for Herod seeketh the young child’s life.’<sup>44</sup> (4) Now then, if he was taken to Egypt the very night he was born and was there until Herod died, how can he stay [in Bethlehem] for eight days and be circumcised? Or how can Luke < fail to\* > be caught in a lie when he tells us that Jesus was brought to Jerusalem after\* < forty days\* >?”—so they say in blasphemy against their own heads, because he says, “On the fortieth day they brought him to Jerusalem and < returned > to Nazareth from there.”<sup>45</sup>

9,1 And the ignoramuses do not know the power of the Holy Spirit; to each evangelist it was given to describe the true events of each time and season. And Matthew reported only Christ’s generation by the Holy Spirit and conception without a man’s seed, but said nothing about circumcision, or the two years—any of the things that happened to him after his birth. (2) Instead, as the true word of God bears witness, he describes the coming of the magi. For Herod asked the magi for the time, and demanded the exact time of the star’s appearance, and Matthew gave the

magi's answer, that it was no more than two years before. Thus this period of time is not the one Luke deals with.

9,3 Luke, however, describes the events before < the > two years—whereas Matthew spoke of Christ's birth and then skipped to the time two years later and indicated what happened after < the > two years. (4) And so, when Herod deliberated after the magi's departure by another route, he assumed that < the > new-born child himself would be found among all the other children and killed along with them. (5) For he ordered the killing of all the children in the vicinity of Bethlehem who had been two years old or less on the very day the magi came to him. Who, then, can fail to realize that the child who had been born was two years old when the magi came?

9,6 Indeed, [Luke's] account itself makes the facts clear in their entirety. For Luke says that the child was swaddled as soon as he was born, and lay in a manger and cave because there was no room in the inn. (7) For a census was then in progress, and the people who had been scattered at the time of the wars in the Maccabees' time were dispersed all over the world, and very few had continued to live in Bethlehem. And thus Bethlehem is called the *city* of David in one copy of the Evangelists, while in another it calls it a village, because it had come to occupy a small area. (8) But when the emperor Augustus' decree was issued, and those who had been dispersed had to go to Bethlehem for enrollment because of their family origins, the influx of the multitudes filled the place, and because of the crowding there was no room in the inn.

9,9 But then, after the census, everyone went back to wherever they lived and room was made in Bethlehem. (10) Now when < the > first year was over and the second year had passed, Christ's parents came from Nazareth to Bethlehem as though to the original gathering—as a sort of memorial because of what had happened there. (11) Thus the arrival of the magi occurred on this occasion, and probably not during Mary's and Joseph's visit at the time of the census which Luke mentions. For the magi did not find Mary in the cavern where she gave birth but, as the Gospel says, the star led them to the place where the young child was. (12) And they entered *the house* and found the baby with Mary—no longer in a manger, no longer in a cave, but in a house—showing the exact truth and the two-year interval, that is, from Christ's birth until the arrival of the magi.

9,13 And the angel appeared that night, two years after the birth, and said to take the mother and child to Egypt. Thus Joseph did not go back again to Nazareth but escaped to Egypt with the child and his mother,

and spent another two years there. And so, after Herod's death, the angel < appeared\* > again < and\* > sent them back to Judaea.

10,1 The Lord was born in the thirty-third year of Herod, the magi came in the thirty-fifth, and in the thirty-seventh year Herod died and his son Archelaus inherited the throne and reigned for nine years, as I have already said in other places.<sup>46</sup> (2) When Joseph heard of Archelaus he returned and went to Nazareth to make his home, and from there, in turn, went each year to Jerusalem.

10,3 Do you see the precision there is in the sacred Gospels about every event? But because the ignorant have blinded their own minds and do not know the intent of each saying, they simply shout and rave against the holy < evangelists >, saying nothing truthful but depriving themselves of life.

10,4 And then, after the first part of his narrative, Luke tells in turn how Christ went to Jerusalem in his twelfth year, thus leaving no opportunity for those who think, as Cerinthus, Ebion and the rest supposed, that Christ simply appeared in the world as a grown man and came to the Jordan to John. (5) For the serpent is a dreadful one, crawls a crooked course, and does not stand by one opinion; some suppose that Christ was engendered by sexual congress and a man's seed, but others, that he simply appeared as a [grown] man.

10,6 And this is why the holy evangelists write with precision, describing everything in exact detail. As though raising his mind from earth to the heavens, Luke expressly said, "And Jesus began to be about thirty years of age, being, *as was supposed*, the son of Joseph."<sup>47</sup> (7) Supposition is not fact; Joseph was in the position of a father to Jesus because this pleased God, but since he had no relations with Mary he was not his father. (8) He was simply called her husband because he was espoused to her as an old man of about eighty, with six sons (sic!)<sup>48</sup> by his actual first wife. But he was given this charge, as I have explained more precisely elsewhere. How could he be Christ's father when he had no conjugal relations? This is not possible.

11,1 But you will ask me, if he did not have her, why was he called her husband? Whoever doubts this does not know the Law's provision that once a woman is designated a man's wife, she is called the wife of the man

so designated, even though she is a virgin and still in her father's house. And thus the holy angel said, "Fear not to take unto thee thy *wife*."<sup>49</sup>

11,2 And lest it be thought that < there is > some error in the Gospels—for the mystery is awesome and beyond human telling, and only to the Holy Spirit's children is the statement of it plain and clear—(3) < he says >, "He was about thirty years old, *supposedly* the son of Joseph, the son of Eli, the son of Matthan,"<sup>50</sup> and traces his ancestry to Abraham, where Matthew began. But he goes past Noah and comes to Adam, to indicate the first man, who was sought for by the One who came from his clay—that is, the One who came from the holy Virgin Mary. (4) (For Christ has come for that first man, and for those of his descendants who desire to inherit eternal life.)

And he goes past Adam and says, "Son of God."<sup>51</sup> (5) From this, at length, it was perfectly plain that he was the Son of God, but that he had come in the flesh as Adam's lineal descendant. But once more the misguided did not see the light; in their self-deceit, < and their preference of falsehood\* > to truth, they spoke against what [Luke] said. (6) "Here is a third Gospel, Luke's," they said—for Luke was given this commission. He too was one of the seventy-two who had been scattered because of the Savior's saying. But he was brought back to the Lord by St. Paul and told to issue his Gospel. And he preached in Dalmatia, Gaul, Italy and Macedonia first, but originally in Gaul, as Paul says of certain of his followers in his epistles, "Crescens is in Gaul."<sup>52</sup> It does not say, "in Galatia," as some mistakenly believe, but "in Gaul.")

12,1 But to get to the point. Although Luke had traced Christ's pedigree from its end to its beginning and reached the point where, to turn the misguided from their error, he hinted at the divine Word's advent and simultaneous union with his human nature, they did not understand. (2) Later, therefore, though from caution and humility he had declined to be an evangelist, the Holy Spirit compelled John to issue the Gospel in his old age when he was past ninety, after his return from Patmos under Claudius Caesar, and several years of his residence in Asia.

12,3 And John did not need to speak in detail of the [Savior's] advent; that had already been confirmed. But, as though he were following behind people and saw them in front of him choosing very rough, circuitous,

thorny paths, John was concerned to recall them to the straight way, and took care to call out to them for their protection, “Why are you going wrong? Which turn are you taking? Where are you wandering off to, Cerinthus, Ebion and the rest? It is not as you suppose.

12,4 “Sure, plainly Christ was conceived in the flesh; look, I confess myself that the Word was made flesh. But don’t suppose that he was himself only from the time when he was made flesh. He doesn’t exist from Mary’s time only, as each of us exists from the time of our conception, but before his conception is not there. (5) The holy divine Word, the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, isn’t just from Mary’s time, or just from Joseph’s time, or Eli’s, Levi’s, Zerubbabel’s, Shealtiel’s, Nathan’s, David’s, Jacob’s or Isaac’s. And not just from the time of Abraham, Noah or Adam, or the fifth day of creation, the fourth, the third, the second, or the creation of heaven and earth or the beginning of the universe.

12,6 “No, *‘In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made,’*<sup>53</sup> and so on. (7) And then, ‘There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. The same came for a witness, to bear witness of the light, that all men through him might believe. He was not the light, but was sent to bear witness of the light. The true light, that lighteneth every man, was coming into the world. He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. He came unto his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, who were born not of blood and flesh, but of God. (8) And the Word was made flesh,’ he said, ‘and dwelt among us. John bare witness of him and cried saying, ‘This is he of whom I spake unto you,’ and, ‘Of his fullness we have all received.’<sup>54</sup> And he said, ‘I am not the Christ, but the voice of one crying in the wilderness.’”<sup>55</sup>

13,1 And when he is describing all this he says, “These things were done in Bethabara”—“Bethany” in other copies—“beyond Jordan.”<sup>56</sup> (2) And after this he states that John’s disciples asked Jesus, “Rabbi, where dwellest thou? And he said, Come and see. And they went, and remained with him that day.”<sup>57</sup> (3) And the next day “It was about the tenth hour; one of

the two which had followed him was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother. He first findeth his own brother Simon and saith unto him, We have found Messiah, which is, being interpreted, Christ. He brought him to Jesus. Jesus looking on him saith, Thou art Simon the son of Jonah; thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation Peter.

13,4 "On the morrow he would go forth into Galilee and findeth Philip, and Jesus saith unto him, Follow me. Now Philip was of Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter. Philip findeth Nathanael and saith unto him, We have found him of whom Moses in the Law, and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph. And Nathanael said unto him, Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth? Philip said unto him, Come and see. (5) Jesus seeing Nathanael come unto him saith of him, Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile. Nathanael saith unto him, Whence knowest thou me? Jesus answered and said unto him, Before that Philip called thee, when thou wast under the fig tree, I saw thee. Nathanael answered him and said, Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the king of Israel. (6) Jesus answered and said unto him, Because I said unto thee, I saw thee under the fig tree, believest thou? Verily, verily I say unto you, Ye shall see heaven opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man. (7) And the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee,"<sup>58</sup> and so on.

All this will show that he came back to the Jordan after the forty days of the temptation, his return from the temptation itself, and his start for Nazareth and Galilee, as the other three evangelists have said. (8) This will also be shown by the words of John [the Baptist], "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world."<sup>59</sup> And on another day, as he saw him on his way, he said, "This is he of whom I said unto you, He that cometh after me is preferred before me, for he was before me."<sup>60</sup> "And John bore witness," it says, "I saw the Spirit in the form of a dove descending and coming upon him."<sup>61</sup>

13,9 "*Bore witness*" and "This is he of whom I *said* unto you," suggest that John is speaking of two different times already past, to show that this is not the same as the time of the baptism, but a different one. (10) For Jesus did not go straight to John from the temptation, but went to Galilee first and then from Galilee to the Jordan, making this < the second time



he came\* > to John. And so John says, "This was he of whom I *said* unto you;" and the Gospel goes on to say, "And John *bore* witness, I saw"—as though the thing had already taken place some time before.

14,1 The original call of Peter and Andrew is shown after this. For Andrew went to visit Jesus—one of the two who followed him, who were John's disciples but still lived in Galilee and now and then spent time with John. (2) And just after Andrew had stayed with him that day—it was about the sixth hour—he happened to meet his brother Simon that very same day, and said the words I have already mentioned, "We have found the Messiah." And he brought him to the Lord and so on, as the sequel—that Jesus told him, "Thou shalt be called Cephas"—shows.

14,3 "And the day following," it says, "Jesus would go forth into Galilee, and findeth Philip, and saith unto him, Follow me. Now Philip was of Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter."<sup>62</sup> (4) And you see that this leads me to suppose—of the two disciples of John who had followed Jesus<sup>63</sup> he gave only the name of the one, Andrew, but did not give the name of the other. (5) This makes me think that, because they came from the same place, lived together, had the same trade and worked together, this disciple whose name he did not give was either John or James, < but > one of the sons of Zebedee. (6) For they should have been called first and then Philip, according to the order which is given in the Gospels: Peter first, then Andrew, then James, then John, and Philip after these. But never mind this now; there is a great deal of followup to this matter.

15,1 But it is time to return to the subject < and point out\* > that, as it is plain to see, just as they < continued\* > to practice their trade and attend to their discipleship while they were disciples of John, so, after spending their first day with Jesus, they went back the next day and fished, as the wording of the other Gospels indicates. (2) For after Jesus left on the following day, the sequel [in John] says at once, "On the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee, and the mother of Jesus was there. And Jesus was called, and his disciples, to the marriage."<sup>64</sup> (3) But from both these precise statements and the subject of them, we are given to understand that Jesus had also brought other disciples who [unlike Peter and the others] had remained with him—perhaps Nathanael and Philip, and some others. Andrew and the rest had left, but those who had remained with him were also invited to the wedding.

15,4 And after performing this first miracle he went down to Capernaum and made his home there. And then he began to perform other miracles there—when he healed the man’s withered hand, and Peter’s mother-in-law as well. (5) (Peter was from Bethsaida but had married a woman from Capernaum, for the two places are not far apart. Jesus cured Peter’s mother-in-law of fever and, because she was cured, she waited on them, so that the sequence of events is < plain\* >.)

15,6 And after this he returned to Nazareth where he had been brought up. He then read the roll of the prophet Isaiah, and afterwards anticipated them himself and said, “Ye will surely say unto me this parable, Physician, heal thyself. What signs we have heard have been done in Capernaum, do also here in thy country.”<sup>65</sup> And do you see the truthfulness of what follows? “And he did nothing<sup>66</sup> because of their unbelief.”<sup>67</sup>

15,7 From there he went to Capernaum and settled there once more. And going to the sea, as Matthew says, he saw Simon Peter and his brother Andrew casting their nets—and, once again, James and John the sons of Zebedee. And he called them for last time, and they finally threw their nets away and followed him.

15,8 But Luke also indicates the certainty of the fact that they finally followed him for good without postponing their call any more. For he says, “When he was come unto the lake Gennesareth he saw Simon Peter and Andrew mending their nets, and he entered into the ship which was Simon Peter’s and Andrew’s”—but this shows that they allowed this from habit since he was already acquainted with them—and he boarded it and sat down. (9) When he told Peter, after his teaching, “Launch out into the deep and let down your nets,”<sup>68</sup> and they said, “Master”<sup>69</sup>—these men who had previously heard John say, “Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world”<sup>70</sup> and had spent one day with him were already calling Jesus “Master” because of John’s testimony. (10) And they went out for their second catch, the later one, when they were amazed at the number of the fish, and Peter said, “Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord.”<sup>71</sup> (For perhaps, indeed, he was penitent because of his having been called before and returning to his fish and the whole business of fishing.)

(11) But to hearten him Jesus said, "Fear not"; he had not been rejected but could still lay claim to his call. For Jesus said, "From henceforth thou shalt be a fisher of men"<sup>72</sup> when they motioned their partners in the other boat to come and help with the catch. (12) For as it says, they were Simon's partners; I have mentioned this already because of the two who had followed Jesus < and > heard John say, < "Behold the Lamb of God." ><sup>73</sup> One of these two was Andrew, < as > I said, and I have a very good notion that the other, in turn, might have been one of the sons of Zebedee, because they were co-workers, in the same business, and partners.

15,13 And then, as it says, after all this the four left their boats and simply threw everything down and followed him, as Luke testifies. (14) And thus it is fully demonstrated that there is no obscurity or contradiction in the holy Gospels or between the evangelists, but that everything is plain. (15) There are, however, differences of time. For from this time forward, after Peter, John and the others had finally joined and followed him, he went teaching throughout Galilee and Judaea. And then, as the Gospel became widespread, he performed the rest of the miracles. Thus the overall order of events is this:

16,1 First, he was baptized on the twelfth of the Egyptian month Athyr, the sixth before the Ides of November of the Roman calendar.<sup>74</sup> (In other words, he was baptized a full sixty days before the Epiphany, which is the day of his birth in the flesh, (2) as the Gospel according to Luke testifies, "Jesus *began to be* about thirty years old, being, as was supposed, the son of Joseph."<sup>75</sup> Actually, he was twenty-nine years and ten months old—thirty years old but not quite—when he came for his baptism. This is why it says, "*began to be* about thirty years old." Then he was sent into the wilderness.

16,3 Those forty days of the temptation appear next, and the slightly more than two weeks—[two weeks] and two days—which he spent after his return from the temptation to Galilee, that is, to Nazareth and its vicinity. (4) And one day when he went to John—the day John said, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world."<sup>76</sup> And the next day < when > "John, again, stood, and two of his disciples, and look-

ing upon Jesus as he walked, said, Behold the Christ, the Lamb of God.”<sup>77</sup> Then it says, “The two disciples heard him and followed Jesus.”<sup>78</sup>

16,5 As I said, this was the eighteenth day after the temptation, but the first after [Jesus’ encounter with] John, when Andrew and the others followed Jesus and stayed with him that day—it was about the tenth hour—and when Andrew found his brother Simon and brought him to Jesus. (6) Then the Gospel says, “On the morrow the Lord would go forth into Galilee, and findeth Philip, and saith unto him, Follow me.”<sup>79</sup> As the sequence of the Gospel indicates, this was the nineteenth day after the temptation, < and it includes\* > the call of Philip and Nathanael.

16,7 And then, it says, there was a wedding in Cana of Galilee on the third day after the two days I have mentioned which followed [the encounter with] John. Now if the twenty days are added to the forty days of the temptation, this makes two months. And when these are combined with the ten months they make a year, that is to say, a full thirty years from the birth of the Lord. (8) And we find that Christ performed his first miracle, of the change of the water to wine, at the end of his thirtieth year, as you must realize if you follow the Gospel passages closely. (9) And then, after this first miracle, he performed the other miracles and presented his teaching, in token of his wondrous, inexpressible lovingkindness to all, and the wonderworking in the Gospels—so I have often been obliged to say because of the ignorance of the misguided people who venture to contradict the Gospels’ accurate account, as it is set forth in order by the Holy Spirit.

17,1 Such an amount of accurate demonstration will leave no room for those who are their own opponents—I won’t say, the truth’s, because they can’t be. (2) For it is plain from the start that everything else follows the baptism. Thus it is shown that the Lord underwent the forty day temptation in the wilderness after the day of the baptism, even though the Holy Spirit saw no need to make this known through John; it had already been indicated by the three evangelists. (3) And again, the other evangelists were not concerned with the other matters, since each is assisted by each. For when the truth is gathered from all the evangelists it is shown to be one, and in no conflict with itself.

17,4 For from that point—directly after the temptation, as I said,—he went from the wilderness to Nazareth and stayed there, no disciple being with him as yet. And from there he went down to John, and at once Peter was called through Andrew, and Nathanael through Philip. (5) But even though he sees that Andrew met Jesus first and then Peter was called, and through Andrew at that, no one need waste his time on doubts about this as well, and begin to be distressed about it. (6) The meeting with Andrew came first because Andrew was younger in years than Peter. But later on, in turn, at their final renunciation, this was at Peter's instance. For he was his brother's mentor; and the Lord knew this, for he is God, understands the inclinations of hearts, knows who is worthy to be ranked first, and chose Peter for the head of his disciples, as has been plainly shown everywhere.

17,7 Afterwards they came and stayed with him the first day, as I said, they traveled on the second, and on the third day came the first miracle while some disciples were with him—plainly not Andrew, Peter, James or John, but Nathanael and Philip, and some others. (8) And next, after going to Capernaum and returning to Nazareth, and going back to Capernaum from there and working part of the miracles, he returned to Nazareth once more and read the roll of the prophet Isaiah, where it says, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor,"<sup>80</sup> and so on. This took place some days after the Epiphany.

17,9 And after John's arrest he returned to Capernaum and at last made that his residence; and the final call of Peter, John and their brothers came at this time, when Jesus came [to them] beside the lake of Gennesareth. And thus the entire sequence of events [in the Gospels] is harmonized and contains no contradictions; the whole Gospel account is completely clear and has been given truthfully.

17,10 Then what has gotten into these people < who > have deceived their own minds and spewed this sect out on the world, that they reject the Gospel according to John? I was right to call their sect "Dumb"; they will not accept the divine Word who came from on high, the Word preached by John. (11) Not understanding the meaning of the Gospels they say, "Why have the other evangelists said that Jesus fled to Egypt from Herod, came back after his flight and remained at Nazareth, and then, after receiving the baptism, went into the wilderness, and returned after

that, and after his return began to preach? (18,1) But the Gospel [issued] in John's name lies," they say. "After 'The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us'<sup>81</sup> and a few other things, it says at once that there was a wedding in Cana of Galilee."

18,2 With their deliberate foolishness these people have not remembered that John < himself >, after saying that the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us—or in other words, became man—said that Jesus went to John the Baptist at the Jordan and was baptized by him. (3) < For > John himself testifies that John the Baptist said, "This is he of whom I said unto you,"<sup>82</sup> "I saw the Holy Spirit descending in the form of a dove and remaining on him,"<sup>83</sup> and, "This is he that taketh away the sin of the world."<sup>84</sup>

18,4 You see that none of this is said from forgetfulness; John has omitted the matters Matthew dealt with. There was no more need for these things, but there was need for the full explanation, in reply to those who believed that Jesus was called Christ and Son of God [only] from the time of Mary, and [those who say that] he was originally a mere man but received the title, "Son of God," as a promotion in rank. (5) Thus in writing his account of Christ's coming from above, John is concerned with essentials—it is all important and essential, but the heavenly things are more so. (6) But these people say that the Gospel according to John is non-canonical because it did not mention these events—I mean the events of the forty-day temptation—and they do not see fit to accept it, since they are misguided about everything, and mentally blind.

19,1 The blessed John came fourth in the succession of evangelists. With his brother James he was the first after Peter and Andrew in the order of calling, but he was the last to issue a Gospel. He was not concerned to give information which had been adequately set down before him, but preferred what had not been said to what had been, and discoursed < along those lines >. (2) For Matthew begins with Abraham, but resumes his narrative after its beginning, and two [undescribed] years after Christ's birth. Mark, however, begins at the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar, but gives < no > account of < the > interval after the beginning. And Luke added a beginning before the beginning, his treatment of Elizabeth and Mary before < they > conceived.

19,3 John, however, who was earlier in his calling than they but became an evangelist later, confirms the events before the incarnation. For most of what he said was spiritual, since the fleshly things had already been confirmed. (4) He thus gives a spiritual account<sup>85</sup> of the Gift which came down to us from the Father who has no beginning, < and > of the Father's good pleasure took flesh in the holy Virgin's womb. (5) And he omitted nothing essential; but by the Holy Spirit's inspiration he < introduced > the divine Word who was before all ages, begotten of the Father without beginning and not in time, and told of his coming in the flesh for our sakes. In this way we may obtain full and precise knowledge, fleshly and divine, from four evangelists.

20,1 For when all the events of the baptism and temptation were over and then, as I have often said, Jesus had gone to spend a few days' < time > in Nazareth and nearby, and near Capernaum—< and > after he had met John at the Jordan < and returned to Galilee\* >, taking a few disciples with him on the next day [after his meeting with John]—Jesus performed this first miracle in Cana, the third day after [he had met] John but the twentieth after his return from the temptation, and < began > his preaching. (2) For John does not say that Christ had gone to a wedding before the temptation, or that he had worked any of his miracles < before > he started preaching—except, perhaps, the ones he is said to have performed in play as a child. (3) (For he ought to have childhood miracles too, to deprive the other sects of an excuse for saying that “< the > Christ,” meaning the dove, came to him after [his baptism in] the Jordan.<sup>86</sup> They say this because of the sum of the letters alpha and omega, which is [the same as the sum of the letters of] “dove,” since the Savior said, “I am the Alpha and I am the Omega.”)<sup>87</sup>

20,4 This is also why Luke represents Jesus, in his twelfth year, as having asked Mary, “Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house?”<sup>88</sup> when she came looking for him, and he was engaged in dispute with the doctors at Jerusalem. (5) This refutes the argument of those who claim that he became the Son of God at the time of his baptism, when the dove, which they say is the Christ, came to him. And it makes it clear that the divine Word came from above and was made flesh of Mary at his coming, and

that the Spirit descended upon him in the Jordan, (6) to identify the One of whom the Father testified, "This is my Son, the Beloved, hear ye him."<sup>89</sup> It was also a sign, to those who would be enlightened in him, that they would be vouchsafed < the > gift of the Holy Spirit in baptism, and, by the grace he has given, the remission of their sins.

21,1 And then he began to work all his miracles, during the time of his preaching—< for > it says, "This *first* miracle did Jesus in Cana of Galilee."<sup>90</sup> (2) As I have said many times, this was not before the baptism. It was after his return from the temptation, the third day after the two days John's two disciples spent with him, the disciples who had heard [John] speak and followed Jesus. (3) Thus, immediately after the two days they spent with him, the Gospel adds, "And he went forth into Galilee and findeth Philip, and saith unto him, Follow me."<sup>91</sup>

21,4 Then immediately, on the third day there was a wedding in Cana of Galilee. Since there was a wedding just after he had left Judaea, he was rightly invited in its honor, as a blessing on marriage. (5) And it says, "On the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee, and the mother of Jesus was there, and both Jesus was called, and his disciples who were with him, to the marriage. (6) And when they wanted wine," it says, "The mother of Jesus saith, They have no wine. And Jesus saith unto her, Woman, what have I to do with thee? Mine hour is not yet come."<sup>92</sup>

21,7 < This took place\* > after he came from the wilderness following the temptation, and after he had been taken to Jerusalem and had stood on the pinnacle of the temple, and had been borne from Jerusalem to a very high mountain which many say is Mt. Tabor, or Itarbion in translation; this mountain is in Galilee. (8) For Matthew, who said, "Jesus, hearing that John was cast into prison, departed into Galilee,"<sup>93</sup> assumed this order of events. (9) Now Luke, who also accurately described the departure from the mountain and spoke first of the mountain and the kingdoms the devil showed the Lord, mentions the pinnacle and Jerusalem later, and how Jesus returned to Galilee and Nazareth. And Matthew says in agreement with him, "Leaving Nazareth he went unto Capernaum."<sup>94</sup>



21,10 For he went to Nazareth and from there to the Jordan to visit John, and after crossing the Jordan betook himself to his boyhood home, to his mother at Nazareth, and stayed there (i.e., at the Jordan) for two days, at which time Andrew and the others also stayed with him. Then, for the salvation of mankind, he was moved to begin preaching; (11) and because he had come [there] after an interval he stayed two days, accompanied by the disciples he had taken by then. And dismissing the two who had followed him he went to Galilee at once, to preach and work the first miracle, the one he performed at the wedding.

21,12 For see how the wording assures < us > of this, when John the Baptist gives his testimony, and says as of an event already in the past, “And I *knew* him not, but he who *sent* me to baptize *said* unto me, Upon whom thou seest the Spirit descending in the form of a dove, the same is he.”<sup>95</sup> (13) For when the Father sent John to baptize he granted him this sign, so that, when he saw it, he would recognize the Savior and Benefactor of our souls, who had been sent to the world from on high.

21,14 Sectarrians like these are confounded by the truth and accuracy of the sacred scriptures, especially by the agreement of the four Gospels. No one in his right mind would reject the fully accurate account the Holy Spirit has given through the sacred Gospels. (15) For even though they say that the evangelists Matthew, Mark and Luke reported that the Savior was brought to the wilderness after his baptism, and that he spent forty days in temptation, and after the temptation heard of John’s imprisonment and went to live at Capernaum by the sea—(16) but [then go on to say] that John is lying because he did not speak of this but straight off of the Savior’s visit to John [the Baptist] and all the other things John says he did<sup>96</sup>—[even if this is their argument], their entire ignorance of the Gospels’ exact words will be evident. (17) John the Evangelist indicates that *before* the arrest of John the Baptist the Lord went to him < again\* > after the days of the temptation. If John had been imprisoned, how could the Savior still return to him at the Jordan?

21,18 Nor do they realize that the other three evangelists give an accurate account of the time after John’s imprisonment by saying, “Jesus, hearing that John was cast into prison, departing from Nazareth dwelt in Capernaum which is on the seacoast.”<sup>97</sup> And you see that everything is said in truthful agreement by the four evangelists.

21,19 For John is plainly <following> the [other evangelists'] order when he says in turn that, after the Savior had performed the first miracle, gone to Capernaum and performed certain miracles there, and gone back to Nazareth and read the scroll, then finally, when John the Baptist was imprisoned, he went and lived at Capernaum for "not many days." (20) These are the "days" after the Epiphany, and after Christ's journey to Capernaum and Nazareth, his pilgrimage to Jerusalem for the Passover, and <his> return to John, where John was baptizing at Aenon <near> Salim. (21) For the Gospel says, "After this he went down to Capernaum, he and his mother and his brethren, and they remained there *not many days*."<sup>98</sup> He was not yet telling us of Jesus' final residence [at Capernaum], of which he said later <that> *after* John's imprisonment he went to live at Capernaum by the sea.

21,22 "And the Passover of the Jews was nigh," as he says, "and Jesus went up to Jerusalem, and found the sellers of oxen, sheep and doves in the temple, and the changers of money sitting."<sup>99</sup> (23) And after expelling these money-changers and dove-sellers and the rest and saying, "Take these things hence and make not my Father's house an house of merchandise"—and after hearing their answer, "What sign showest thou us, seeing that thou doest these things?" and telling them, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up"<sup>100</sup>—(it was at this time that Nicodemus came to him)—and after saying a great deal, John says, (24) "Jesus came, and his disciples, to Judaea, and there he tarried with them and baptized. And John also was <baptizing> in Aenon near to Salim, for there was much water *there; for John was not yet cast into prison*."<sup>101</sup>

21,25 And after John has said a great deal—"He that hath the bride is the bridegroom,"<sup>102</sup> [and so on]—the Gospel then says, "When therefore Jesus knew that the Pharisees had heard that Jesus made and baptized more disciples <than> John (though Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples), he left Judaea and departed again into Galilee. (26) And he must needs pass through Samaria."<sup>103</sup> This was the occasion when he sat by the well and talked with the Samaritan woman. And the Samaritan woman told the townsmen about him, and the Samaritans came to him

and begged him to stay with them, “and he stayed there two days, and many more believed because of his word.”<sup>104</sup>

21,27 “Now after the two days he came into Galilee. And there was a certain nobleman whose son was sick at Capernaum.”<sup>105</sup> This was when Jesus told him, “Go, thy son liveth,”<sup>106</sup> and he believed, and the boy was healed. And the Gospel says, “< This > is again the second miracle that Jesus did when he was come out of Judaea into Galilee.”<sup>107</sup>

21,28 “After this there was a feast of the Jews”—I presume he is speaking of another feast of the Jews, Pentecost or Tabernacles—“and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.”<sup>108</sup> This was when he came to the Sheep Pool on the Sabbath, and healed the paralytic who had been ill for thirty-eight years. (29) And after this, the acceptable year now being over, they began to persecute him, from the time when he healed the paralytic at the Sheep Pool on the Sabbath. John says in turn, The Jews persecuted Jesus the more, because he not only had broken the Sabbath, but also said that God was his Father, making himself equal with God.”<sup>109</sup> (30) How can the sects which make the Son inferior to the Father escape condemnation? “Making himself *equal* with God,” says the Gospel.

21,31 “After these things Jesus went over the Sea of Galilee, which is the Sea of Tiberias, and a great multitude followed him because they saw the miracles which he did on them that were diseased. And Jesus went up into the mountain, and there he sat with his disciples. And the Passover, the feast of the Jews, was < nigh >.”<sup>110</sup> (32) And now, as the other Gospels say, when John had been imprisoned Jesus came and made his home in Capernaum by the sea, as we find that John himself says in agreement with the others. For as the Passover comes in the month of March or April, it is perfectly plain that the times at which Jesus came to John after the temptation were different times [than this].

22,1 Again, they also accuse the holy evangelist—or rather, they accuse the Gospel itself—because, they say, “John said that the Savior kept two Passovers over a two-year period, but the other evangelists describe one Passover.” (2) The boors do not even know that the Gospels not only

acknowledge two Passovers as I have shown repeatedly, but that they speak of two earlier Passovers, and of that other Passover as well, on which the Savior suffered,—so that there are three Passovers, from the time of Christ's baptism and first preaching, over three years, until the cross.

22,3 For the Savior was born during the forty-second year of the Roman emperor Augustus—in the thirteenth consulship of the same Octavian Augustus and the consulship of Silanus, as the Roman consul lists indicate. (4) For these say as follows: "During their consulships," I mean Octavian's thirteenth and the consulship of Silanus, "Christ was born on the eighth before the Ides of January, thirteen days after the winter solstice and the increase of the light and the day."<sup>111</sup> (5) Greeks, I mean the idolaters, celebrate this day on the eighth before the Kalends of January, which Romans call Saturnalia, Egyptians Cronia, and Alexandrians, Cicellia. (6) For this division between signs of the zodiac, which is a solstice, comes on the eighth before the Kalends of January, and the day begins to lengthen because the light is receiving its increase. And it completes a period of thirteen days until the eighth before the Ides of January, the day of Christ's birth, with a thirtieth of an hour added to each day. (7) The Syrian sage, Ephrem, testified to this calculation in his commentaries when he said, "Thus the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ, his birth in the flesh or perfect incarnation which is called the Epiphany, was revealed after a space of thirteen days from the beginning of the increase of the light. For this too must needs be a type of the number of our Lord Jesus Christ and his twelve disciples, since, [added to the disciples], he made up < the > number of the thirteen days of the light's increase."<sup>112</sup>

22,8 And how many other things have been done and are being done because of, and in testimony to this calculation, I mean of Christ's birth? Indeed, those who guilefully preside over the cult of idols are obliged to confess a part of the truth, and in many places deceitfully celebrate a very great festival on the very night of the Epiphany, to deceive the idolaters who believe them into hoping<sup>113</sup> in the imposture and not seeking the truth.

22,9 First, at Alexandria, in the Coreum, as they call it; it is a very large temple, the shrine of Core. They stay up all night singing hymns to the

idol with a flute accompaniment. And when they have concluded their nightlong vigil torchbearers descend into an underground shrine after cockcrow (10) and bring up a wooden image which is seated naked < on > a litter. It has a sign of the cross inlaid with gold on its forehead, two other such signs, [one] on each hand, and two other signs, [one] actually [on each of] its two knees—altogether five signs with a gold impress. And they carry the image itself seven times round the innermost shrine with flutes, tambourines and hymns, hold a feast, and take it back down to its place underground. And when you ask them what this mystery means they reply that today at this hour Core—that is, the virgin—gave birth to Aeon.

22,<sup>11</sup> This is also done in the same way in the city of Petra, in the temple of the idol there. (Petra is the capital city of Arabia, the scriptural Edom.) They praise the virgin with hymns in the Arab language calling her, in Arabic, Chaamu—that is, Core, or virgin. And the child who is born of her they call Dusares, that is, “the Lord’s only-begotten.” And this is also done that night in the city of Elusa, as it is there in Petra, and in Alexandria.

22,<sup>12</sup> I have been obliged to prove this with many examples because of those who do not believe that “The Epiphany” is a good name for the fleshly birth of the Savior, who was born at the eighth hour and *manifested*, by the angels’ testimony, to the shepherds and the world—but he was *manifested* to Mary and Joseph as well. (13) And the star was *manifested* to the magi in the east at that hour, two years before their arrival at Jerusalem and Bethlehem, when Herod asked the magi themselves the precise time of the star’s *manifestation*, and they told him it was no more than two years before. And this very word gave the Epiphany its name, from Herod’s saying, “the *manifestation* of the star.” (14) Thus when the magi said, “Where is he that is born king of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the east and are come to worship him,”<sup>114</sup> Herod saw that he had not been inquiring about the name of a merely human king.

22,<sup>15</sup> For he mulled the matter over and was puzzled because many kings had been born in Jerusalem—Saul of the tribe of Benjamin first, David of the tribe of Judah second, David’s son Solomon, Solomon’s son Rehoboam, and Rehoboam’s sons in succession—and no star had ever appeared at any of their births, and never, except this once, had magi arrived to come and worship the newborn king. And after giving this his consideration he attained to the knowledge of the truth as well, having

understood that this was not the sign of a man, but of the Lord alone. (16) Thus, when he asked the scribes and the priests, “Where is the Christ born?” and heard their answer, “in Bethlehem of Judaea,”<sup>115</sup> he was no longer asking about an earthly king or a mere man, but about Christ. And he learned the place by asking it of them, but the time by asking it of the magi.

22,17 For the magi themselves reached Bethlehem, after a two year interval, on this very day of the Epiphany, and offered their gifts, the myrrh, the gold and the frankincense. For the beginnings of many of the signs of Christ’s manifestation came on this day of the Manifestation. (18) As I have said before and am obliged to say over and over, this was the day in the thirteenth consulship of Octavius Augustus and the consulship of Silanus [which fell] on the eighth before the Ides of January, thirteen days after the increase of the daylight. This lasts from the winter solstice, the eighth before the Kalends of January, until the actual day of Christ’s birth and Manifestation, because of the type I spoke of—the Savior himself and his disciples, making thirteen.

22,19 Thus the Savior was born in the forty-second year of the Roman emperor Augustus in the consulship I have mentioned, twenty-nine years after Augustus’ annexation of Judaea; Augustus had reigned for thirteen years before Judaea was finally annexed to Rome. (20) After Augustus’ accession there was an alliance between the Romans and the Jews for about four years of his reign, with the dispatch of an auxiliary force, the appointment of a governor, and the payment of partial tribute to the Romans. < And again, partial tribute was given to the Romans\* > for about five years [more], until Judaea was surrendered to them completely and became [fully] tributary to them, (21) because the rulers descended from Judah had come to an end, and Herod had been made king—a gentile, though indeed a proselyte. And then Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judaea and began to preach, after the last of the anointed rulers (χρίστοι) descended from Judah and Aaron had come to an end—their line had continued until the anointed ruler Alexander, and Salina, or Alexandra.) This was the fulfillment of Jacob’s prophecy, “There shall not fail a ruler from Judah and a governor from his loins, till he come for who it is prepared, and he is the expectation of the nations”<sup>116</sup>—a reference to the birth of the Lord.

22,22 All these things were accomplished beginning with Christ's birth in Bethlehem, in the forty-second year of the whole reign of Augustus. Augustus' forty-second year came after [the following]: The fifth year of the governorship of Herod's father Antipater, when there was an alliance between the Romans and the Jews and the payment of partial tribute; Antipater's governorship, from the sixth year of Augustus through his ninth year; Herod's appointment in Augustus' tenth year, and the payment of partial tribute until Augustus' thirteenth, which was the fourth year of the reign of his appointee, Herod; (23) the period from Herod's fourth year, which finally saw the complete surrender of Judaea, until Herod's thirty-third year, when Augustus had reigned for forty-two < and >, as I said, all Judaea had been subdued. [This came] after it had been tributary to the Romans for twenty-nine years; after Herod's father Antipater had been made governor; and after Herod had been made king of Judaea by Augustus in Augustus' tenth year.

22,24 1. These things (i.e., Christ's birth and the fulfillment of Jacob's prophecy) came about in the thirteenth consulship of Octavius Augustus and the consulship of Silanus, as I have often said. The consulships listed below succeeded that consulship in order, as follows.<sup>117</sup> [The consulships] of:

2. Lentulus and Piso
3. Lucius Caesar and Paulus
4. Vindicius and Varus
5. Lamius and Servilius Nonnius
6. Magnus Pompeius and Valerius
7. Lepidus and Aruncius
8. Caesar and Capito
9. Creticus and Nerva
10. Camillus and Quintillian
11. Camerus and Sabinus
12. Dolabella and Silanus
13. Lepidus and Taurus
14. Flaccus and Silanus
15. The two Sexti
16. Pompeius Magnus and Apuleius
17. Brutus and Flaccus

18. Taurus and Libo
19. Crassus and Rufus
20. Tiberius Caesar for the second time, and Drusus Germanicus for the second time
21. Silanus and Balbus
22. Messala and Gratus
23. Tiberius Caesar for the third time, and Drusus Germanicus for the third time
24. Agrippa and Galba
25. Pollio and Veterus
26. Cethegus and Varus
27. Agrippa for the second time, and Lentulus Galba
28. Getulicus and Sabinus
29. Crassus and Piso
30. Silanus and Nerva

23,1 And you see that this is a period of thirty years. I have done my best to give an accurate list of the successive consulships, so that those who go over it will see that there is no falsehood in the sacred doctrine of the truth, but that everything has been proclaimed with accuracy by the church. (2) For who can count the successive consulships, which cannot be wrong, and not despise those who believe that there is a discrepancy in the number of the years which is celebrated by the evangelists?

23,3 This is also the downfall of the earlier Valentinian sect and certain others, with their fictitious record of the thirty aeons they thought they could compare with the years of the Savior's life, supposedly making it possible for them to record the myth of their aeons and first principles. (4) For in fact, it was in the *thirty-third* year of his incarnation that the Only-begotten suffered for us—the divine Word from on high who was impassible, and yet <took> flesh <and> suffered for us to cancel our sentence of death. (5) For after that consulship which came, as I indicated, in Christ's thirtieth year, there was another, called the consulship of Rufus and Rubellio. And then, at the beginning of the consulship after the consulship <of Rufus and> Rubellio—the one which later came to be called the consulship of Vinnicius and Longinus Cassius—the Savior accepted suffering on the thirteenth before the Kalends of April <in his thirty-third year, which was\*> the eighteenth year of Tiberius Caesar. (6) And this confounds the deceit of all these sectarians. The accurate teaching is plainly that the Gospels contain not only two periods before a festival of the Passover, but even three.



24,1 For Christ was born in the month of January, that is, on the eighth before the Ides of January—in the Roman calendar this is the evening of January fifth, at the beginning of January sixth. In the Egyptian calendar it is the eleventh of Tybi. In the Syrian or Greek it is the sixth of Audynaëus. In the Cypriote or Salaminian it is the fifth day of the fifth month. In the Paphian it is the fourteenth of July. In the Arabian it is the twenty-first of Aleom. < In the Macedonian it is the sixteenth of Apellæus. ><sup>118</sup> In the Cappadocian it is the thirteenth of Atartes. In the Athenian it is the fifth of Maemacterium. And in the Hebrew calendar it is the fifth of Tebeth. (2) For in this case too the prophet's oracle had to be fulfilled, "There came unto us the ark of the Lord"—but he means Christ's perfect manhood—"on the fifth day of the fifth month."<sup>119</sup> (3) This had to be fulfilled first by the Hebrew reckoning, by the following of which many of the gentiles, I mean the Romans, observe the fifth day in the evening preceding the sixth. But the Cypriotes keep the fifth of the month itself; and the native Egyptians, and the Salaminians, observe that month as the fifth, just as the Hebrews make it the fifth month from their New Year.

24,4 Christ had lived through these twenty-nine full consulships, but in the thirtieth consulship, I mean < the consulship of Silanus and Nerva\* >, he came to John in about the < eleventh > month, and was baptized in the river Jordan in the thirtieth year following his birth in the flesh, (5) on the sixth before the Ides of November. That is, he was baptized on the twelfth of the Egyptian month Athyr, the eighth of the Greek month of Dios, the sixth of third Choiak in the Salaminian, or Constantian calendar, the sixteenth of Apogonicus in the Paphian, the twenty-second of Angalthabaith in the Arabian, the sixteenth of Apellæus in the Macedonian, the fifteenth of Aratates in the Cappadocian, the seventh of Metagitnium in the Athenian, and the seventh of Marcheshvan in the Hebrew. (6) As I have often remarked, the holy Gospel according to Luke bears me out with some such words as, "Jesus began to be about thirty years old, being, as was supposed, the son of Joseph."<sup>120</sup>

24,7 From this day, the twelfth of Athyr, he "preached the acceptable year of the Lord" as had been foretold in the prophet Isaiah: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, for the Lord hath anointed me to preach the Gospel

to the poor. He hath sent me to proclaim liberty to captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord and the day of retribution."<sup>121</sup>

25,1 For he indeed preached an acceptable year of the Lord, that is, a year without opposition. He preached for the first year after < the > thirtieth year of his incarnation, and everyone accepted his preaching. Neither Jews nor gentiles nor Samaritans disputed it; all were glad to hear him. (2) In this year he went up to Jerusalem, after being baptized and passing the forty days of the temptation, and the twenty days prior to the first miracle, which I have spoken of, and the choosing of his disciples. (3) It is plain that, after returning to the Jordan from the temptation, and crossing the Sea of Tiberias and going to Nazareth, he went up to Jerusalem and, midway through the feast, cried out, "If anyone thirst, let him come to me and drink."<sup>122</sup> And then he went to Nazareth, Judaea, Samaria and Tyre.

25,4 And at the close of the first year he went up to Jerusalem again, and now they tried to arrest him during the feast and were afraid to; at this feast he said, "I go not up at this feast."<sup>123</sup> (5) He was not lying, never fear! It says, "He set out midway through the festival and went up to Jerusalem,"<sup>124</sup> and they said, Is not this he whom they sought to arrest? And lo, he speaketh boldly. Have the priests, then, learned that this is the Christ?"<sup>125</sup> (6) For because he was speaking mysteriously with his brethren, and in supernatural terms, they did not know what he meant. He was telling them that he would not go up to heaven at that feast, or go to the cross then to accomplish the work of the passion and the mystery of redemption, and rise from the dead and ascend to heaven. All these things he accomplished at his own discretion.

25,7 And finally after this, at the close of the two year period which followed his baptism and his birthday, in November [for the former] and January [for the latter]—in the thirty-third year of his incarnation, after living through the two consulships I have mentioned, those of the two Gemini and of Rufus and Rubellio, (8) the impassible divine Word accomplished the mystery of his passion in the third consulship, in its third month, in March after January. He suffered in the flesh for us while

retaining his impassibility, as Peter says, "being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit."<sup>126</sup>

26,1 Jesus suffered on the thirteenth before the Kalends of April, the Jews meanwhile having skipped one evening, that is, at midnight on the fourteenth of the month.<sup>127</sup> (2) For the Jews came ahead of time and ate the Passover, as the Gospel says<sup>128</sup> and I have often remarked. They thus ate the Passover two days before its < proper\* > eating; that is, they ate it in the evening on the third day of the week, a thing that ought to be done at evening on the fifth day.<sup>129</sup> For on that basis<sup>130</sup> the fourteenth of the month was the fifth day of the week, [when the Passover should have been eaten].

26,3 But Jesus was arrested late on that same third day, which was the nighttime of the eleventh of the month, the sixteenth before the Kalends of April.<sup>131</sup> The dawning of the fourth day<sup>132</sup> of the week was the nighttime of the [Jewish] twelfth day of the month, the fifteenth before the Kalends of April. The daytime of the thirteenth day of the month<sup>133</sup> was the fifth day of the week, but the [ensuing] nighttime was the fourteenth of the month, the fourteenth before the Kalends of April.<sup>134</sup> The daytime of the fourteenth of the month was the eve of the Sabbath, the

thirteenth before the Kalends of April. The daytime of the fifteenth of the month<sup>135</sup> was the Sabbath, the twelfth before the Kalends of April.

26,4 The dawning of the Lord's Day was [the end of] the nighttime of the fifteenth of the month.<sup>136</sup> That was the illumination of hades, earth and heaven and the < time of the equality > the night and the day, reckoned [both] because of the (Jewish) fifteenth of the month and because of the course of the sun; for the resurrection and the equinox < came > [at mid-night] on the eleventh before the Kalends of April. As I said, < the Jews > were mistaken about this, and made sure that one day was skipped.<sup>137</sup>

26,5 Now the exact computation [of the lunar year] contains some [double-] hours,<sup>138</sup> and comes out even every third year, making a difference of one day in their calculations. (6) For they add four other [double-] hours per year to the moon's course after its 354 days, making one [additional] day every three years. (7) And so they intercalate five months in fourteen years because the one [double-]hour is subtracted from the sun's course of 365 days and three [double-] hours; for, with the hours added, the final result is 365 days less one [double]-hour.

26,8 And so, because they multiply the fourteen years by six every eighty-four years, they intercalate one month in the eighty-fifth year, so that there are thirty-one [intercalary] months every eighty-five years; but by exact reckoning there ought to be thirty-one months, twenty-four<sup>139</sup> days, and three [double]-hours. (27,1) The Jews were wrong at that time for this reason; not only did they eat the Passover two days early because they were disturbed, but they also added the one day they had skipped, since they were mistaken in every way. But the revelation of the truth has done everything for our salvation with the utmost precision. (2) Thus when the Savior himself had finished the Passover he went out into the mount "with intense desire"<sup>140</sup> after eating it. (3) And yet he ate that Jewish Passover

with the disciples, and did nothing different. He himself kept it the same as the others, so as not to destroy the Law but to fulfill it.

27,4 And so, after completing his thirtieth year in which he was baptized, and after completing his thirty-first by preaching for an entire “acceptable year” without opposition, but [then] preaching another year with opposition, to the accompaniment of persecution and hatred; and after completing [part of] another year after it,<sup>141</sup> a full seventy-four days from his birthday,—(the Epiphany, (5) January 5 at the dawn of January 6 and the eleventh of the Egyptian month Tybi)—until the thirteenth before the Kalends of April, as I said, < on that same thirteenth before the Kalends of April\*, > the twenty-fourth of the Egyptian month Phamenoth, he had attained a full thirty-two years, plus seventy-four days from the Epiphany. (6) And he rose on the twenty-sixth of the Egyptian month Phamenoth—(this was the day after the equinox and was preceded by the night and the equinox)—the day which followed the twenty-fifth of Phamenoth, the eleventh before the Kalends of April, < and appeared to his disciples. > This makes liars of all who are not sons of the truth.

28,1 Valentinus, first of all, is at once < exposed > as a fantasist, since he expects < to prove\* > to us, from the years of the Savior’s rearing and coming to manhood, that there are thirty aeons. He does not realize that the Savior did not live for only thirty years. (2) He was baptized in his thirtieth year at the age of twenty-nine years and ten months, on the twelfth of Athyr, as I said, the sixth before the Ides of November. And then, following his baptism which was < sixty days > before his birthday, < he passed\* > an acceptable year of the Lord in preaching, and another year, of opposition, after < the first\* > year,<sup>142</sup> and [finally] seventy-four days of opposition. (3) Thus all the years of his incarnation, from his birth until his passion, amounted to thirty-two years and seventy-four days. But there were two years and 134 days (sic!)<sup>143</sup> from the start < of his preaching in\* > the consulship of Silanus and Nerva. And Valentinus stands refuted, and the many who are as foolish as he.

28,4 The ones who reject John’s Gospel have also been refuted. (I may rightly call them “Dumb,” since they reject the Word of God—the Father’s Word who was proclaimed by John, and who came down from heaven and wrought salvation for us < by > the whole of his advent in the flesh.)

(5) For from the consulships, the years, the witness of the prophet Isaiah, the Gospel according to Luke, the Gospel according to John, the Gospel according to Matthew, the Gospel according to Mark—in short, the misguided people have been refuted from every source, (6) since Christ did not live to see just one Passover over the period of a year from the start of his preaching, but actually lived through the periods of a little less than three consulships after his baptism by John. (7) And the nitwits' fallacious argument has failed < because it is\* > full of silliness, and of an ignorance that not only fails to recognize its own salvation, but even futilely makes a lying war on the truth.

29,1 For I have also found it written somewhere < in > these works that the Word of God was born about the fortieth year of Augustus. This was the writer's error, or else he wrote only "forty ( $\mu$ ) years" because the figure "beta" had been erased and only the "mu" was left on the page. For Christ was born in the forty-second year of Augustus.

29,2 And it says that Christ < was conceived > on the twelfth before the Kalends of July or June—I cannot say which—in the consulship of Sulpicius Cammarinus and Betteus Pompeianus.<sup>144</sup> (3) I have noticed < too > that those who have given a date for the conception, and Gabriel's bringing of the tidings to the Virgin, have said < this because of > a supposition of certain persons who have it by tradition<sup>145</sup> that Christ was born after a term of seven months. (4) For I have found that there is a time of seven lunar months less four days between the month they mention<sup>146</sup> and the eleventh of Tybi, the eighth before the Ides of January, when, in fact, the Epiphany came and Christ was born. (5) So if you should find < this > in a marginal gloss somewhere, do not be misled by the information. The actual date of Christ's birth is in fact the eleventh of Tybi.

29,6 Some, however, say that Christ was carried in the womb for ten months less fourteen days and eight hours, making nine months, fifteen days and four hours. They are alluding to Solomon's saying, "compacted in blood for a time of ten months."<sup>147</sup>

29,7 In any case, < it has been shown > by every means < that > the Lord's birth in the flesh took place on < the > eleventh of the Egyptian

month Tybi. And the first miracle in Cana of Galilee, when the water was made wine, was performed on about the same eleventh day thirty years later. (30,1) And even to this day this happens in many places as a testimony to unbelievers because of the miracle which was wrought at that time, as streams and rivers in many localities testify by being changed to wine. (2) The stream at Cibyrene, the chief city of Caria, [bears witness] at the same time of day at which the servants drew the water and Christ said, "Give it to the governor of the feast."<sup>148</sup> And the stream at Gerasa in Arabia testifies in the same way. < I > have drunk from the < one at > Cibyrene < myself >, and my brethren have drunk from the stream in the martyrion at Gerasa. (3) And in Egypt too many give this testimony of the Nile. Thus in Egypt itself, and in many countries, everyone draws water on the eleventh of the Egyptian month Tybi, and stores it up.

30,4 And so we see that after the twelfth of Athyr, when he had gone away and been tempted for forty days, and [then] come to Nazareth and stayed there for about two weeks and three days, he [next] went down to the Jordan to see John and spent a first day there, and a second; and [then he] returned to Nazareth, and likewise stayed there for a first and a second day. (5) And on the third day he went to Cana of Galilee. This makes a total of sixty days after the baptism: the forty days of the temptation; the two weeks < and two days > at Nazareth, and the other two; and on the third day the miracle of the water was performed at the wedding.<sup>149</sup>

30,6 After that he came to Capernaum and performed other miracles as I have said many times, and [then] returned to Nazareth again and read the roll of Isaiah the prophet. This is why [the people of Nazareth] say, "Do also here whatsoever signs we have heard thou hast done in Capernaum."<sup>150</sup> (7) Later, again, he returned from there to Capernaum and from there went over to the Lake, or Sea of Gennesareth, and Peter and the others were chosen for good; and then he went on to do all of his preaching.

30,8 For going in order, as I said: after the forty < days > [of the temptation], and the other two weeks and two days < at Nazareth >, Christ went to John on a first day and the day following. And when he had started back to Nazareth < from > John, and remained [in lodging] from the tenth hour until evening, and on the next day gone out and met Philip (9)—making two days—the Gospel next shows its unshakeable accuracy by its men-

tion of the first two, the ones on which he “remained” in the course of his journey, [and] by saying [next], “On the *third* day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee.”<sup>151</sup>

30,10 This was symbolic of the church. For on the third day of his activity in the heart of the earth, which he spent in hades<sup>152</sup> after the passion, he arose and contracted marriage with “Cana”—for “Cana” means “the bride.”<sup>153</sup> (11) But who is “the bride” except the heiress of whom the Psalmist said, “For the heiress,”<sup>154</sup> and so on, in the fifth Psalm? Blessed indeed is this marriage, which took its occasion from that type! (12) For there was an actual wedding there, in Cana of Galilee, and water which really became wine, < and Christ\* > was invited for two purposes. [One was] to dry, < through > marriage, the wetness of the world’s carousers to temperance and decency. [The other was] to remedy what is wanting for good spirits through cheering wine, and through grace. (13) He thus completely silences the opponents of marriage,<sup>155</sup> and by providing the vine with water, and tinting it into wine within the vine to make men glad, shows that, with his Father and Holy Spirit, he is God. I have discussed this elsewhere at greater length;<sup>156</sup> here I have hurried over the matter as though in passing.

30,14 At all events, the Savior kept two Passovers after the beginning of his preaching and suffered on the third, and this ends the things I have by now said in great detail about days, months and consulships. And their erroneous argument has failed in every respect, since the Gospels are in agreement and no evangelist contradicts another.

31,1 But to return to the subject. To witness to what I have said in a number of different ways, Luke, again, says, “It came to pass on the second Sabbath after the first.”<sup>157</sup> This is to show that a “first Sabbath” is the Sabbath the Lord ordained at the beginning and called a Sabbath during the creation, a Sabbath which has recurred at seven day intervals from then till now—but that a “second” Sabbath is the one instituted by the Law. (2) For the Law says, “Thou shalt take to thyself a lamb of a year old, male and without blemish”—a type of the Savior—“on the tenth day of



the month, and it shall be kept until the fourteenth day. And ye shall slay it at even on the fourteenth day; and it shall be unto thee a Sabbath, an holy day, and ye shall eat unleavened bread seven days, and the seventh day thou shalt declare holy.”<sup>158</sup> (3) And see how such a holy day of the lamb is called a second Sabbath after the first Sabbath, and is consecrated as a Sabbath even if it may be the Lord’s Day, or if the second day of the week, or the third day of the week falls upon it. (4) But a second Sabbath [after this one], if it recurs in the regular seven day cycle, is called a “first” Sabbath—all of which shows that not only John gave indication of a time of two years and three Passover festivals, but that Luke and the others did as well.

31,5 For the Law says as follows: “Thou shalt number unto thee seven weeks from the first [reaping] of the sheaf, the putting of the sickle unto the standing corn, and thou shalt declare the seventh seventh day an holy day of the Lord,”<sup>159</sup> meaning the feast of Pentecost. (6) For within three days after the slaying of the Passover—that is, three days after [the sacrifice of] the lamb—the Law enjoined the bringing in of the sheaf, meaning the blessed Sheaf which was raised from the dead after the third day. (7) For the earth brought forth the Sheaf, and he received it back from her at his rising < from > the tomb and remaining with his disciples for the forty days, and at the end of the Pentecost bringing it into the heavens to the Father. (8) He is the firstborn of the firstborn, the holy firstfruits, the Sheaf which was reaped from Mary, the Embrace embraced in God, the fruit of the womb, the firstfruits of the threshing floor. (9) For after Pentecost the sickle no longer offers a firstfruits to God: “The Lord dieth no more, death hath no more dominion over him.”<sup>160</sup> as the scripture says.

31,10 And you see how many of God’s mysteries the Law prefigured and the Gospel fulfilled. In which passages can I not expound them? But not to go on too long, I must return to our order of presentation. (11) However, from the ears, the standing grain and the disciples, it is plain that John, Luke and all the evangelists describe all these things *after* the forty day temptation.

32,1 But again, these people are not ashamed to take arms against the things St. John has said, supposing that they can overthrow the truth, but unaware that they are attacking themselves rather than the sound doc-

trine. (2) For they derisively say against Revelation, "What good does John's Revelation do me by telling me about seven angels and seven trumpets?" (3) not knowing that such things were essential and profitable when the message was rightly understood.

32,4 For whatever was obscure and puzzling in The Law and the Prophets, the Lord in his providence revealed by the Holy Spirit "to his servant John"<sup>161</sup> for our salvation. What was obscure there he proclaims spiritually and clearly here, < for he gave commandments bodily\* > in the Law but reveals the same ones spiritually to us.

(5) And in the Law he makes the then tabernacle out of skins, the skins that were dyed scarlet, blue and so on, to show that the tabernacle there is actually a tent, but that it awaits the perfect Tabernacle of Christ. (6) For skin comes off a body and is a dead thing, like the shadow of a living body; and this shows that bodies are God's tabernacle, for God dwells in holy bodies in fulfillment of the words of scripture, "I shall tabernacle in thee and make my abode in thee."<sup>162</sup>

32,7 Thus error would arise among the faithful if the book had not been revealed to us spiritually, teaching us that there is no need for trumpets, but < enabling us\* > to know that God's entire activity is spiritual—(8) so that we will not take these as bronze or silver trumpets like the Jewish trumpets, but understand spiritually that they are the church's message from heaven: as he has said elsewhere, "On that day they sound with the great trumpet."<sup>163</sup> (9) For the prophets were trumpets, but the great Trumpet is the Lord's holy voice in the Gospel. For this is why angels were also privileged to make revelations to us; "For the trumpet shall sound," it says, "and the dead will arise."<sup>164</sup>

32,10 But if you people joke about the angels' trumpets because of their being in Revelation, then the trumpet the holy apostle speaks of must be a joke too, for he says, "The Lord shall descend from heaven at the last trump, and the dead will arise on the last day at the voice of the archangel."<sup>165</sup> (11) What reply is left you, since Paul agrees with the holy apostle John in the Revelation? How can every error not be refuted at once, when God has testified < for > the saints in each book?

33,1 Then again, some of them seize on the following text in Revelation, and say in contradiction of it, "He said, in turn, 'Write to the angel of the church in Thyatira,'<sup>166</sup> and there is no church of Christians in Thyatira. How could he write to a non-existent church?" (2) In fact these people demolish themselves since they are compelled by their own declarations<sup>167</sup> to confess the truth. For if they say, "There is no church in Thyatira now," they are showing that John has foretold this.

33,3 For after these Phrygians had settled there and like wolves seized the minds of the simple believers, they converted the whole town to their sect, and at that time those who reject Revelation attacked this text in an effort to discredit it. (4) But now, in our time, the church is there thanks to Christ and is growing, 112 years after [its restoration], even < though > there are some others (i.e., sectarians) there. Then, however, the whole church had deserted to the Phrygians. (5) And thus the Holy Spirit was at pains to reveal to us the way the church would fall into error ninety-three years after the time of the apostles, John and his successors—or in other words, for a time < of 138 years\* > from the Savior's ascension until the church's restoration—since the church there would go astray and be buried in the Phrygian sect.

33,6 For this is how the Lord at once confounds < them > in Revelation, with the words, "Write to the angel of the church in Thyatira, Thus saith he whose eyes are as a flame of fire, and his feet like fine brass. I know thy works, and thy faith and thy love and thy ministry, and that thy latter works are more than the first. (7) But I have against thee that thou sufferest the woman Jezebel to deceive my servants, calling herself a prophetess, teaching to eat things sacrificed to idols and commit fornication. And I gave her space for repentance, and she will not repent of her fornication."<sup>168</sup>

33,8 Don't you see, you people, that he means the women who are deceived by a false conception of prophecy, and will deceive many? I mean that he is speaking of Priscilla, Maximilla and Quintilla, (9) whose imposture the Holy Spirit did not overlook. He foretold it prophetically by the mouth of St. John, who prophesied before his falling asleep, during the time of Claudius Caesar and earlier, when he was on the isle of Patmos. Even these people in Thyatira admit that this has come true.

(10) John, then, was writing prophetically, to those who were living in Christ there at the time, that a woman would call herself a prophetess. And the artificial argument which is raised against the truth has failed completely, since it can be shown that the prophetic oracle in Revelation is truly of the Holy Spirit.

34,1 Again, in their endless hunt for texts, to give the appearance of discrediting the holy apostle's books—I mean John's Gospel and Revelation and perhaps the Epistles as well, for they too agree with the Gospel and Revelation—these people get excited (2) and quote, "I saw, and he said to the angel, Loose the four angels which are upon the Euphrates. And I heard the number of the host, ten thousand times ten thousand and thousands of thousands, and they were clad in breastplates of fire and sulfur and hyacinth."<sup>169</sup>

34,3 For people like these thought that the truth might be <some sort of> joke. For if he speaks of the four angels who are sitting in the Euphrates, this is to indicate the various peoples there who live by the Euphrates: the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians. (4) For these are the four kingdoms which are successively mentioned in Daniel. The Assyrians were the first of them to rule, and in Daniel's time, the Babylonians. But the Medes succeeded them, and after them came the Persians, whose first king was Cyrus.

34,5 For the nations have been put under the angels' command, as God's holy servant Moses testifies, interpreting the words consistently and saying: "Ask thy father and he will tell thee, thine elders and they will say it unto thee: when the most High apportioned the nations, when he dispersed the sons of Adam, he set bounds to the nations according to the number of the angels of God. And his people Jacob became the Lord's portion, Israel the lot of his inheritance."<sup>170</sup> (6) Now if the nations have been put under the angels' command John was right in saying, "Loose the four angels who are upon the Euphrates." They are plainly in charge [of the nations], and prevented from sending the nations to war until the time of [the end of] God's long-suffering, until he orders the avenging of his saints by their agency. (7) The angels in command are restrained by the Spirit and not allowed to attack, because justice does not release them yet, so that the rest of the nations may be released because of the outrage the saints have endured. But they are to be released and fall suddenly on the

earth, as John and the rest of the prophets foretold. For when the angels are aroused, they arouse the nations to an avenging onslaught.

34,8 And let no one doubt that he meant sulfur, fiery and hyacinth breastplates. Those nations wear clothing of that color. “Sulfur clothes” means a quince yellow color, as they call it, of wool. “Fiery” means their scarlet clothing, and “hyacinth” means the blue-green wool.

35,1 But since these people have not received the Holy Spirit they are spiritually condemned for not understanding the things of the Spirit, and choosing to speak against the words of the Spirit. This is because they do not know the gifts of grace in the holy church, which the Holy Spirit, the holy apostles, and the holy prophets have expounded truly and soundly, with understanding and a sound mind. (2) One of the apostles and prophets, St. John, has shared his sacred gift with the holy church, through the Gospel, the Epistles and the Revelation. (3) But these people are liable to the scriptural penalty, “Whoso blasphemeth against the Holy Spirit it will not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the world to come.”<sup>171</sup> For they have gone to war against the words the Spirit has spoken.

35,4 But let us go on once more to the rest, beloved, with the power of God. Now that I have said such things, and so many of them, against such a sect, I think that this is enough. I have trampled it with God’s power and truth, like the many-footed millipede or the serpent they call the wood-louse. It is not very strong and its poison is not very painful, but it has lots of feet and its body is long and twisty.

## VI

### **Contra los Adamianos, secta del Cristianismo**

1,1 The four-footed animal with an underground den which tunnels in the earth and has its burrow deep inside it, is called a mole. All its characteristics are like those of a small puppy for it has the < same > round shape, and it has no sight at all. (2) It is a destructive creature which roots out people’s crops from below, especially every cucumber bed and the sharp-tasting plants—onions, garlic, purse-tassels and the like—and lilies and the rest. (3) But if it actually gets onto the surface during its tunneling, in the open air, or if it is hunted and caught by men, it is an object of ridicule to everyone who hunts the creature.

1,4 With all this I am trying to say of the sect with which I now have to do that it is blind in heart and stupid, creates desolation for itself and undermines the ground it stands on, and injures the roots of many, < I mean > of those who have happened on it. (5) But if it should be spied by the wise, it gives them a good laugh. As the creature we spoke of is mocked for its blindness, < and > cannot find its hole because of its lack of sight, so is this sect.

1,6 For they have adopted the name of Adam. I say this because I have heard it reported by many; I have not found it in any treatises, and have certainly not met any such people. (7) And so, since many have spoken of the sect, I consider it worth mentioning. And this is why I was right in comparing it with that blind animal which is not readily seen by men; it is hidden in the earth and does its damage below.

1,8 Now it is completely absurd and I considered not including it at all. However, as long as there is even a rumor of it, it can do the wise hearer no harm to know about all the tares the devil has sown in the world. (9) For whether or not there is such a sect, since I have heard many say that there is I think it is sensible to speak of it for safety's sake and not leave it out, even if it has been dissolved and is no longer in being. For I am not certain whether it still exists or not.

1,10 But why should I spend a long time on my prologue to the description of it? I shall begin my account of the ridicule, or rather, of the sorrow. For it is susceptible of the two things at once, ridicule and sorrow—< sorrow > at the devil's way of planting contempt for God's creature in the human mind; ridicule of those who can neither see, nor conceive of anything sensible.

2,1 In the first place, they say that these people build their churches—or dens and caves; that is what I would call the meetings of the sects—in heated rooms, and that they heat them from below so that there will be hot air to warm the congregation in the chamber inside. (2) And when they come in they have people to watch the clothes, like cloak-room attendants, stationed at the doors. And they each, whether man or woman, undress outside as they come in, and enter with their whole bodies as naked as the day they were born. And their recognized leaders and teachers all sit stark naked, some in front and some in back, here and there in no particular order.

2,3 They are all called “continent,” if you please, and make a boast of it—and “virgins,” as they delude themselves into thinking they are—and they have their readings and all the rest of their service naked. (4) But if it appears that one of them has “fallen into transgression,” as they put it,

they do not admit him any more. They say that he < is > Adam after eating from the tree, and condemn him to expulsion from their church as though from Paradise. For they think that their church is Paradise, and that they themselves are Adam and Eve.

2,5 Why do they heat the room, then—to keep from getting a chill? Adam and Eve didn't live in a house with a furnace and weren't oppressed by any heat, and no cold afflicted them. (6) They had the purest of air, temperately dispensed to them by God < with > all mildness, neither sharpened by the rigor of cold, nor enervated by summer's wretched heat. The country had been set aside for an immortal abode, very < well > made by God, filled with gladness and well-being; and as I said, it got neither cold nor hot. Since the Adamians lack these things, it is plain that they are a joke.

3,1 Next let us look at another way of exposing their whole imposture. Adam and Eve were not naked for one hour; they were always naked "and were not ashamed."<sup>2</sup> But the nakedness of these people is not from lack of shame, even if they themselves think so; they are naked for the sake of an insatiable pleasure which works its enchantment on the pupils of the eyes. (2) The modesty commended in all the sacred scriptures has been taken from them and the words of the prophet are truly fulfilled, "The appearance of an harlot hath been given thee, who hast been shameless with all."<sup>3</sup>

3,3 But after that hour they resume their clothes outside, and [so] they cannot be Adam. Adam and his wife were not furnished clothing at the outset. They sewed fig leaves together first, and then they were given skin tunics, and so, after a considerable part of their lives, "the manifold wisdom of God"<sup>4</sup> endowed them with the knowledge of clothing.

3,4 These people will also be jeered at in every way because, in calling themselves Adam and Eve, they are lying about themselves, and yet at the same time telling the truth. (5) For it is plain from many indications that they are not Adam, as I have shown. But that they are mocked by the spiritual serpent is plain from their false symbolism, their nakedness, shame and absurdity.

3,6 It is not worth my while to make a big thing of their refutation. To kill a beast of their sort one does not need weapons of war or heavy

armor; (7) it is dispatched with a little stick. Often, when it has been pulled from its den it is merely left alone and dies of itself, laughed and jeered at with nowhere to run to—as these people, when they are caught, are put to shame by their ridiculous absurdity, unseemly behavior and silly religion.

3,8 But now, as we prepare to look into the rest, let us pray the Lord once more for his assistance in finding out the rest and refuting them, and for our salvation and that of our readers.

## VII

### **Contra los Sampseanos o Pereos, secta del Cristianismo**

1,1 There is a sect of Peraean Sampsaean, the people also known as Elksaites whom I have already mentioned in my other Sects,<sup>2</sup> in the country called Peraea beyond the Salt, or as it is called, the Dead Sea. They are < also > in Moabitis near the river Arnon, and on the other side in Ituraea and Naabatitis, as I have often said of them.<sup>3</sup>

1,2 These people boast that Elxai is their teacher, and further, two women of his stock who are alive to this day, and are worshipped as supposed goddesses because they are of the blessed seed. (3) But Ossaeans, Ebionites and Nazoraeans use this book, as I have often said.<sup>4</sup> These Sampsaean, however, actually base their religion on it, and are neither Christians, Jews nor pagans; since they are just in the middle, they are nothing. But they say that they have another book, which is called the book of Elxai's brother Iexai.

1,4 They say that God is one, and supposedly worship him by the administration of some sort of baptisms.<sup>5</sup> They are devoted to the Jewish religion, [but] not in all ways. Some of them even abstain from meat.

1,5 They will die for Elxai's descendants. And I have heard recently that the one woman, called Marthus, had died though, unless she has died too, Marthana was still alive. (6) Any time these women went anywhere



on foot, the crowds would follow them and take the dust of their feet for healing, if you please, and, since they were woefully deluded, their spittle too, and use them in phylacteries and amulets. For every error contracted blindness first, and nonsense next.

1,7 They accept neither prophets nor apostles, but all their ideas are delusion. They honor water and all but regard it as God, for they claim it is the source of life.<sup>6</sup>

1,8 They confess Christ in name but believe that he is a creature, and that he keeps appearing every now and then. He was formed for the first time in Adam, but when he chooses he takes Adam's body off and puts it on again. (9) He is called Christ, and the Holy Spirit is his sister, in female form. Each of them, Christ and the Holy Spirit, is ninety-six miles in height and twenty-four miles in width; and they < blab out\* > a lot of other < nonsense\* >.

2,1 I have often described these people before in the other Sects, and composed refutations; hence I do not think it is necessary to make a big thing of the demolition of a refutation [in their case], since I have already done it with Elxaeus, or Elxai himself, and his followers, in the other Sects I have mentioned. Anyone can tell that he and his sect are off the track. (2) Let us go on to the rest now, since we have struck him, like a solar lizard, with the cudgel of hope in Christ and his cross. For it is worth using the very name they have given themselves as a symbolic explanation of their phony title. "Sampsaeans" translated means "Solar";<sup>7</sup> this is why I have mentioned the beast.

2,3 For people call this lizard a "solar lizard." But this sect is inferior to the lizard, since it does not even have its momentary advantage. For though the lizard's sight is dim, it sometimes sees clearly with the aid of the sun's orb; < for > in its den, which faces eastward, it strains itself, fasting, towards the east, < and > when it sees the sun its sight loses its dimness. But in my opinion this sect has the lizard's foolishness in everything, and not even this little bit to its credit.

2,4 And so, now that this sect which we have called a solar lizard has also been trampled by the truth, < let remain in its foolishness >.

## VIII

### Contra los Teodocianos, secta del Cristianismo

1,1 One Theodotus arose in his turn. He was an offshoot of the “Dumb” sect I have spoken of, which denies John’s Gospel and the divine Word who it < declares > was “in the beginning,” and John’s Revelation. (2) He was also associated and contemporary with the other sects we have discussed, and was their successor in time.<sup>2</sup> The Theodotians, as they are called, derive from him. I do not know whether the sect is still in existence, but shall say what I have learned about it from written works.

1,3 Theodotus was from Byzantium,<sup>3</sup> which is now called Constantinople. He was a shoemaker by trade,<sup>4</sup> but a man of broad learning. (4) At the outset of a persecution—I cannot say which one—he with some others was arrested by the governor of the city, and was subjected to examination for Christ’s sake along with the rest. All the other servants of God won their victory and attained heavenly rewards by their witness for Christ. (5) Theodotus, however, fell into transgression by denying Christ and missing the mark of the truth and, deeply ashamed because of his censure by many, fled his native land, moved to Rome and lived there.

1,6 But when he was recognized by the Christians in Rome, he once again incurred the same censure there; for he was charged, by those who knew him for his learning, with being a very learned man who had lost his grip on the truth. (7) But as a supposed lame excuse for himself he invented the following new doctrine that said, “I didn’t deny God, I denied a man.” Then, when they asked him, “Which man?” he answered, “I denied the man Christ.”

1,8 Thereafter he, and the Theodotians whose founder he was, taught this doctrine of his and said that Christ is a mere man<sup>5</sup> begotten of a man’s seed.<sup>6</sup> (9) Next, as a weak defense for himself, he collected whatever texts he found useful—not that he honestly thought [this was what they meant], but he amassed them as an excuse for his defection. He said, [for

example], “Christ said, ‘But now ye seek to kill me, a *man* that hath told you the truth.’<sup>7</sup> You see,” he said, “that Christ is a man.”

2,1 But the wretch does not know that the Lord says in the same verse, “the truth which I have heard *of my Father*.” He is saying that God is his father—not a man. (2) If he had heard the truth from a man he would not have boasted of his witness to the truth by saying that he had heard the truth from men. Instead he boasts of it to show that he is God, begotten of the Father on high but become man for us, and slain in the flesh, but living forever in his Godhead.

2,3 Theodotus says next that he has not committed sin by denying Christ. “For,” says he, “Christ himself has said, ‘All manner of blasphemy shall be forgiven men,’ and, ‘Whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him; but he that blasphemeth the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him here or in the world to come.’”<sup>8</sup>

2,4 And the unfortunate man does not know that, from a superabundance of meekness and lovingkindness, the Lord is saying this prophetically, in his desire to ensure in advance the salvation of those who have at one time blasphemed him and [then] returned to repentance, thus not sentencing them to condemnation. (5) [He is saying it besides] because he knows that certain persons will arise and blaspheme the Holy Spirit and place him in a slave’s status, making him alien to the essence of God. (6) And so, as a precaution, he said, “He that blasphemeth against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him here or in the world to come”—not to commend those who blaspheme him, but to show his foreknowledge and lovingkindness by assuring in advance the salvation of those who blaspheme him and [then] repent. (7) For he himself, again, says, “He that hath denied me before men shall be denied before my Father,”<sup>9</sup> and, “I will deny him,”<sup>10</sup> and again, “He that confesseth me I will confess before my Father.”<sup>11</sup>

3,1 And again this same Theodotus says, “The Law too said of him, ‘The Lord will raise up unto you a prophet of your brethren, like unto me; hearken to him.’”<sup>12</sup> But Moses was a man. Therefore the Christ whom God

raised up was this person but, since he was one of them, was a man just as Moses was a man.”

3,2 Because of his lapse into transgression Theodotus has no understanding of the way in which each text has its safeguard. (3) The Lord raised Christ “from among his brethren” in the sense that he was born of Mary, as the scripture says, “Behold, the Virgin shall conceive and bear a son.”<sup>13</sup> While still remaining a virgin “she shall conceive”—not from a man’s seed—“and bear a *Son*,” it is plain that the Virgin’s offspring was born in the flesh. But “They shall call his name Emmanuel which being interpreted, is *God* with us.”<sup>14</sup> (4) For he is God and man: God, begotten of the Father without beginning and not in time; but man, born of Mary, because of the incarnation.

3,5 Next Theodotus says, “And the Gospel itself said to Mary, ‘The Spirit of the Lord shall come upon thee’;<sup>15</sup> it did not say, ‘The Spirit of the Lord shall enter into thee.’” (6) For in his contentiousness the stupid man is deprived of the truth in every respect. In every way the scripture is protecting our salvation. To show that the Trinity is altogether and entirely co-existent and co-operant, and make sure that no one will echo the evil allegations which many make (7) to separate the Holy Spirit from Christ and < the > Father, the angel says to Mary, “The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the power of the highest shall overshadow thee,” and after that, “Therefore also that which is born of thee shall be called holy, the Son of God.”

3,8 And he did not say merely, “that which is born,” but, “*therefore also* that which is born < [shall be] holy >,”<sup>16</sup> to show that < the > divine Word from above also entered the womb and formed his own human nature in his image according to his good pleasure. And because of his human nature which he took for our salvation, the scripture adds, “Therefore also *that which is born* shall be called holy, the Son of God.” (9) For if the angel had said, “The Holy Spirit shall enter into thee,” it would not be possible to think that the Son of God had come in the flesh, but [only] that the Holy Spirit had come in the flesh.

3,10 But since he is the Word come from on high, John, to clarify what we hear from the angel in the Gospel, said, “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things

were made by him, and without him was not anything made.”<sup>17</sup> (11) Then, after this, “And the Word was made flesh.”<sup>18</sup> And he did not say, “The Spirit was made flesh;” nor did he say, “Christ was born as a man.” (12) On its guard at every turn, the sacred scripture knows him as God and man: God come from God on high, but man born of Mary without a man’s seed. Whoever departs from these two truths is not of the truth.

4,<sup>1</sup> The wretched Theodotus, once more, says by way of allegation, “Jeremiah too said of him, ‘He he is a *man* and who will know him?’”<sup>19</sup> Because < he > had estranged himself from the truth < he > did not know that each verse, as I said, is self-interpreting. Whoever is a man is of course known by many acquaintances—I mean by his father and mother, brothers and relatives, friends and neighbors, fellow townsmen, household servants. (3) But here, to describe the marvel of Christ’s whole work, the scripture called him “man” because of the incarnation, but gave indication of his incomprehensible Godhead by saying, “Who will know him?” (4) For since “No man knoweth the Son save the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him,”<sup>20</sup> no one will know Christ unless < Christ himself > reveals it to him. (5) But by the Holy Spirit he reveals his own and his Father’s Godhead and glory to his servants, and his eternal life to come, his mysteries, his teaching, and his true advent in the flesh for our sakes; for he is God from on high, and man from Mary.

5,<sup>1</sup> Then Theodotus says in turn, “Isaiah too called him a man, for he said, ‘A *man* acquainted with the bearing of infirmity; and we knew him afflicted with blows and abuse, and he was despised and not esteemed.’”<sup>21</sup> (2) But the oaf does not know how he is confounded once more. In that very passage Isaiah said the following: “He was brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a lamb before its shearer is dumb so he opened not his mouth. In his humiliation his judgment was taken away”<sup>22</sup>—(3) then he says, “Who can declare his generation, for his life is taken from men?”<sup>23</sup> And he didn’t say, “His life was taken < from > *him*,” but, “from *men*.” (4) For the Word is forever living and in being, has life of himself, and

gives life to those who love him. His life was taken *from men*, but < as God he lives\* > and is life of himself. For “The Word is living,”<sup>24</sup> and provides life to all who have truly placed their hopes in him..

5.5 And the words, “Who can declare his generation?” < cannot be applied to a man\* >. If he were a mere man born of Mary, it would be easy to declare his generation. But since he is before David, < and > before Abraham—(6) “Your father Abraham,” he says, “desired to see my day, and he saw it and was glad.”<sup>25</sup> And then, when they said in astonishment, “Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?”<sup>26</sup> in refutation of Theodotus and the unbelieving Jews who deny God he said, “Verily, verily I say unto you, before Abraham, I am.”<sup>27</sup> (7) For he was truly before Abraham, and before Noah, Adam, the world, heaven, the time of the universe, and the time of all creatures, for he is not in time. (8) And this is why, through Isaiah, he is declared incomprehensible by the Holy Spirit: “Who can declare his generation? For his life is taken from the earth.”<sup>28</sup>

5.9 Theodotus, however, says, “The holy apostles called him ‘a *man* approved among you by signs and wonders;’<sup>29</sup> and they did not say, ‘God approved.’” (10) But Theodotus, you are foiled again. On the contrary, the same apostles [said that he was God] in the same Acts, as the blessed Stephen said, “Behold, I see heaven open, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God.”<sup>30</sup>

6.1 His next allegation is that “The apostle called him the mediator between God and man, the *man* Christ Jesus.”<sup>31</sup> (2) And he does not realize how he is attacking himself once more. The apostle who said, “mediator between God and man, < the man > Christ Jesus,” clarified this himself by saying, “declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead, our Lord Jesus Christ;”<sup>32</sup> and again, “made of a woman, made under the Law.”<sup>33</sup> (3) And in confirmation of these statements he says, “If there be that are called gods many and lords many, yet to us there is one God, of whom are all

things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things < and we for him >.”<sup>34</sup> (4) But if “All things are by him and we are for him,” the Only-begotten cannot be a mere man < who dates > from Mary, or the product of a man’s seed. If he was a mere man, how could all things be by him when, as you say, they were before him? Or how could all things be for him, when they were known and made before him? And Theodotus’ foolishness fails completely.

6,5 During the debate itself I have both said what I know of Theodotus, and given the refutation of each of his arguments. In the manner of the series I shall pass him by as though, with the hope and faith of the truth, I had struck and killed part of a still wriggling snake. Let us investigate the rest, and hurry on to take a look at the sects in all their savagery.

## IX

### Contra los Melquisedecianos, secta del Cristianismo

1,1 In turn, others call themselves Melchizedekians; they may be an offshoot of the group who are known as Theodotians. (2) They honor the Melchizedek who is mentioned in the scriptures and regard him as a sort of great power.<sup>2</sup> He is on high in places which cannot be named, and in < fact > is not just a power; indeed, they claim in their error that he is greater than Christ.<sup>3</sup> (3) Based, if you please, on the literal wording of, “Thou art a priest forever *after the order* of Melchizedek,”<sup>4</sup> they believe that Christ has merely come and been given the order of Melchizedek. Christ is thus younger than Melchizedek, they say. For if his place were not somehow second in line<sup>5</sup> he would have no need of Melchizedek’s rank.

1,4 Of Melchizedek himself they say that he < has come into being > “without father, without mother, without lineage”<sup>6</sup>—as they would like to

show from St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews. (5) They also fabricate spurious books for their own deception.

1,6 Their refutation comes from the texts themselves. When David prophesies that the Lord will be a priest after the order of Melchizedek, the sacred scripture is saying in the same breath that Christ will be a priest. (7) But we find that < Paul > says at once, "Made like unto the Son of God, [Melchizedek] abideth a priest continually."<sup>7</sup> Now if he is made *like* the Son of God, he is not *equal* to the Son of God. How can the servant be the master's equal? (8) For Melchizedek was a man. "Without father, without mother," is not said because he had no father or mother, but because his father and mother are not explicitly named in the sacred scripture.

1,9 The profundities and glories of the sacred scripture, which are beyond human understanding, have confused many. The natives of Petra in Arabia, which is called Rokom and Edom, were in awe of Moses because of his miracles, and at one time they made an image of him, and mistakenly undertook<sup>8</sup> to worship it. They had no true cause for this, but in their ignorance their error drew an imaginary inference from something real. (10) And in Sebasteia, which was once called Samaria, they have declared Jephthah's daughter a goddess, and still hold a festival in her honor every year. (11) Similarly, these people have heard the glorious, wise words of the scripture and changed them to stupidity. With over-inflated pride they have abandoned the way of the truth, and will be shown to have fabricated stories of their own invention.

2,1 In fact Melchizedek's father and mother are mentioned by some authors, though this is not based on the canonical, covenanted scriptures. Still, some have said that his father was a man called Heracles, and his mother was Astarth, the same as Astoriane. He was the son of one of the inhabitants of the country at that time, who lived in the plain of Save. (2) And the city was called Salem, and various authors have given different accounts of it. Some say that it is the city now known as Jerusalem, though it was once called Jebus. But others have said that there was another Salem in the plain of Sicimi, opposite the town which is now called Neapolis.

2,3 But whether it was the one location or the other—the places are not far apart—in any case the passage tells what happened. It says, "He brought forth bread and wine for Abraham, and at that time he was the



priest of God Most High.<sup>9</sup> And he blessed Abraham, and took a tithe from him. (4) For the priest of God Most High had to be honored by a servant of God, and—since the circumcised priesthood would stem from Abraham himself—Abraham had to offer first to the priest who served without circumcision, so that “Every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God”<sup>10</sup> would be humbled. (5) Thus the circumcised, who boast of priesthood, could not dispute the priesthood of God’s holy church, which observes neither bodily circumcision nor the absence of it, but possesses the greater and more perfect circumcision, the laver of regeneration.

2,6 For if Abraham offered a tithe to Melchizedek but Abraham’s descendants offer it to Aaron and Levi, and next, after the priesthood had become circumcised through Aaron and his sons, the scripture says through David that the priesthood is vested in Melchizedek—says this twelve generations after Levi’s birth and after seven generations from the succession of Aaron—it has shown that the priestly rank does not remain with the ancient circumcised priesthood. (7) It was transferred to [a priesthood] before Levi and before Aaron, the priesthood after the order of Melchizedek, which now, since the Lord’s incarnation, resides in the church. The seed is no longer chosen [for priesthood] because of a succession; a type is looked for, because of virtue.

3,1 For the first uncircumcised priesthood is reckoned through Abel; after that, moreover, through Noah. But a third [such priesthood] is reckoned through Melchizedek, who did not serve God by circumcision but by perfect righteousness and virtue, and with body uncircumcised. (2) And that Melchizedek was a man, God’s holy apostle himself will show in his epistle. For he says, “He whose descent is not counted *from them* received tithes of the patriarch.”<sup>11</sup> It is plain that his descent is not traced *from them*, but from others.

3,3 And of how many others is the ancestry not expressly given? Daniel, Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, Elijah the Tishbite—neither their fathers nor their mothers are found anywhere in any of the covenanted scriptures. But so that no error arises from this, it will do no harm to say what I have learned from tradition myself. (4) For I have found that Daniel’s father was a man called Sabaan. And I have likewise actually found Elijah’s lineage, and shall trace it in order: (5) Elijah the Tishbite

was the brother of Jehoiada the priest. He too was supposedly of priestly descent and was the son of Ahinoam. But Ahinoam was the son of Zadok, and Zadok the son of Ahitub the son of Amoriah. Amoriah was the son of Razaza, Razaza of Ahaziah, and Ahaziah of Phineas. Phineas was the son of Eleazar, and Eleazar was the son of Aaron, plainly Aaron the [high]-priest. Aaron was the son of Amram, Amram of Cohath, Cohath of Levi, and Levi was the third son of Jacob. But Jacob was the brother of Esau and the son of Isaac, and Isaac was the son of Abraham.

3,6 But the genealogies of these persons are by no means plainly set forth in the canonical scriptures—just parts of the subject as it pertains to Elijah, in Chronicles.<sup>12</sup> However I have simply not found the fathers of the three children, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, either in traditions or in apocryphal works. (7) What about that? Will they too—Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego—delude us into drawing wrong inferences, wondering far too much about each [one's] lineage, and concluding that they have no fathers and mothers? Let's hope not! (8) Apostolic traditions, holy scriptures and successions of teachers have been made our boundaries and foundations for the upbuilding of our faith,<sup>13</sup> and God's truth has been protected in every way. No one need be deceived by worthless stories.

4,1 But to return to the subject, the things they imagine about Melchizedek. It is plain that this righteous man was holy, a priest of God, and the king of Salem, but he was no part of the < order > in heaven, and has not come down from heaven. (2) "No man hath ascended up to heaven save he that came down from heaven, the Son of Man,"<sup>14</sup> says the holy divine Word who tells no lies.

4,3 For when the sacred scripture proclaimed, and the Holy Spirit expressly taught, the order of Melchizedek, they indicated the removal of the priesthood from the ancient synagogue and the < physical\* > nation to a nation which is the finest and best, and which is not united by a common physical descent. (4) For this holy Melchizedek had no successors, but neither did he suffer the abolition of his priesthood. He remained a priest himself throughout his life and is still celebrated as a priest in the scripture, since no one either succeeded him or abolished the priesthood which he had during his time of service. (5) Thus our Lord too—though

he was not a man but the holy divine Word of God, God's Son begotten without beginning and not in time, ever with the Father but for our sakes become man, of Mary and not of a man's seed—our Lord, < receiving\* > the priesthood, offers to the Father, having taken human clay so as to be made a priest for us after the order of Melchizedek, which has no succession. (6) For he abides forever, offering gifts for us—after first offering himself through the cross, to abolish every sacrifice of the old covenant by presenting the more perfect, living sacrifice for the whole world. (7) He himself is temple, he himself sacrifice, himself priest, altar, God, man, king, high-priest, lamb, sacrificial victim—become all in all for us that life may be ours in every way, and in order to lay the changeless foundation of his priesthood forever, no longer allotting it by descent and succession, but granting that, in accordance with his ordinance, it may be preserved in the Holy Spirit.

5,1 Others in their turn say < other > imaginary < things > about this Melchizedek. (Since they lack a spiritual understanding of the things the holy apostle said in this same Epistle to the Hebrews, they have been condemned by a fleshly sentence.) (2) The Egyptian heresiarch Hieracas believes that this Melchizedek is the Holy Spirit<sup>15</sup> because of “made like unto the Son of God he abideth a priest continually,”<sup>16</sup> (3) as though this is to be interpreted by the holy apostle's “*The Spirit* maketh intercession for us with groanings that cannot be uttered.”<sup>17</sup>

Anyone who understands the mind of the Spirit knows that he intercedes with God for the elect.<sup>18</sup> But Hieracas too has gone entirely off the track. (4) The Spirit never assumed flesh. And not having assumed flesh, he could not be king of Salem and priest of anywhere. (5) In time, however, when I compose the refutation of Hieracas and his sect, I shall discuss this at length; for now, I shall resume the order of presentation.

6,1 But how many other fancies do others have about this Melchizedek! Samaritans believe that he is Noah's son Shem,<sup>19</sup> but it will be found that they too are absurd. (2) The sacred scripture, which secures everything with due order, has confirmed the truth in every respect; not for nothing

has it listed the time periods, and enumerated the years of each patriarch's life and succession.

6,3 For when Abraham was about eighty-eight or even ninety, Melchizedek met him and served him loaves and wine, prefiguring the symbols of the mysteries: (4) types < of the Lord's body >, since our Lord < himself > says, "I am the living bread"<sup>20</sup>; and of the blood which flowed from his side for the cleansing of the defiled, and the sprinkling and salvation of our souls.

6,5 Now when he became the father of Abraham, Abraham's father Terah was seventy years old, and that made about 160 years. Nahor fathered Terah at the age of seventy-nine, and that made 239 years. Serug fathered Nahor at the age of 130, and that made 369 years. (6) Reu fathered Serug when he was 132, and that came to the five hundred and first year. Peleg fathered Reu when he was 130, and that made 631 years. Eber fathered Peleg in the hundred and thirty-fourth year of his life, and that made 765 years.

6,7 Shelah fathered Eber in the two hundred thirtieth year of his life, and that made 895 years. Cainan fathered Shelah in the hundred ninth year of his life, and that made 1004 years. Arphaxad was 135 when he fathered Cainan, and that made 1139 years. (8) And the Shem we spoke of, whom the Samaritans imagine to be Melchizedek, fathered Arphaxad in the hundred second year of his life, and altogether there were 1241 years until the time of Abraham, when he met Melchizedek on his return from the slaughter of the kings Amraphel, Arioch, Chedorlaomer and Tidal.

6,9 But Shem did not live that many years, as their foolish imagination would have it. He was 102 when he became the father of Arphaxad, in the second year after the flood. "And after that he lived 500 years," as the sacred scripture says, "and begat sons and daughters, and died."<sup>21</sup> (10) Now then, if he lived for 602 years and then died, how could he reach the age of 1241 so that, after ten generations and 1241 years, they can call Shem the son of Noah, who lived ten generations before Abraham, Melchizedek? How greatly people can go wrong!

6,11 But if we go by the figure in other copies, there are about 628 years from the date of Shem's birth until the time of Abraham's meeting with Melchizedek, in the eighty-eighth or ninetieth year of Abraham's life. Thus

on no account can Shem have lived until Abraham's time, to be thought of as Melchizedek. And the Samaritans' jabber also is all wrong.

7,1 In their turn, the Jews say that Melchizedek was righteous, good and the priest of the Most High, as the sacred scripture says, but that since he was the son of a harlot his mother's name is not recorded, and his father is not known. (2) But their silly assertion too has failed. Rahab was a harlot, and she is in scripture. Zimri is in scripture too although he committed fornication, and Cozbi with him, even though she was a foreigner and not of Israelite descent. < For the Savior receives harlots, if only they repent through him\* >. And as the holy Gospel said, "Whoso entereth not by the door is a thief and not a shepherd."<sup>22</sup>

7,3 But some who are actually in the church put this Melchizedek in various categories. Some suppose that he is the actual Son of God,<sup>23</sup> and appeared to Abraham then in the form of a man. (4) But they too have gone off the track; no one will ever become "like" himself. As the sacred scripture says, "made *like unto* the Son of God he abideth a priest continually."<sup>24</sup> (5) Indeed "He whose descent is not counted *of them* received tithes of Abraham;"<sup>25</sup> for since his descent is not counted from the Israelites themselves, it is counted from other people. (6) Having listed all these errors < which > I recall because of this sect, I describe them as though in passing.

8,1 This sect makes its offerings in Melchizedek's name, and says that it is he who conducts us to God<sup>26</sup> and that we must offer to God through him because he is an archon of righteousness<sup>27</sup> ordained in heaven by God for this very purpose, a spiritual being and appointed to God's priesthood. (2) And we must make offerings to him, they say, so that they may be offered through him on our behalf,<sup>28</sup> and through him we may attain to life. (3) Christ too was chosen, they say, to summon us from many ways

to this one knowledge. He was anointed by God and made his elect, for he turned us from idols and showed us the way. After that the apostle was sent and revealed Melchizedek's greatness to us, and that he remains a priest forever. (4) And see how great he is, and that the lesser is blessed by the greater. (5) And thus, they say, Melchizedek also blessed the patriarch Abraham, since he was greater [than Abraham]. And we are his initiates, so that we too may be recipients of his blessing.

9,1 And how worthless all the sects' notions are! See here, these too have denied their Master who "bought them with his own blood"<sup>29</sup>— (2) whose existence does not date from Mary as they suppose, but who is ever with the Father as the divine Word, begotten of the Father without beginning and not in time, as every scripture says. It was to him, not to Melchizedek, that the Father said, "Let us make man in our image and after our likeness."<sup>30</sup>

9,3 For even though Melchizedek was priest of God Most High in his own generation and had no successors, he did not come down from heaven. (4) The scripture said, not that he brought bread and wine *down*, but that he brought them *out* to Abraham and his companions as though from his palace,<sup>31</sup> to show the patriarch hospitality<sup>32</sup> as he passed through his country. And he blessed Abraham for his righteousness, faithfulness and piety. (5) For though the patriarch had been tried in everything, in nothing had he lost his righteousness, but here too he had God's assistance against the kings who had attacked Sodom < like bandits ><sup>33</sup> and carried off his nephew, the holy Lot. And he brought him back, with all the booty and spoil.

9,6 Where can we not find proof that < the > Son was always with the Father? For "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God,"<sup>34</sup> it did not say, "In the beginning was Melchizedek," or, "And Melchizedek was God." (7) And again, "The Lord came to Abraham, and the Lord rained fire and brimstone from the Lord upon Sodom and Gomorrah."<sup>35</sup> And the apostle himself said, "One

God, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things.”<sup>36</sup>

9,8 And lest someone say, “Well then, where is the Spirit, since he speaks of ‘one’ and ‘one’?”—the Spirit must not act as its own guarantor.<sup>37</sup> For the sacred scripture is always preserved to serve as an example for us. The apostle was speaking *in the Holy Spirit* and saying, “One God, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things.” He was *in the Spirit* saying this, for the intent was not to make the Trinity deficient. (9) But the Lord himself plainly says, “Go baptize all nations in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.”<sup>38</sup> And the apostle says in his turn, “One is the Spirit, dividing to every man as he will to profit withal.”<sup>39</sup>

9,10 There you are then, the Father! The Son! The Holy Spirit! And nowhere does it say of Melchizedek that < he is resident > in the gifts or in the heights.<sup>40</sup> There is no point in these people’s yapping about the falsehoods and fictions of the stumbling blocks they encounter—not things that originate in the truth, but in the hissing of the dragon itself, with his ability to deceive and mislead each sect.

9,11 Again, I have heard that some, who are further afield than all of these and are excited by further pride of intellect, have dared to resort to an unthinkable idea and arrive at a blasphemous notion, and say that this same Melchizedek is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. (12) What careless minds men have, and what deceived hearts, with no place for truth! Since the apostle says that Melchizedek has no father and mother and is without lineage, these people have gone wrong because of the sublimity of the expression, have < foolishly\* > supposed < that what is said of Melchizedek\* > corresponds with the Father of all, and have imagined a blasphemous imposture.

9,13 For because God the almighty, the Father of all, has no father, mother, beginning of days or end of life—for this is admitted by everyone—they have fallen into foolish blasphemy by likening Melchizedek

to him because the apostle has spoken of Melchizedek in this way, not noticing the other things that are said about him. (14) For it is said of Melchizedek that “He was *priest of God Most High*.”<sup>41</sup> Now assuming that Melchizedek is the Most High and the Father, then, as the priest of another “Most High,” he cannot be the Father of all himself-serving another Most High as priest.

9,15 Such confusion on people’s part, that will not perceive truth but is bent on error! To give the final solution of the entire problem, the holy apostle said, “He whose descent is not counted *from them*”—obviously not; but it was counted from others—“received tithes of Abraham.”<sup>42</sup> And again, he said, “who, *in the days of his flesh*, offered up supplications and prayers to him that was able to save him”<sup>43</sup>—but it is plain that < the > Father did not assume flesh.

9,16 But now that we have discussed them sufficiently too, let us leave this sect, for we have struck it with the firm faith and its foundation, as though we had hit a mousing viper with a rock and avoided its deadly poison. For they say that the mousing viper does no immediate harm to the one it bites, but that in time it destroys his body and infects its victim with leprosy in every limb. (17) Similarly, if this heresy is < implanted\* > in their minds it < does\* > people no apparent < harm > when they first hear of these things. But the long-term effect of the words is to sink into their minds, raise questions, and, as it were, cause the destruction of those who have not happened on the remedy of this antidote—the refutation of this heresy, and the counter-argument to it which I have given.

9,18 The mousing viper is not readily seen; it is active at night and does its harm at that time, especially in Egypt. Thus those who do not know the beast must realize that, when I compared it with the harm that is done by this sect, I did not bring up the subject of the beast lightly, or as a slander; it does this sort of injury. (19) But I shall move on to the others next, so as to thank God for the privilege of keeping my promise in God.



## X

### Contra los Bardesianos, secta del Cristianismo

1,1 Their successor was a person named Bardesanes. This Bardesanes, the founder of the Bardesianist sect, was Mesopotamian and a native of the city of Edessa.<sup>2</sup> (2) He was the finest sort of man at first, and while his mind was sound composed no few treatises.<sup>3</sup> For originally he belonged to God's holy church, and he was learned in the two languages, Greek and Syriac.<sup>4</sup>

1,3 At first he became friends with the ruler of Edessa, Abgar,<sup>5</sup> a very holy and learned man, and assisted him while taking a hand in his education. He survived after Abgar's death until the time of Antoninus Caesar—not Antoninus Pius, but Antoninus Verus.<sup>6</sup> (4) He argued at length against fate < in reply to > the astrologer Abidas, and there are other works of his which are in accord with the godly faith.<sup>7</sup>

1,5 He defied Antoninus' companion Apollonius besides, by refusing to say that he had denied that he called himself a Christian. He nearly became a martyr, and in a courageous defense of godliness replied that the wise do not fear death, which would come of necessity, < he said >, even if he did not oppose the emperor. (6) And thus the man was loaded with every honor until he came to grief over the error of his own sect and became like the finest ship, which was filled with a priceless cargo and [then] wrecked beside the cliffs of its harbor, losing all its freight and occasioning the deaths of its other passengers as well.

2,1 For he unfortunately fell in with Valentinians, drew this poison and tare from their unsound doctrine, and taught this heresy by introducing many first principles and emanations himself, and denying the resurrection of the dead.<sup>8</sup>

2,2 He uses the Law and the Prophets and the Old and the New Testaments, besides certain apocrypha. (3) But he too, like all his predecessors and successors, will be confounded because he has separated himself from the truth and, as it were, from a brightly shining lamp turned into soot.

2,4 I have already spoken of the resurrection of the dead in many Sects; however, it will do no harm to say a few words once more in my refutation of this man. (5) For if you accept the Old Testament, Mister, and the New Testament too, how can you not be convicted of corrupting the way of the truth and separating yourself from the Lord's true life?

2,6 For <it is plain> that, to become the earnest of our resurrection and the firstborn from the dead, the Lord himself first died for us and rose again. (7) And he did not suffer simply in appearance; he was buried, and they bore his body to the grave. Joseph of Arimathea bears witness, and the women bear witness who brought the unguents to the tomb and the hundred pounds' weight of ointment, that this was no phantom or apparition. (8) The angels who appeared to the women are also witnesses that "He is risen, he is not here; why seek ye the living among the dead?"<sup>9</sup> (9) And they did not say that he had not died, but that he had risen—he who suffered in the flesh but lives forever in the Spirit, and who, in his native Godhead, is impassible; he who is eternally begotten of the Father on high, but in the last days was pleased to be made man of the Virgin Mary, as St. Paul testifies by saying, "made of a woman, made under the Law."<sup>10</sup>

2,10 Haven't you yet heard the text, "This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality?"<sup>11</sup> Hasn't the prophet Isaiah convinced you by saying, "And the dead shall arise, and they that are in the graves shall be raised up?"<sup>12</sup> And the Lord himself, by saying, "And these shall be raised to life eternal, and these to everlasting punishment?"<sup>13</sup>

2,11 Or don't you remember Abel's conversation with God after his death, and how it doesn't say that his soul intercedes and cries out to God, but that his blood does? But blood is not soul; the soul is in the blood. (12) For the visible blood is body, but the soul resides invisibly in

the blood. And your wrong belief is confounded from every standpoint, Bardesanes, for it is demolished by the truth itself.

3,1 But since I have spoken at length on the topic of many first principles, against those who say that there are such things, I shall not make my discussion of this here a long one. As though in < passing >, however, I shall mention how the holy apostle says, "To us God the Father is one, of whom are all things and we in him; and the Lord Jesus Christ is one, by whom are all things and we by him."<sup>14</sup> (2) How can there be a plurality of gods and many first principles if "Our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things and we by him, is one?" There is therefore one creator, not many gods or many aeons. For Paul said, "If there be many *so-called* gods;"<sup>15</sup> (3) but he pronounced them "so-called" as though speaking < of > beings which have no existence. But because of the so-called gods of the Greeks, the ones they have made gods of—the sun and moon, the stars and the like—he made this declaration, and ruled out the notion of all who have fallen into error.

3,4 Now since the sound faith is preserved in every way as the support and the salvation of the faithful, the nonsensical inventions of all the sects have been overthrown. So has this man, overthrown, made of himself a pitiable object and banished himself from life. (5) For the prophet tells God's holy church, "I will make thy stone a coal of fire, and thy foundations sapphire, and thy walls precious stones, and thy battlements jasper."<sup>16</sup> Then, afterwards, he says, "Every voice that rises up against thee, thou shalt overcome them all. Against thee it shall not prevail."<sup>17</sup> (6) Nothing will prevail against the true faith, since "She is founded on the rock," and, as her king, bridegroom, Lord and Master, the holy divine Word, has promised her, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against her."<sup>18</sup> To him, the Father in the Son with the Holy Spirit, be glory, honor and might forever and ever. Amen.

3,7 But since this sect too has been trampled underfoot, < let it lie\* >, struck with the wood of life, like a head [cut off] from a piece of a snake and still wriggling. < But > let us ourselves give thanks to God, beloved, and proceed once more to the examination of the rest.

## XI

### Contra los Noetianos, secta del Cristianismo

1,1 Another one, whose name was Noetus, arose in his turn after Bardesanes, not many years ago but about 130 years before our time,<sup>2</sup> an Asian from the city of Ephesus.<sup>3</sup> (2)<sup>4</sup> By the inspiration of a strange spirit he chose to say and teach things on his own authority which neither the prophets nor the apostles < had proclaimed >, and which the church from the beginning had neither held nor conceived of. On his own authority he dared to say, with manic elation, that the Father suffered. (3) And then, from further delirious conceit he called himself Moses, and his brother, Aaron.<sup>5</sup>

1,4 In the meantime, however, the blessed presbyters of the church sent for Noetus because of the rumor about him, and questioned him about all these things, and whether he had put forth this blasphemy of the Father.<sup>6</sup> (5) At first he denied it when brought before the presbytery, since no one before him had belched out this frightful, deadly bitterness. (6) But later, after, as it were, infecting certain others with his madness and winning about ten men over, inspired to greater pride and insolence < and > grown bold, he began to teach his heresy openly. (7) The same presbyters summoned him once more, and the men who unfortunately had become acquainted with him, and asked again about the same things. (8) But now, with his followers in error, Noetus struck his forehead and openly opposed them. "What wrong have I done," he demanded, "because I glorify one God?<sup>7</sup> I know one God and none other besides him, and he has been born, has suffered, and has died!"<sup>8</sup>

1,9 Since he held to this they expelled him from the church, with the men he had instructed in his own doctrine. He himself has died recently as has his brother, but not in glory like Moses; nor was his brother buried

with honor like Aaron. They were cast out as transgressors, and none of the godly would lay them out for burial.

1,10 Those whose minds he had corrupted confirmed this doctrine afterwards under the influence of the following texts, which had influenced their false teacher to begin with. (11)<sup>9</sup> (For when he said under questioning by the presbytery that he glorified one God, they told him truthfully, “We too glorify one God, but in the way we know is right. (12) And we hold that Christ is one, but as we know the one Christ—the Son of God who suffered as he suffered, died as he died, has risen, has ascended into heaven, is at the right hand of the Father, will come to judge the quick and the dead. We say these things because we have learned them from the sacred scriptures, which we also know.”)

2,1<sup>10</sup> Those, then, who are offshoots of Noetus himself, and those who derive from them, make much of this doctrine, and try to establish their insane teaching from the following texts. Among them are God’s words to Moses, “I am the God of your fathers. I am the first and I am the last. Thou shalt have none other gods,” and so on.<sup>11</sup> (2) They said accordingly, “We therefore know him alone. If Christ came and was born, he himself is the Father; he himself is the Son. Thus the same God is the God who < is > forever, and who has now come—(3) as the scripture says, “This is thy God, none other shall be accounted God besides him. He hath found out every way of understanding and given it to Jacob his servant and Israel his beloved. Afterwards he appeared on earth and consorted with men.”<sup>12</sup> (4) Again, they say, “do you see how, by saying that God himself is < the > only God and appeared later himself, the sacred scriptures give us the wisdom not to believe first in one God and then in another?”

2,5<sup>13</sup> Again, they make use of this further text: “Egypt hath wearied and the merchandise of the Ethiopians, and the lofty men of Saba shall pass over unto thee and be thy servants. And they shall walk behind thee bound with chains, and shall bow down to thee and pray through thee—for in thee is God and there is no God beside thee—Thou art God and we knew it not, O God of Israel, the Savior.”<sup>14</sup> (6) “Do you see,” they

say, “how the sacred scriptures state that God is one, and declare that he < has become > visible? And he is admittedly one, forever the same. (7) We therefore say that there are not many gods but one God, the same Impassible, himself the Father of the Son and himself the Son, who has suffered to save us by his suffering. And we cannot say that there is another”—having supposedly learned this confession of faith, and this impious conjecture and ruinous madness, from their master.

2,8<sup>15</sup> Next they cite other texts in their support—as their teacher said, “The apostle also bears witness in the following words and says, ‘Whose are the fathers, of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for evermore. Amen.’”<sup>16</sup> (9) But their account [of Christ] is as one-sided as Theodotus’. Theodotus actually went to one extreme and described him as a mere man. Noetus has one-sidedly described another extreme in his own turn, with his belief that the same God the Father is both the Son and the Holy Spirit, and that he has suffered in the flesh, and been born. (10) Theodotus’ followers have not told the truth, then, and neither have this “Brainy” (Νόητος)—“Brainless,” actually—and his, since the sacred scriptures refute them both, and all the erring.

3,1 To anyone whose mind is < sound\* > in God, and who is enlightened in sacred scripture and the Holy Spirit, their argument will appear easy to refute and full of all sorts of nonsense. (2) The idea of claiming that the Father, the Son, and the One who suffered are the same, is the result of impudence and is < full > of blindness.<sup>17</sup> (3) How can the same person be father and son [at once]? If he is a son he must be the son of some person by whom he has been begotten. (4) But if he is a father, he cannot possibly beget himself. In turn something called a son didn’t beget itself; it was begotten by a father. How crazy people are, with their fallacious reasoning! (5) For the fact is that the logical conclusion is not as they suppose, but as the truth tells us through the sacred scripture. The Lord states it at once by saying, “Lo, my beloved Son shall understand, he whom I have chosen, whom my soul hath loved. I will put my Spirit upon him.”<sup>18</sup> (6) And you see how the Father’s voice declares that there is an actual Son upon whom he is putting his Spirit. (7) Next the Only-begotten himself says, “Glorify thou me, Father, with the glory which I had

with thee before the world was.”<sup>19</sup> But someone who says, “Father, glorify me,” is not calling himself father; he knows that the “father” is his father. (8) And again, in another passage, “There came a voice from heaven, This is my Son; hear ye him.”<sup>20</sup> And it did not say, “*I* am my Son, hear me,” or again, “I have become a Son,” but, “This is my Son; hear him.”

3,9 And when he said, “I and the Father are one,”<sup>21</sup> he did not say, “I and the Father *am* one,” but, “I and the Father *are* one.”<sup>22</sup> “I and the Father,” with the definite article, and with “and” in the middle, means that the Father is actually a father, and the Son actually a son.

4,1 And of the Holy Spirit, in turn, he says, “If I depart he shall come, the Spirit of truth.”<sup>23</sup> This statement, “*I* am going and *he* is coming,” is by far the clearest. Christ did not say, “*I* am going and *I* shall come,” but with “I” and “he” showed that the Son is subsistent and the Holy Spirit is subsistent. (2) And again, “The Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father and receiveth of the Son”<sup>24</sup> is intended to show that the Father is subsistent, the Son is subsistent, and the Holy Spirit is subsistent. (3) And again, at the Jordan the Father spoke from above, the Son stepped into the Jordan, and the Spirit appeared between them in the form of a dove and came upon the Son, even though the Spirit had not taken flesh or assumed a body. (4) But to avoid giving the impression that the Spirit is identical with the Son, the Holy Spirit is portrayed in the form of a dove, to ensure the perception of the Spirit as truly subsistent. (5) But where else can I not find other arguments against these people who have infected themselves with insanity? If there is any truth in their notion, and in their worthless argument with no proof or force and no coherent reasoning or meaning, the scriptures will have to be discarded<sup>25</sup>—the scriptures, which on every page know the Father as a father, the Son as a son, and the Holy Spirit as a holy spirit.

4,6 But what do you mean, Mister? Can those who truly worship the Trinity be polytheists, the sons of the truth and of the only apostolic and catholic church? That is not so! (7) Who will not say that the God of truth is one, the Father almighty, the Source of the Only-begotten Son who is

truly the divine Word, a Word subsistent, truly begotten of the Father without beginning and not in time? (8) Hence the church proclaims with certainty that God is one, a Father and a Son: "I am in the Father, and the Father in me, and we two are one"<sup>26</sup>—that is, one Godhead, one will, and one dominion.

4,9 From the Father himself the Spirit also proceeds—subsistent and truly perfect, the Spirit of truth, who enlightens all, who receives of the Son, the Spirit of the Father, the Spirit of Christ. (10) The church, then, knows one Godhead. There is one God, the Father of truth, a Father who is perfect and subsistent; and a Son who is a perfect Son and subsistent; and a Holy Spirit who is a perfect Holy Spirit and a subsistent—one Godhead, one sovereignty, one dominion. (11) Thus the sacred scriptures have everywhere plainly declared that God is one—that is, a co-essential Trinity, forever of the same Godhead, the same dominion.

4,12 And your brainless argument has collapsed, in all respects, Brainy! And now that this has been said, and in direct contradiction to Brainy's allegations, it is time to examine these from the beginning and to counter his propositions, as follows.<sup>27</sup>

5,1 First, since he advanced the proposition, "God is one, of whom are all things and we in him, and the Lord Jesus Christ is one, for whom are all things and we by him,"<sup>28</sup> don't you see how, by saying, "God is one, of whom are all things and we for him?"<sup>29</sup> Paul is pointing out the oneness of the first principle so as not to direct attention to many first principles and lead men's minds, [already] deceived about the nonsense of polytheism, back to a plurality of gods. (2) For do you see how he has used one name and one title, but without denying the Only-begotten God? For he knows that he is Lord and knows that he is God; and he says, to certify this, "And one *Lord* Jesus Christ, by whom are all things."

5,3 However, by saying this of the Lord he did not mean that the Father and the Son are the same, but showed that the Father is truly a father and the Son truly a son. (4) For when he said "one God" of the Father, < he did > not < say it > to deny the Godhead of the Son. (For if the Son is not God he is not "Lord" either; but as he is "Lord," he is also God.) Though the holy apostle was compelled by the Holy Spirit to refer to one title, he



explained the faith for us by stating clearly that Christ is “one Lord,” and so must surely be God.

5.5 But because he says, “one,” and [then] “one” [again, but does not say “one” a third time], no one need think that he has left the number of the Trinity unmentioned by failing to name the Holy Spirit. When he named the Father and the Son “God” and “Lord,” he named them *in* the Holy Spirit. (6) For by saying, “*God* is one, of whom are all things,” of the Father, he did not deny the Father’s Lordship; nor, again, did he deny Christ’s Godhead by saying, “and one Lord Jesus Christ” (7) As he was content with the one title in the Father’s case, and said “one God” although it is plain that “Lord” is implied by “God”—so, in the case of the Son, he was content with “one Lord,” but “God” is implied by “Lord.” (8) Thus he did not jettison the Holy Spirit by mentioning [only] “Father” and “Son;” as I said, he spoke *in* the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit never < speaks\* > in commendation of himself, or he might set us an example < of speaking\* > of ourselves and commending < ourselves >. (9) Thus “God the Father, of whom are all things, is one, and the Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, is one.” And the Holy Spirit is one, not different from God and still subsistent, because he is Spirit of God, Spirit of truth, Spirit of the Father, and Spirit of Christ.

6,1<sup>30</sup> But I suppose we also need to speak of “Egypt hath wearied, and the merchandise of the Ethiopians. And the lofty men of Saba shall pass over unto thee and be thy servants. They shall walk behind thee, bound with chains. They shall bow down to thee and pray through thee—for in thee is God and there is no God beside thee—For thou art God and we knew it not, O God, the God of Israel, the Savior.”<sup>31</sup> (2) Noetus will say, “From so many texts that I’ve shown you, don’t you see that God is one?” But not understanding what has been said, he villainously mutilates the scriptures, gives crooked explanations, cites the lines out of sequence and does not quote them consistently and exactly—he or the Noetians who stem from him—or expound them in order. (3) As some < will name > a bad dog “Leo,” call the totally blind keen-sighted, and say that gall is candy—and as some have termed vinegar honey, and some have named the Furies the Eumenides—so it is with this man and his followers. (4) He has been named Brainy, but he is brainless as are his brainless followers, and he has no idea of the consequences of his statements and their asser-

tions. To them the holy apostle's words, "Understanding neither what they say nor whereof they affirm,"<sup>32</sup> are applicable.

7,1<sup>33</sup> For you see what the sacred scriptures said earlier on, brothers, or rather, what the Lord himself said, as we read at the beginning of the passage. It is from this that we must explain the whole of the truth in the passage itself, and the whole of the subject of it. We read, (2) "Inquire of me concerning my sons and my daughters, and < concerning > the works of my hands command ye me. I made the earth and man upon it; with my hand I established the heavens. I gave commandment to all the stars; I raised up a king with righteousness, and all his paths are straight. He shall build my city and restore my captivity, not with ransoms nor with gifts; the Lord of hosts hath spoken."<sup>34</sup> (3) Only then does he say, "Egypt hath wearied and the merchandise of the Ethiopians," and so on [until] "that God is in thee."<sup>35</sup>

7,4 But in whom, should we say? In whom but the Father's Word? For the divine Word is truly the Son, and the Father is known in him, as he says, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father,"<sup>36</sup> and, "I have glorified thy name on the earth."<sup>37</sup>

7,5<sup>38</sup> Then again, "I have raised up a king."<sup>39</sup> Don't you see that this is the Father's own voice, which raised up the true Word from itself to be king over all—the Word truly begotten of him, without beginning and not in time? (6) And it raised him up again, this very king, as the holy apostle says, "If the Spirit of him that raised up Christ dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies."<sup>40</sup> (7) Thus the prophet's words agree with the apostle's, and the apostle's with the Gospels', and the Gospels' with the apostle's, and the apostle's with the prophet's; for Isaiah says, "I have raised up a king," and Paul says, "He that raiseth up Christ from the dead."

7,8<sup>41</sup> But the words, "God is in thee," < show > how mysteriously and marvelously the sacred scripture describes everything. The Godhead's

< dwelling > in the flesh as in a temple was foreseen and foretold to the hope of mankind through its turning to God. (9) For the Son of God, the divine Word who dwells as God in his holy humanity and human nature as in a sacred city and holy temple, says of this holy temple, "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up."<sup>42</sup> (10) For < the > divine Word who has been sent from the Father in the flesh mystically reveals all things. To show a bond of spiritual love he embraced the flesh, shrinking himself despite his divine vastness—the Word himself, born of a virgin through the Holy Spirit; the Son of God who is one and has made himself one, in flesh and spirit, as the scripture says, "He that descended is the same also as he that ascended, the Son of Man who is in heaven."<sup>43</sup>

8,<sup>144</sup> What will Brainy say, then, in his brainlessness? Was there flesh in heaven? Obviously not. Then how can the One who descended from heaven be the same as the One who ascended? This is meant to show that the Word who has come is not from below but has descended from on high, since he was made man in the flesh, not by a man's seed but by making his complete human nature of spirit and flesh. (2) And so, to show the oneness of the union of the Word and his manhood, he said that He who came from on high has ascended on high in the perfection of Godhead. (3) For now the Word, which once was not flesh but spirit, has been made flesh of the Spirit and the Virgin—He who was offered to the Father as a perfect Word, though before this, in heaven, he was not flesh.

8,<sup>4</sup> What was the One who was in heaven, then, but the Word who was sent from heaven? To show that he was the same divine Word on earth and < in > heaven, changeless and unalterable, he possessed his oneness with the one Godhead, united with it by the Father's might. (5) For he was the Word, was God forever, was spirit, was might; and he adopted the name which was common and comprehensible to men, and was called Son of Man<sup>45</sup> though he was Son of God. (6) And the name was pronounced beforehand in the prophets because it was to apply to him, although it was not yet in the flesh. Thus Daniel said, "I saw one like unto a Son of Man coming upon the clouds."<sup>46</sup> (7) And the prophet was right to give the Word this name < when he was > in heaven, and call him whom he saw by the Holy Spirit Son of Man, since he observed the future before

its arrival and named the Word Son of Man before he was in the flesh. (8) And thus, putting the earlier event later, the Only-begotten says, "No man hath ascended up to heaven save he that came down from heaven, the Son of Man."<sup>47</sup> He did not mean that he was flesh in heaven but < that > he was to descend from heaven, and was to be known by this name.

9,1<sup>48</sup> But what is it that you're about to say, Mister? "This is our God, and none can be accounted God besides him?"<sup>49</sup> And that was quite right! The apostle too affirms it by saying, "Whose are the fathers and of whom, according to the flesh, came Christ, who is God over all."<sup>50</sup> Since Christ teaches us this himself by saying, "All things are delivered unto me of my Father,"<sup>51</sup> this makes him God over all. (2) And he expounds it marvelously: Christ is He Who Is (ὁ ὢν), God over all (ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός). (3) For John testifies to this by saying, "*That which was from the beginning*, which we have seen with our eyes and our hands have handled."<sup>52</sup> And again, in Revelation he says, "*He who is from the beginning* and is to come, the Almighty."<sup>53</sup> He was absolutely right; for when he said, "All things are delivered unto me of my Father," he appended <"the Father"> precisely as he should have. Though he is God over all, he has a Father of his own. And < this becomes apparent\* > when he says, "I go unto my Father."<sup>54</sup> To which Father could he go, Brainless, if he were the Father himself?

10,1<sup>55</sup> Or again, he says, "That they may be one, as thou and I are one."<sup>56</sup> The scripture constantly guards against men's falls into extremes, and recalls their minds from all places to the middle way of the truth. (2) To those who think that the Son is different from the Father—I mean as Arius and other sects do—it says, "I and the Father are one."<sup>57</sup> (3) But to those who think that the Father and the Son are the same because it has said, "I and the Father are one," the scripture says, "Make *them* to be one as I and thou are one,"<sup>58</sup> shaming Noetus and his school by the reference to oneness of the disciples. (4) For how could Peter, John and

the rest be identically one? But since he [is one with the Father] in one unity of Godhead and in purpose and power, < he indicated as much\* >, to allay any suspicion that arises against the truth from either standpoint. (5) And the holy apostle Philip < witnesses to this\* > by saying, "Show us the Father." And the Lord replied, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father."<sup>59</sup> But he did not say, "*I am* the Father." (6) He meant himself when he said, "me," but did not mean himself when he said, "hath seen the Father." "The Father" is one thing, "me" is something else, and "I" is something else. (7) If he himself were the Father, he would say, "I am." But since he is not the Father himself but the Son, he truthfully says, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father," to refute the blasphemy of Arius, which separates the Son from the Father.

10,8 And so, since every scripture has plainly laid down our way with regard to the truth, let us halt < here >. Along with the other sects we have maimed Noetus and his sect, I mean of Noetians, like the so-called agate dragon, which cannot turn either right or left when it pursues someone. (9) < And > since we have escaped his unsound teachings and his school's, let us give our attention to the rest by the power of God, to describe and refute the heretical sayings against the truth which they have invented.

## XII

### Contra los Valesianos, secta del Cristianismo

1,1 I have often heard of Valesians, but have no idea who Vales < was >, where he came from, or what his sayings, admonitions or utterances < were >. (2) The name, which is Arabic, leads me to suppose that he and his sect are still in existence, as < I also > suspect—< for\* >, as I said, < I cannot say this for certain\* >—that there are some at Bacatha, in the land of Philadelphia beyond the Jordan. (3) The locals call them Gnostics, but they are not Gnostics; their ideas are different. But what I have learned about them is the following:

1,4 Most of them were members of the church until a certain time, when their foolishness became widely known and they were expelled from the church. All but a few are eunuchs, and they have the same beliefs about principalities and authorities that < the Sethians, Archontics\* > and others do. (5) And when they take a man as a disciple, as long as he is still un-castrated he does not eat meat; but when they convince him of this, or

castrate him by force, he may eat anything, because he has retired from the contest and runs no more risk of being aroused to the pleasure of lust by the things he eats.

1,6 And not only do they impose this discipline on their own disciples; it is widely rumored that they have often made this disposition of strangers when they were passing through and accepted their hospitality. (7) They seize them [when they come] inside, bind them on their backs to boards, and perform the castration by force.

1,8 And this is what I have heard about them. Since I know where they live, and this name is well known in those parts and I have learned of no other name for the sect, I presume that this is it.

2,1 But these people are really crazy. If they mean to obey the Gospel's injunction, "If one of thy members offend thee, cut it off from thee. It is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of heaven halt or blind, or crippled"<sup>2</sup>—how can anyone be maimed in the kingdom? (2) For if the kingdom of heaven makes all things perfect, it can have no imperfection in it. And since the resurrection is a resurrection of the *body*, all the members will be raised and not one of them left behind. (3) And if any member is not raised, neither will the whole body be raised. And if just the one member that causes offense is left behind, none of the members will be raised at all, for they have all caused us to offend. (4) Who is going to tear his heart out? And yet the heart is the cause of offenses at every turn, for scripture says, "From within proceed fornication, adultery, uncleanness and such like."<sup>3</sup> All right, who will tear his heart out?

2,5 But if, in accordance with some people's stupidity and impiety, the body is not raised, how will this Valesian rule make any difference? If none of the members enter the kingdom of heaven, what further need is there to be short one member, when the others do not accomplish this? (6) But if the body is raised—and it is—how can there still be bodily mutilation in the kingdom of heaven? How can a kingdom of heaven containing bodies which are damaged not be unfit for the glory of its inhabitants? (7) And if the offending member must be cut off at all, then it has been cut off and not sinned! But if it has been cut off and not sinned, since it didn't sin it ought to rise first of all.

3,1 But by their audacity in performing this rash act they have set themselves apart and made themselves different from everyone. Because of what has been removed they are no longer men; and they cannot be women because that is contrary to nature.

3,2 Besides, the name of the contest's crown and prize has already been given, and these people will not appear in any of the three categories of eunuch the Lord has mentioned. (3) He says, "There are some eunuchs which were so born from their mother's womb."<sup>4</sup> Those eunuchs are not responsible for their condition, and certainly have no sin, because they were born that way. On the other hand there is nothing to their credit either, since they cannot do < anything like that >—I mean anything sexual—because they lack the divinely created organs of generation. (4) But neither can they have the kingdom of heaven as their reward for being eunuchs, since they have no experience of the contest. (5) Even though they have experienced desires, since they lack the ability to do what should not be done, neither do they have a reward for not doing it. They haven't done the thing, not because they didn't want to but because they couldn't. This is the way of the first type of eunuch the Lord mentions, the one that is born a eunuch. Because of their operation the Valesians cannot be any of these.

4,1 "And there are eunuchs," the Savior says, "which were made eunuchs of men." Valesians are none of these either. They—the eunuchs who are "made eunuchs of men"<sup>5</sup>—are made in the service of a king or ruler. (2) From jealousy and suspicion of their wives, some barbarian kings or despots take boys when they are only children and make eunuchs of them so that they can be entrusted with their wives, as I said, when they are grown. (3) And this has been the usual reason for these eunuchs. I imagine that this is < the origin of > the term, "eunuch." The "eunuch" can be "well-disposed" (εὐνοῦς) because his members have been removed, and with his organs removed he cannot have sexual relations. (4) So this is another category of eunuch, the kind that is taken in childhood and made eunuchs by men, but not for the kingdom of heaven's sake.

4,5 "And there be eunuchs," says the Savior, "which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake."<sup>6</sup> Who can these be but the noble apostles, and the virgins and monks after them? (6) John and

James, the sons of Zebedee, who remained virgin, surely did not cut their members off with their own hands, and did not contract marriage either; they engaged in the struggle in their own hearts, and admirably won the fame of the crown of this contest. (7) And all the millions after them who lived in the world without spouses and won the fame of this contest in monasteries and convents. They had no relations with women, but competed in the most perfect of contests.

4,8 So it is with Elijah in the Old Testament, and with Paul, who says, "To the unmarried I say that it is good for them if they remain even as I am; but if they cannot contain, let them marry."<sup>7</sup> (9) Now in what state did he "remain?" For if he had been a eunuch, and his imitators had remained like him in obedience to his "Remain as I"—how could a eunuch marry if he could no longer contain himself, in accordance with "Let them marry and not burn?"<sup>8</sup> You see that he is speaking of continence, not of the mutilation of one's members.

4,10 But if they claim to have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake, how can they distinguish themselves from [the case covered by] the text, "There are eunuchs which were made eunuchs of men?"<sup>9</sup> (11) For if one makes himself a eunuch with his own hands, he is a man, and his hands have done this infamous thing. And even though he could not do it himself but was made a eunuch by others, he still cannot be a eunuch "for the kingdom of heaven's sake" because he was "made a eunuch by men," whether by his own hand or the hand of others.

4,12 He will be deprived of his crown and prize as well, however, and have no further credit for abstaining from sexual relations. With the members which are needed for them removed, he cannot engage in them. (13) But for one who injures his own member, and one who cuts down another person's vineyard, the sentence is one and the same. He has not lived as God wills, but has conspired to rebel against his creator, the Lord and God.

4,14 But such a man will still feel desire. The eunuch in the sage's proverb is not exempt from desire, < but desires\* > because he cannot gratify his desire, as it says, (15) "The desire of a eunuch to deflower a virgin."<sup>10</sup> And < their silliness has\* > all < come to nothing\* >. How much nonsense of all sorts has been invented in the world!



4,16 And this is what I know about them. And so, since I have spoken briefly of them and, as I said, believe that they are the ones, let us leave them behind and laugh at < them >, (17) like a two-stinged scorpion which is the opposite of its ancestors because it has horns and claws, and which, with its sting, resists the norm of God's holy church. Trampling them with firmly placed sandal—that is, with the Gospel's exact words—let us end our discussion of their foolishness here, and go on as usual to the rest.

### XIII

#### **Contra los Puritanos, secta del Cristianismo**

1,1 A group called the “Purists” arose after these, founded, as it is commonly said, by one Navatus.<sup>2</sup> Navatus was at Rome during the persecution which came before Maximian's—I believe it was Decius' then, or Aurelian's. (2) Because of those who had lapsed during the persecution he, along with his followers, became proud, would not communicate with persons who had repented after persecution, and adopted this heresy by saying that < such people > cannot be saved. There is one repentance, but no mercy for those who have fallen away and transgress after baptism.

1,3 We ourselves say that there is one repentance, and that this salvation comes through the laver of regeneration. But we do not ignore God's lovingkindness, (4) since we know the message of the truth, the Lord's mercy, nature's pardonability, the soul's fickleness, the weakness of the flesh, and the way everyone's senses teem with sins. “No man is sinless and pure of spot, not if he liveth even a single day upon the earth.”<sup>3</sup>

1,5 Perfect penitence comes with baptism but if someone falls [afterwards] God's holy church does not lose him. She gives him a way back, and after repentance, reform. (6) For God said, “Thou hast sinned, be silent!”<sup>4</sup> to Cain, and the Lord told the paralytic, “Lo, thou art made whole; sin no more.”<sup>5</sup> The Lord recalls Peter too after his denial, and in the place of the three denials, challenges him three times to confession—“Peter, lovest

thou me? Peter, lovest thou me? Peter, lovest thou me?"—and says, "Feed my sheep."<sup>6</sup>

2,1 But the apostle's exact words are their downfall. He says, "It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted the good word of God and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again to repentance, seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame. (2) For the earth which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them by whom it is dressed, receiveth blessing. But that which beareth thorns and briers is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing; whose end is to be burned."<sup>7</sup> (3) And it is in fact impossible to renew those who have been renewed once and have fallen away. Christ cannot be born any more to be crucified for us, nor can anyone crucify again the not yet crucified Son of God. Nor can anyone receive a second baptism; there is one baptism, and one renewal. (4) But in order to heal the church and care for its members, the holy apostle at once prescribes their cure and says, "But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation, though we thus speak. For God is not unrighteous to forget your good work."<sup>8</sup>

2,5 And you see how he has declared once and for all that there can be no second renewal; but he has not cut those who are still penitent off from salvation. Indeed, he has shown them the accompaniments to salvation, and that God is their helper because of their good works, and that he is the Lord of those who, even after transgressions, perform full penance and turn and reform.

2,6 The holy word and God's holy church always accept repentance, though not to weaken those who are finishing their course, or to make them lax; still, she does not block God's grace and lovingkindness, but knows the nature of every case. (7) For as one who has lost his virginity cannot <recover> it physically since nature does not permit this, so it is with one who has fallen into major sins after baptism. (8) And as one who has fallen from virginity has continence for a second dignity, so he who has fallen into major sin after baptism has <reform> for a second healing—not as virtuous as the first, but he has the second healing he has

received, one not thrust out from life. God's word, then, does not deny the reward of those who labor in penance.

3.1 And next, the same people have pressed on from this and invented some other things. For they too say that they have the same faith which we do, but they will not communicate with the twice-married.<sup>9</sup> For if someone marries a second wife after baptism, they never admit him again.

3.2 But this is perfectly silly. It is as though someone were to see a person swimming in the water, and plunge into the water without knowing how to swim, and drown because he had no experience or understanding of the technique of those who keep afloat with their hands and feet, but thought that the water simply buoys the man up without his own hands. (3) Or suppose that someone were to hear of a ruler punishing the doers of < evil > deeds right down to the smallest, and think that the same penalty applies to all, so that the punishment for murder is the same as the punishment for someone who slanders or has a < serious\* > quarrel with his neighbor. (4) Or suppose that one were only a private citizen and saw someone with a governor's authority to punish criminals draw his sword against sorcerers and blasphemers or the impious, and after seeing people punished supposed that all are authorized to punish such guilt and chose to mimic the same behavior and kill people himself, supposedly judging malefactors. (5) But he would be arrested and punished himself, since he had no such authority from the emperor to do such things, and because he supposed that the same sentence applied to all by law, thus condemning himself to death as a wrongdoer through his own ignorance and lack of understanding. (6) The Purists have similarly lost everything by confusing everyone's duties. From not understanding the exact nature of God's teaching they have mistakenly taken another path, unaware that this<sup>10</sup> is not the tradition and following of the sacred scripture.

4.1 For they have assumed that what is enjoined upon the priesthood because of the preeminence of priestly service applies equally to everyone. They have heard, "The bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife, continent; likewise the deacon<sup>11</sup> and the presbyter," but not understood the limitation of the ordinances. (2) Since Christ's incarnation, in fact, because of the priesthood's superior rank, God's holy Gospel does not accept men for the priesthood after a first marriage, if they have remarried

because their first wife died. And God's holy church observes this with unfailing strictness. (3) She does not even accept the husband of one wife if he is still co-habiting with her and fathering children. She does accept the abstinent husband of one wife, or a widower, as a deacon, presbyter, bishop and subdeacon, [but no other married men], particularly where the canons of the church are strictly enforced.<sup>12</sup>

4,4 But in some places, you will surely tell me, presbyters, deacons and sub-deacons are still fathering children [while exercising their office.] This is not canonical, but is due to men's occasional remissness of purpose, and because there is no one to serve the congregation.

4,5 Since, by the Holy Spirit's good appointment, the church always sees what is fittest, she knows to take great care that God's services be performed "without distraction,"<sup>13</sup> and that spiritual functions be fulfilled with the best disposition. (6) I mean that because of the functions and needs which arise unexpectedly, it is appropriate that the presbyter, deacon and bishop be free for God. (7) If the holy apostle directs even the laity to "give themselves to prayer for a time,"<sup>14</sup> how much more does he give this direction to the priest? I mean to be undistracted, leaving room for the godly exercise of the priesthood in spiritual employments.

4,8 But < this > can be tolerated < in > the laity as a concession to weakness—even remarriage after the first wife's death by those who cannot stop with the first wife.<sup>15</sup> (9) And the husband of [only] one wife is more highly respected and honored by all members of the church. But if the man could not be content with the one wife, who had died, < or > if there has been a divorce for some reason—fornication, adultery or something else—and the man marries a second wife or the woman a second husband, God's word does not censure them or bar them from the church and life, but tolerates them because of their weakness.<sup>16</sup> (10) The holy

word and God's holy church show mercy to such a person, particularly if he is devout otherwise and lives by God's law—not by letting him have two wives at once while the one is still alive, but < by letting > him marry a second wife lawfully if the opportunity arises, after being parted from the first.

4,11 [If this were not the case] the apostle would not tell the widows, "Let them marry, bear children, guide the house."<sup>17</sup> Nor, to the man who had his father's wife and had been delivered "to Satan for the destruction of the flesh that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord,"<sup>18</sup> would he say in turn, "Confirm your love toward him, lest such a one be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow."<sup>19</sup> (12) For he went on to say, "To whom ye forgive anything, I forgive also. Therefore if I forgave anything, for your sakes forgave I it in the person of the Lord lest Satan should get an advantage over us. For we are not ignorant of his devices."<sup>20</sup> And see how he allows repentance even after a transgression.

5,1 And again the Lord says, "Forgive one another your trespasses, that your Father which is in heaven may also forgive you."<sup>21</sup> (2) Moreover, he says in another passage, "And I shall bewail many among you that have transgressed and not repented"<sup>22</sup> as though to intimate that, even though they have transgressed and repented, they are acceptable and will not be cast off. For the Lord knows what he will do with each.

5,3 And anyone can see that the rule of the truth is of this nature. After the first repentance through the laver of regeneration, by which repentance everyone is renewed, there is no second repentance of this sort. (4) For there are not two baptisms but one, Christ was not crucified twice but once, nor did he die for us and rise twice. And this is why we need to take care, or we may lose the crown of our renewal by transgression.

(5) But if someone does transgress and is “overtaken in a fault,” as the apostle says, “ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted.”<sup>23</sup> If, then, if anyone is overtaken < in > a fault, no matter which, let him repent. (6) God accepts repentance even after baptism, if one falls away. How he deals with such a person, he alone knows—“Unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out.”<sup>24</sup> (7) We must not judge before the [second] advent, “until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and then the praise of every man will be manifest”,<sup>25</sup> “For the day will declare it, for it is revealed in fire.”<sup>26</sup>

6,1 Thus to those who have sinned after baptism we neither promise freedom unconditionally, nor deny them life. For God is “merciful and pitiful,”<sup>27</sup> and “hath given a way of return to the penitent.”<sup>28</sup> (2) The first is plain; as for the second, we know that God is merciful, if we repent of our transgressions with our whole souls. He holds life, salvation and lovingkindness in his hand, and what he does is known to him alone; but no one can lose by repentance, and no one who repents of all his faults has been refused.

6,3 How much more, surely, [must this apply to] one who is lawfully married to a second wife! The first wife is a divine ordinance; the second, a concession to human weakness. And even if one marries a further wife [after the second], his weakness is still tolerated. (4) For scripture says, “A wife is bound by law so long as her husband liveth. But if her husband be dead she is at liberty to be married to whom she will, < only in the Lord >.”<sup>29</sup> Scripture declares her unquestionable freedom from sin [if she remarries] after her husband’s death, and with its addition, < that is\* >, “in the Lord,” sets < the limit\* > [to this] freedom. (5) Thus the woman is not cut off from the Lord if she marries another husband after her husband’s death; nor is the man if he marries a second wife after his wife’s death—“only in the Lord,” as the apostle says. (6) And he indeed says, “But she is happier if she so abide,”<sup>30</sup> < but he does not command this. He does, however, command\* >, “in the Lord.” And this means, “not in

fornication, adultery or an illicit love affair, but with a good will, openly, in lawful wedlock, abiding by the faith, the commandments, good works, piety, fastings, good order, almsdeeds, zeal, the doing of good. (7) When these accompany and remain with them, they do not render them worthless or unfruitful at the Lord's coming.

6,8 The priesthood ranks first and has the strictest requirements in everything, but moderation and forbearance are shown the laity, so that all may be taught and all shown mercy. (9) For the Lord is merciful, and mighty to save all, by their orderliness and true faith in the purity of the gospel. For he alone is pure. (10) These people who call themselves "pure" make themselves impure on just these grounds; whoever declares himself pure has condemned himself outright for impurity.

7,1 It is the height of stupidity for persons of this sort to suppose that they can pass such a judgment on the entire laity for one thing—even if it were true. But we should realize that no soul is charged for this reason alone. And <one does not > become virtuous in this way alone, (2) but also by not being abusive; not swearing any oath true or false but saying, "Yea, yea," and, "Nay, nay", not being treacherous, not slandering, not stealing, not trafficking. (3) The filth of our sins accumulates from all of these, for "As a peg will be sharpened between two stones," says scripture, "so will sin between buyer and seller."<sup>31</sup> (4) And <who can doubt\* > that, out of the whole body of Purists, <some > <must be\* > drunkards, traffickers, covetous, or usurers? [Who can doubt] that <they too >, surely, have such faults and others like them, <and > and that lies too follow in the wake of each? (5) How can they call themselves pure, as though, for this one reason, they were assured of the full divine forgiveness of all their faults? They have not learned the precise interpretation of the Gospel, or for whom it has reserved this strict rule against second marriage.

7,6 Those too who have fallen away through persecution, if they accept full penance, sitting in sackcloth and ashes and weeping before the Lord—the Benefactor has the power to show mercy even to them. No ill can come of repentance.

7,7 Thus the Lord and his church accept the penitent, as Manasseh the son of Hezekiah returned and was accepted by the Lord—and the chief of the apostles, St. Peter, who had denied for a time (8) and has [still] became our truly solid rock which supports the Lord's faith, and on which the church is in every way founded. (9) This is, first of all, because he

confessed that “Christ” is “the Son of the living God,”<sup>32</sup> and was told, “On this rock of sure faith will I build my church”<sup>33</sup>—for he plainly confessed that Christ is true Son. For by saying, “Son of the living God,” with the additional phrase, “the living,” he showed that Christ is God’s true Son, as I have said in nearly every Sect.

8,1 Peter also assures us of the Holy Spirit by saying to Ananias, “Why hath Satan tempted you to lie to the Holy Ghost? Ye have not lied unto man, but unto God,”<sup>34</sup> for the Spirit is of God and not different from God. (2) And Peter also became the solid rock of the building and foundation of God’s house, because, after denying, turning again, and being found by the Lord, he was privileged to hear, “Feed my lambs and feed my sheep.”<sup>35</sup> (3) For with these words Christ led us to the turning of repentance, so that our well founded faith might be rebuilt in him—a faith that forbids the salvation of no one alive who truly repents, and amends his faults in this world.

9,1 Thus the bride herself said to the bridegroom in the Song of Songs, “My sister’s son answereth and saith unto me, Arise and come, beloved, my fair one, my dove, for the storm is past”—the horrid darkness of the overcast sky is past, and the great frightfulness < of the storms\* >, as it were, < of our sins\* >—(2) “and the rain is over and gone. The flowers appear in our land, the time of pruning has come, the voice of the turtle-dove is heard in our land. The fig tree putteth forth her fruits. Our vines blossom, they have yielded their fragrance.”<sup>36</sup> (3) She means that all the past is behind us. Spring is now in bloom, the sea is calm and the fear of rain is past. The old < shoots\* > of the vine have been cut off, the grass is no longer merely green but in flower as well, (4) and the voice of the Gospel has cried out “in the wilderness”<sup>37</sup>—that is, “in our land.” The fig tree, which once was cursed, has borne “figs”—the fruits of repentance, now visible in its twigs and branches—and “vines,”<sup>38</sup> now in bloom with the fragrant message of the faith of the Gospel.

9,5 For Christ has even now called his bride and said, “Arise and come!”<sup>39</sup> “Arise,” < that is >, from the death of sins, “and come” in righteousness.



“Arise” from transgression “and come” with confidence. “Arise” from sins “and come” with repentance. “Arise” from palsy “and come” whole; “arise” from maiming “and come” sound; “arise” from unbelief “and come” in faith. “Arise” from the lost “and come” with the found.

9,6 But since the sacred oracle knew that men can fall into many transgressions after their first repentance, first call and, as it were, first healing, the bridegroom, again, says, “Arise and come, my beloved, my fair one, my dove, and come, thou my dove!”<sup>40</sup> (7) He calls her this second time and not simply once. But the second time is not like the first, for in the previous call he says, “Arise and come, beloved, my fair one, my dove.” The first time it is, “Arise and come,” and not, “Come *thou*.” (8) And the second time he adds the article<sup>41</sup> to show that his call is not a second call, changed after the first, but the same divine right hand of lovingkindness [that was offered] in the first, extended once more after [there have been] transgressions.

9,9 “And come, < thou > my dove,” he says, “in the shelter of the rock, nigh unto the outworks.”<sup>42</sup> “In the shelter of a rock”—< that is >, in Christ’s lovingkindness and the Lord’s mercy, for this is the shelter of the rock, the shelter of hope, faith and truth. (10) [And] “nigh unto the outworks” means before the closing of the gate—before the king has gone inside the walls and admits no one further. In other words, after our departure and death, when there is no more “nigh unto the outworks,” the gates are closed, and amendment is no more.

10,1 For in the world to come, after a man’s departure, there is no opportunity to fast, no call to repentance, no giving of alms. There are no blameworthy deeds either—no war, adultery, licentiousness—but neither is there righteousness and repentance. (2) As the seed cannot thicken or be blasted by the wind after the reaping of the ear, so < after a man’s death there can be no increase of his store\* > and nothing else of benefit to him. (3) But don’t tell me about the things that spoil the store, that is, the worms and moths. Scripture does say this of things in eternity; but the point of comparison, and what we lock away behind gates and store safely in a barn, is a symbol and type of faith, [which is kept] “where neither thieves break through nor moths corrupt,”<sup>43</sup> as God’s word says.

Thus < there is no decrease of our store\* > after death, but neither, certainly, is there opportunity for godliness, nor, as I said, < call > to repentance. (4) For Lazarus does not go to the rich man in the next world, nor does the rich man go to Lazarus. Nor does Abraham inconvenience the poor man who has since become rich, and send him [to the rich man]. And the rich man who has become poor does not obtain his request, though he begs and pleads with the merciful Abraham. (5) The storehouses had been sealed, the time was up, the contest finished, the ring emptied, the prizes awarded, and the contestants at ease. Those who have failed have left, those who did not fight have no more chance, those who were worsted in the ring have been ejected. All is plainly over after our departure.

10,6 But while all are in the world there is arising even after a fall, there is still hope, still a remedy, still confession—even if not for everyone, still < by those who are repenting for the second time\* >. And surely < even > the salvation of the others is not ruled out.

11,1 Now every sect which has drifted away from the truth in the dark is blind and shortsighted, thinking of one idea after another. For these people are like simpletons who do not understand the character, purpose and proper dress of any member of the body. (2) In a way—(what I propose to say is ridiculous, < but > it bears a resemblance to their stupidity)—they put their shoes on their heads but their wreaths on their feet, and golden collars round their tummies. And they wind what we might call our other footgear, which we have because we wear himatia and which some call drawers or pants, around their hands, but put rings on their feet.

11,3 The regulation of these ignorant people is just as mistaken and clumsy. They have assumed that the prohibitions of second marriages and the rest, which are reserved for the priesthood, < are enjoined\* > upon all the laity; and they have attributed the particularly stringent injunctions, which God has made to keep certain persons from straying through laxity, to cruelty on God's part. (4) It is as though one were to tear a sleeve off an himation and cover himself only to the elbow or to what is called the wrist, but always hold the sleeve in front of his eyes and jeer at the rest, without noticing that his whole body was bare. (5) So these people pride themselves on not receiving the twice-married, but < make light of > all the commandments that are like this and much finer in the keeping, but deadly if not kept. They < needlessly\* > forbid the one [sin], but have ignored the others. (6) Forgetting that their whole bodies are bare, they have ceased to obey all the ordinances, and disingenuously retained the one.

12,1 How much nonsense people can think of! Every pretext, however trivial it was, has drawn each sect away from the truth and impelled it

to a prolific production of evils. (2) It is < as though > one found a break in a wall beside a highway, thought of going through it, left the road and turned off < there >, in the belief that a place where he could turn and pick the road up again was right close by. But he did not know that the wall was very high and ran on for a long way; (3) he kept running into it and not finding a place to get out, and in fact went for more than a signpost, or mile, further without reaching the road. And so he would turn and keep going, tiring himself out and finding no way to get back to his route; and perhaps he could never find one unless he went back through the place where he had come in. (4) So every sect, as though it meant to find a shortcut, has come to grief because of the length of the journey, and its entanglement with ignorance and stupidity has become an unbreachable barrier for it. (5) And no such sect can reach the true road unless each one turns back to the original of the road, that is, to the king's highway. (6) The Law declared this in so many words, when the holy man, Moses, said to the king of Edom, "Thus saith thy brother Israel. I shall pass by thy borders to the land which the Lord hath sworn to our fathers to give us, a land flowing with milk and honey, the land of the Amorites, the Perizites, the Girgashites, the Jebusites, the Hivites, the Canaanites and the Hittites. (7) We shall not swerve to the right hand or to the left, we shall drink water for money and eat food for money. We shall not swerve this way or that, we shall go by the king's highway."<sup>44</sup> (8) For there is a king's highway, and this is the church of God and the journey of the truth. But each of these sects which has abandoned the king's highway, turned to the right or to the left, and ended by getting more lost, will be drawn out of its way, and will never reach the end of the wrong road of its error.

13,1 Now then, servants of God and sons of God's holy church, you who know the sure standard and are on the path of the truth! Let's not be drawn in the wrong direction by voices, and led away by the voice of every false practice. (2) For their roads are perilous, and the path of their false notion runs uphill. They talk big, and don't know even the little things; they promise freedom, but are the slaves of sin themselves. They boast of the greater things, and have not even attained to the lesser.

13,3 But I think that this will be enough about these so-called "Pure" people—who, if the truth must be told, are impure people. (4) Let us toss this sect aside like the face of a basilisk—which, from the sound of the name, has a very grand title, (βασιλισκος) but which it is death to meet. But let us, striking it with the power of the wood of the cross, set out

once more for the rest, (5) offering God the same supplication that he will travel with us, abide with us, be with us, assist us, preserve us, chasten us, and make us worthy to speak the truth, so that we may not tell any falsehoods ourselves and thus fall into the same state as the sects, which have taught the world nothing true.

13,6 And further, the people in Africa and Byzicania who are named Donatists for one Donatus, have ideas similar to these and are rebels themselves because, if you please, they will not communicate with those who have lapsed in the persecution. They will be refuted by the same arguments as the Navatians, or so-called Purists, who are unequally yoked with them. (7) I therefore do not need to discuss them any further, but have put them together with those who are like them. (8) However, these latter have fallen again in a more serious way. They believe in the Arian version of the faith and, as Arius was refuted, they likewise will be refuted by words of truth about the faith which they hold incorrectly; for Arius agrees with them and they with him. (9) And once more, we shall pass this sect by as though we had trampled on horrid serpents in the Lord, and go on to the rest.

#### **XIV**

#### **Contra los Angélicos, secta del Cristianismo**

1,1 I have heard that < there is\* > a sect of Angelics and have been told nothing but their name. But I am not sure which sect this is, perhaps because it arose at some time, but later dwindled away and was altogether brought to an end.

1,2 But why it got its name I don't know. It may have been because of some people's saying that the world was made by angels—even if it was given this name for saying that, I can't say [so for certain.] Or it may have been because they boasted of having the rank of angels and leading particularly exemplary lives—I cannot make this affirmation either. Or they might even have been named for some place; there is a country called Angelina beyond Mesopotamia.

2,1 But if you are reminded of something now, reader, you will harbor no suspicion to my discredit. I promised to report the roots and the nourishment of some sects, or some of the things they do, but to mention only the name of others<sup>1</sup>; (2) but as the divine power has equipped and

aided me, until this sect I have gone right through them all and left none unexplained, except this one. (3) But perhaps it is because it was puffed up with pride for a short while and later came to an end, that I have no understanding of it.

2,4 But I shall name it with the mere quick mention of its name as though as that of an untimely birth, pass its place [in the series] by, and embark on the investigation of the others. (5) I likewise entreat the Lord of all to disclose himself to me, show my small mind what the sects do, and give it all the exact facts, (6) enabling me to correct myself and my neighbors so that we may avoid what is evil, but gain a firm foundation, in God, in what is good, and absolutely true.

## **XV**

### **Contra los Apostólicos, secta del Cristianismo**

1,1 Others after these have termed themselves Apostolics. They also like to call themselves Apotactics, since they practice the renunciation of possessions. (2) They too are an offshoot of the doctrines of Tatian, the Encratites, the Tatianists and the Purists, and they do not accept marriage at all. Their mysteries also have been altered.<sup>2</sup>

1,3 They boast of supposedly owning nothing, but they divide and harm God's holy church to no purpose and have been deprived of God's loving-kindness by their self-chosen regulations. (4) For they allow no readmission if one of them has lapsed, and as to matrimony and the rest, they agree with the sects we mentioned above. (5) And the Purists use only the canonical scriptures, but these people rely mostly on the so-called Acts of Andrew and Thomas, and have nothing to do with the ecclesiastical canon.

1,6 [But they are wrong]; for if marriage is abominable, all < who > are born of marriage are unclean. And if God's holy church is composed only of those who have renounced marriage, (7) marriage cannot be of God. And if it is not, the whole business of procreation is ungodly. And if the

business of procreation is ungodly so are they, since they have been begotten by such behavior.

1,8 But what becomes of scripture's, "What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder?"<sup>3</sup> <To satisfy> the necessities <of nature><sup>4</sup> is human, but voluntary continence displays, not the work of man but the work of God. (9) And the necessity of nature [indeed] is often blameworthy because the necessity is not satisfied in a praiseworthy manner, but has overstepped the rule. For godliness is not a necessity; righteousness is by choice.

1,10 The things which by their nature must necessarily <contribute\* > to godliness are obvious, and these are over and above nature. For example, not committing fornication, not committing adultery, not being licentious, not having two spouses at once, not plundering, not being unjust, not getting drunk, not being gluttonous, not worshiping idols, not committing murder, not practicing sorcery, not cursing, not reviling, not swearing, being annoyed and quickly appeased, not sinning when angered, not letting the sun go down on one's wrath. (11) But that lawful wedlock <is godly\* >, nature, which God has created and permitted, will show; and the other things of this sort have each their measure of permission.

2,1 But as I have previously said of them, they live in a small area, around Phrygia, Cilicia and Pamphylia. (2) Now what does this mean? Has the church, which reaches from one end of the earth to the other, been exterminated? Will "Their sound is gone out unto all lands, and their words unto the ends of the world,"<sup>5</sup> no longer hold? Or is the Savior's "Ye shall be witnesses unto me unto the uttermost part of the earth"<sup>6</sup> no longer in force? (3) If marriage is not respectable, godly and worthy of eternal life, they <themselves\* > should be born without marriage. But if they are born of marriage, they are unclean because of marriage. (4) If, however, they alone are not unclean even though they are the products of marriage, then marriage is not unclean—for no one will ever be born without it. (5) And there is a great deal of human error which harms humanity in various ways and for many reasons, and which, by pretense, leads everyone astray from the truth.

3,1 The church too believes in renunciation, but it does not consider marriage unclean. It also believes in voluntary poverty, but it does not

look down on those who are in righteous possession of property, and have inherited enough from their parents to suffice for themselves and the needy. (2) Many [Christians] have enough to eat, but they are not contemptuous of those who do not. "Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not, and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth. For to the Lord he eateth and drinketh, and to the Lord he eateth and drinketh not."<sup>7</sup> (3) And you see that there is one harmony, one hope in the church and one faith, granted each in accordance with his ability and his own laborious struggle.

3,4 God's holy church is like a ship. However, a ship is not made of one kind of wood, but of different kinds. Its keel is made of one kind of wood, though not all in one piece, and its anchors < of > another. Its beams, planks and ribs, its frame-timbers, the stern, sides and cross-rods, the mast and the steering paddles, the seats and the oar-handles, the tilers and all the rest, are an assemblage of different kinds of wood. (5) But since each is made of only one kind of wood, none of these sects exhibits the character of the church.

God's holy church holds marriage sacred and honors married persons, for "Marriage is honorable and the bed undefiled."<sup>8</sup> (6) < But > it regards continence as the most admirable, and commends it because it is engaged in the contest and has despised the world, as being still more powerful [than the world]. And the church believes in virginity and accords it the highest honor, because it is a thing of virtue and is fitted with the lightest wing. (7) The church has members who have renounced the world and yet are not contemptuous of those who are still in the world; they rejoice in the very great piety of such persons, as did the apostles who owned nothing themselves, < and yet did not look down on the others\* >. (8) And the Savior himself owned no earthly possessions when he came in the flesh, though he was Lord of all—and yet he did not reject the women who assisted his disciples and himself. The Gospel says, "women which followed him from Galilee, ministering unto him of their substance."<sup>9</sup>

4,1 [If no one may own property], what is the point of "Hither to my right hand, ye blessed, for whom my heavenly Father hath prepared the kingdom before the foundation of the world. For I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat; thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was naked, and ye

clothed me?"<sup>10</sup> (2) How could they do these things except with [the fruits of] their honest labor, and their righteously acquired possessions?

4.3 And if these people < who > have made their own renunciation and live like the apostles would mix with the rest [of us], their ways would not seem strange, or foreign to God's ordinance. (4) And if they renounced wives for the sake of continence their choice would be praiseworthy, provided that they did not call marriage unclean, and provided that they treated the < still > married as comrades, knowing the limitation and the rank of each.

4.5 For God's ship takes any passenger except a bandit. If it finds that someone is a robber and bandit it does not take him on board—or one who is a fugitive and in rebellion against his owners. (6) Thus God's holy church does not accept fornication, adultery, the denial of God, and those who defy the authority of God's ordinance and his apostles. (7) But it takes the man on important business, the experienced seaman—the pilot and < helmsman\* >, the bow lookout, the man in the stern (the one most used to command), the one who knows something of cargo and lading—and someone who simply wants to cross the ocean without drowning. (8) And there is no question of the ship's not providing safety for someone who does not have a particular amount of property; it knows how to save all, and each in his own profession. Why are the members of Caesar's household greeted in the Epistles? (9) Why the apostle's "If any man think that he behaveth himself uncomely toward his virgin, and need so require, let her marry; she sinneth not."<sup>11</sup>

4.10 But "sinneth not" cannot apply to him without baptism. For if "All have sinned and come short of the glory of God, being justified freely by his grace,"<sup>12</sup> this is plainly through the laver of regeneration. For baptism has adorned the soul and the body, washing every sin away through repentance. (11) Thus the gift of baptism both enfolds the virgin and, because of her sinfulness, hastens to seal the non-virgin.

5.1 But though I have said that the apostle directed the virgin to marry, no one need get the silly notion that he gave this direction to dissuade the woman from her course once she had vowed virginity to God. (2) He did not mean these women, but marriageable women who had remained



virgins in their prime, not for virginity's sake but because they of their inability to find husbands.

5.3 The apostles, who were Jewish and had begun their preaching after lives lived by the Law, were still bound by the provisions of the Law, not for any fleshly justification but out of regard for the Law's fitting sureness and strictness. (4) The Law admirably forbade the Israelites to give their daughters to gentiles, who might seduce them into idolatry. Thus a believer at that time was ordered not to give his virgin daughters to Jews any longer, but to Christians, whose beliefs and opinions were the same as theirs.

5.5 But as the Gospel was new there was not yet a large number of Christians in every place, and not a great deal of Christian teaching. Hence the fathers of virgin daughters would keep their virgins at home for a long time if they could not give them to Christians, and when they were past their prime they would fall into fornication from the necessity of nature. (6) So, because the apostle saw the harm that resulted from this strictness, he permitted [marriage to Jews], and said, "he who would < give > his virgin in marriage"<sup>13</sup>—and he did not say, "*his own* virgin," for he was not speaking of the man's own body, (7) but of the father guarding a virgin [daughter]. But even if "his virgin" means his own body, there is nothing to prevent [the man from giving his daughter]. (8) Thus he says, "< He > that standeth steadfast in his intention and ought so to do, let her marry! She sinneth not"<sup>14</sup> "Let her marry anyone she can; she is not sinning." (9) And this is why < he says >, "Art thou bound unto a wife? Seek not to be loosed. Art thou loosed from a wife? Seek not a wife."<sup>15</sup> The apostle who says, "I would that all men be even as I,"<sup>16</sup> also < said >, "If they cannot contain, let them marry."<sup>17</sup>

6.1 And again, when he was urging the < un > married [to remain so], he said, "I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, It is good for them if they abide even as I."<sup>18</sup> (2) But then how could he go on to say, "Art thou bound unto a wife? Seek not to be loosed?"<sup>19</sup> Why will he not be guilty of

contradicting his Lord, who said, "Whoso forsaketh not father and mother and brethren, and wife and sons and daughters, is not my disciple?"<sup>20</sup>

6,3 But if Christ means that one must forsake his lawful wife, and his father, how can he himself say in turn, "He that honoreth father or mother, this is the first commandment with a promise attached"<sup>21</sup> and, "What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder?"<sup>22</sup>

6,4 However, none of the sacred words need an allegorical interpretation of their meaning; they need examination, and the perception to understand the force of each proposition. (5) But tradition must be used too, for not everything is available from the sacred scripture. Thus the holy apostles handed some things down in scriptures but some in traditions, as St. Paul says, "As I delivered the tradition to you,"<sup>23</sup> and elsewhere, "So I teach, and so I have delivered the tradition in the churches,"<sup>24</sup> and, "If ye keep the tradition in memory, unless ye have believed in vain."<sup>25</sup> (6) God's holy apostles, then, gave God's holy church the tradition that it is sinful to change one's mind and marry after vowing virginity. And yet the apostle wrote, "If the virgin marry she hath not sinned."<sup>26</sup> (7)<sup>27</sup> How can the one agree with the other? By that virgin he does not mean the one who had made a vow to God, but < the one on whom\* > virginity has been forced by the scarcity, at that particular time, of men who believe in Christ.

6,8 And that this is the case the same apostle will teach us by saying, "Younger widows refuse. For when they have begun to wax wanton against Christ, they will marry, having damnation, because they have cast off their first faith."<sup>28</sup> (9) If even a woman who has been widowed after knowing the world will be condemned for abandoning her first faith because she has vowed to God and then married, how much more will a virgin, if she marries after devoting herself to God without having known the world? (10) < For > why has she, indeed, not waxed far more wanton against Christ, and abandoned the greater faith? Why will she not be condemned for relaxing her own godly resolution?

7,1 "Let them marry, bear children, guide the house"<sup>29</sup> is a concise and temperate retort to those who think evil of every disposition in the church's tradition. (2) It is the repudiation of those who call themselves Apostolics, Apotactics and Encratites; also of the soft-headed churchmen who persuade women to shirk the running of a full course, refusing to finish the race because of its length. (3) And whoever repudiates virginity for God's sake and dishonors the contest, is a sinner and liable to judgment. If an athlete cheats in a game he is flogged and put out of the contest; and anyone who cheats on virginity is ejected from a race, crown and prize of such importance.

7,4 But judgment, not condemnation, is the better alternative. Those who do not commit their fornication < openly > for fear of being shamed before men, < but > do it in secret, < have a further sin because\* > they do this < under the pretense > of virginity, monogamy or continence. (5) < For > they do not have to confess to men—but they do to God, who knows secrets and at his coming convicts all flesh of its sins. (6) It is better, then, to have the one sin and not further sins. If one drops out of the race it is better to take a lawful wife openly, and in place of virginity do penance for a long time, and be readmitted to the church as one who has strayed and wept, and is in need of reinstatement—and not be wounded every day by the secret darts of wickedness which the devil launches at him.

8,1 This is what the church knows how to preach. These are her healing medicines. These are the kinds of unguents she prepares. This is the compounding of the holy oil in the Law. This is the fine faith with its sweet fragrance which steels the athlete for the contest, reminding him that, to be crowned, he must stay the course. (2) And this is the work of God, gathering all things for royal disposition: purple from the sea, wool from the flock, linen from the earth and flax and silk, skins dyed scarlet and precious stones, emeralds, pearls, agates—stones of different colors but of equal value. (3) Gathering gold, silver, petrified wood, bronze and iron, moreover, and not disdaining goat skins. (4) And this was the tabernacle of those days; but now, in place of the tabernacle, there is the house made firm in God, founded on the power < of the truth\* >. And every sect should stop attacking the truth, or rather, stop driving itself away from the truth.

8,5 And let this be enough. I have struck this haughty viper with the wood of the cross and left it dead, like the quick-darting snake, as they call it, or the blind-snake or mouser. These snakes do not have as much venom, but they may well be compared with the Apostolics as nuisances because of their movement, pride and stroke. Let us disdain them, beloved, and go on to the rest.

## XVI

### **Contra los Sabelianos, secta del Cristianismo**

1,1 Sabellius did not arise very long ago in ancient times, for his date is recent. The so-called Sabellians are derived from him. (2) He < taught > very similarly to the Noetians, except for a few further doctrines of his own. (3) Many in Mesopotamia<sup>2</sup> and Rome are of his persuasion, due to some stupidity of theirs.

1,4 For he, and the Sabellians who derive from him, hold that the Father is the same, the Son is the same, and the Holy Spirit is the same, so that there are three names in one entity.<sup>3</sup> (5)<sup>4</sup> Or, as there are a body, a soul and a spirit in a man, so the Father, in a way, is the body; the Son, in a way, is the soul; and as a man's spirit is in man, so is the Holy Spirit in the Godhead. (6) Or it is as in the sun, which consists of one entity but has three operations, I mean the illumining, the warming, and the actual shape of the orb. (7) The warming, or hot and seething operation is the Spirit; the illumining operation is the Son; and the Father is the actual form of the whole entity.<sup>5</sup> (8) And the Son was once sent forth like a ray, accomplished the entire dispensation of the Gospel and men's salvation in the world, and was taken up to heaven again, as though a ray had been sent by the sun and had returned to the sun. (9) But the Holy Spirit is sent into the world both once and for all, and in the individual case of each person so privileged. He quickens this person and makes him fervent, and,

as it were, warms and heats him by the power of the Spirit and his communion with him.<sup>6</sup> And these are their doctrines.

2,1 They use all the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, but [especially] certain texts which they select themselves in keeping with the idiocy and stupidity of their own which they have introduced. (2) First, God's words to Moses, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God, the Lord is one."<sup>7</sup> "Thou shalt not make to thyself other gods."<sup>8</sup> "There shall not be unto thee new gods,"<sup>9</sup> for "I am God, the first and the last, and beside me there is no other."<sup>10</sup> (3) And whatever of this sort < they find, < they alter\* > to suit themselves, and advance it as proof of these doctrines. Again, [they use] the saying from the Gospel, "I am in the Father and the Father in me, and we two are one."<sup>11</sup>

2,4 But they have taken all of their error, and the sense of their error, from certain apocryphal works, especially the so-called Egyptian Gospel, as some have named it.<sup>12</sup> (5) There are many such passages in it, purporting to be delivered privately in the person of the Savior as mysteries, as though he is telling his disciples that the Father is the same, the Son is same, and the Holy Spirit is the same.<sup>13</sup>

2,6 Then, when they encounter simple or innocent persons who do not understand the sacred scriptures clearly, they give them this first fright: "What are we to say, gentlemen? Have we one God or three gods?" (7) But when someone who is devout but does not fully understand the truth hears this, he is disturbed and assents to their error at once, and comes to deny the existence of the Son and the Holy Spirit.

3,1 Man's ancient adversary has inspired all these sectarians in order to deceive people—one in one way and one in another, but deceive most of them and deflect them from the way of the truth. (2) That God is truly one and there is no other, is plainly confessed in God's holy church, and it is agreed that we do not inculcate polytheism, but proclaim a single sovereignty. (3) However, we do not err in proclaiming this sovereignty but confess the Trinity—Unity in Trinity and Trinity in Unity, and one

Godhead of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. (4) For the Son did not beget himself, and the Father was not changed from his fatherhood < into being > a Son. Nor did the Holy Spirit ever call himself Christ; he called himself Spirit of Christ and given through Christ, proceeding from the Father and receiving of the Son.

(5) The Father is an entity, the Son is an entity, the Holy Spirit is an entity. But the Trinity is not an identity as Sabellius thought, nor has it been altered from its own eternity and glory, as Arius foolishly held.

(6) The Trinity was always a Trinity, and the Trinity never receives an addition. It is one Godhead, one sovereignty and one glory, but is enumerated as a Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and not as one entity with three names; the names are truly complete and the entities are complete.

3.7 But nothing has been changed. The Father is always a father and there was no time when the Father was not a father. Because he is perfect, he is forever an actual Father. And the Son is forever perfect, forever actual, truly begotten of the Father without beginning, not in time, and ineffably. He is not brother to the Father. (8) He has had no beginning and will never come to an end, but co-exists with the Father forever as his true Son, begotten of the Father outside of time, the equal of the Father—God of God, light of light, very God of very God, begotten, not made. But he is not the Father himself, and the Father is not the Son himself; there is one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

4.1 For the Spirit is forever with the Father and the Son—not brother to the Father, not begotten, not created, not the Son's brother, not the Father's offspring. He proceeds from the Father and receives of the Son, and is not different from the Father and the Son, (2) but is of the same essence, of the same Godhead, of the Father and the Son, with the Father and the Son, forever an actual Holy Spirit—divine Spirit, Spirit of glory, Spirit of Christ, Spirit of the Father. For < scripture says >, "It is the Spirit of the Father that speaketh in you,"<sup>14</sup> and, "My Spirit is in the midst of you."<sup>15</sup> He is third in name but equal in Godhead, not different from the Father and the Son, bond of the Trinity, seal of the confession of it.

4.3 For the Son says, "I and the Father, < we two > are one."<sup>16</sup> He did not say, "*I am* one," but with "I" and "the Father" indicates that the Father

is an entity and the Son is an entity. And he said, “the two,” not “the one”; and again, he said, “*We are one*,” not, “*I am one*.”

4.4 < He > likewise < says >, “Go baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.”<sup>17</sup> But by inserting the conjunctions, that is, the syllable “and” [between the names], he refutes Sabellius, with his futile introduction of an identity. (5) For by < inserting > “and” he shows that there is truly a Father, truly a Son, and truly a Holy Spirit—but since the Trinity are of equal rank, and are called “Trinity” as one name, he refutes Arius, with his notion of a subordination, difference or change in the Trinity.

4.6 For even though the Father is declared to be greater than the Son who glorifies him, the Father, with perfect propriety, preserves the < equal > glory for the Son. For who else but the true Son should glorify his < own > Father? (7) But when, again, he desires to state his equality [with the Father], to prevent certain persons from going wrong by thinking less of the Son he says, “Whoso honoreth not the Son as he honoreth the Father hath not life in himself,”<sup>18</sup> and, “All things that the Father hath are mine.”<sup>19</sup> But what can “All things that the Father hath are mine” mean but, “The Father is God; I am God. The Father is life; I am life. The Father is eternal; I am eternal. All things that the Father hath are mine?”

5.1 See and understand, Sabellius! Open the eyes of your heart, and cease from your blindness! Let your mind, and the minds of your dupes, go with St. John to the Jordan. (2) Open your ears and hear the prophet’s voice say, “I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness.”<sup>20</sup> Hear the Lord’s fore-runner, privileged to be called “angel,” who received the Holy Spirit in his mother’s womb and leaped when Mary entered Elizabeth’s dwelling. (3) While still in the womb he knew his Master’s coming in and leaped for joy. To him was given the preparatory announcement of the Gospel, and the readying of the way of the Lord. Believe him, and you cannot miss the mark of the truth.

5.4 See here, John himself testifies by saying first, on recognizing his Lord, “I have need of thee, and comest thou to me?” And when the Savior said, “Suffer it to be so now, that all righteousness may be fulfilled,”<sup>21</sup> (5) and was himself baptized by John, “John bare record,” as the divine

Gospel says, and said, "The heavens were opened. And I saw the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove descending and coming upon him. And a voice from heaven, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."<sup>22</sup> (6) The Father was in heaven, you trouble-maker, the voice came from heaven! If the voice came from above, expound your false notion to me! To whom was the Father saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased?" And who was it?

5,7 And why did Spirit descend in the form of a dove, although he had no body? For the Only-begotten alone assumed a body, and was made perfect man of the ever-virgin Mary, by the Holy Spirit, (8) not by a man's seed. The Word, the Master Builder, formed his own body from Mary, took the human soul and mind and everything human, all in its perfection, and united it with his divinity. It was not as though he inhabited a man,<sup>23</sup> nothing like that! He himself is the holy Word, the divine Word incarnate.

6,1 But why does the Spirit appear in the form of a dove? Why but to convince you not to blaspheme, you would-be sage without a correct idea in your head, to keep you from thinking that the Spirit is identical with the Father or the Son? (2) Although the Spirit himself has never had a body, he is portrayed in the form of a dove to indicate and expose your error. For the Spirit is an entity in himself, and the Father is an entity, and the Only-begotten is an entity, but there is no division of the Godhead, or subordination of its glory. (3) And you see how the Trinity is enumerated, with the Father calling from on high, the Son baptized in the Jordan, and the Holy Spirit arriving next in the form of a dove.

6,4 Tell me, who was it that said, "Behold, my beloved Son shall understand, in whom I am well pleased, he whom my soul hath chosen. I shall put my Spirit upon him, and he will declare judgment to the gentiles. He will not strive nor cry, nor will his voice be heard in the streets. A bruised reed shall he not break and smoking flax shall he not quench until he bring forth judgment into victory,"<sup>24</sup> and so on? (5) Doesn't this convey the meaning of the Trinity, you trouble-maker? Or did the Father say all this in the prophet about himself?



6,6 Who is it of whom scripture says, “The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand?”<sup>25</sup> And it didn’t say, “Enter into me.” (7) Or again, why does the Gospel say, “And he ascended into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Father, and will come to judge the quick and the dead?”<sup>26</sup> (8) Or again, why have the two men who appeared in white garments not convinced you by saying to the disciples, “Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him taken up?”<sup>27</sup> (9) And at whom was the blessed Stephen looking when he said, “Behold, I see the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God?”<sup>28</sup> But you, you utter boor—you, on the other hand, have done harm to yourself and your followers by not understanding the voice of the holy scriptures and being deprived of the holy faith in God’s truth.

7,1 Certainly he said, “I am the first and I am the last, and beside me there is no other.”<sup>29</sup> (2) For of course there are not many gods! There is one God, the first and the last, Father, Son and Holy Spirit—and the Trinity is not an identification, and not separated from its own identity. It is a Father who has truly begotten a Son; and a Son truly begotten of the Father as an entity, without beginning and not in time; and a Holy Spirit truly of the Father and the Son, of the same divinity, proceeding from the Father and receiving of the Son, forever < an entity >, “one God, the first and the last.”<sup>30</sup>

7,3 But this oracle in its turn is given to serve a different purpose, and in the person of Christ himself. Long ago in the time of the prophets our Lord Jesus Christ often appeared and foretold his incarnation—though some have not received him, but await someone else instead. (4) And it is meant for those who have a superstitious regard for idols and have brought polytheism to the world, to keep the children of Israel from being struck with fear and turned to [the worship of] the idols of the Amorites, Hittites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, Girgashites, Jebusites, Arucaans, and Asanaeans, as they had been prophetically warned. (5) For they worshiped Baal Peor, Chemosh, Astarte, the Mazzuroth, the Neastho, Baal Zebub, and the rest of the idols of the heathen. And this is why the Lord

told them, "I am the first and the last"—to turn them away from the error of the polytheist myth-makers.

7,6 And because they would spurn the advent of the Son himself, our Lord Jesus Christ, he told the Jews, "I am the first and the last"—the One who sojourned here first in the flesh, and will come at the last to judge the quick and the dead. He suffered on the cross, was buried and arose, and was taken up in glory in his body itself, but a body united in glory with his Godhead, and made radiant—no longer tangible, no longer mortal, for "Christ is risen,"<sup>31</sup> as the scripture says; "Death," says the apostle, "hath no more dominion over him."<sup>32</sup>

7,7 And see how [scripture's] accuracy guides a person, to keep him from error about either of the parts of the truth. Whenever his mind is inclined to construct a pantheon, he hears, "The Lord is thy God, the Lord is one." (8) But when the children of Israel await a Christ other than the Christ who has come, they hear, "I am the first and I am the last,"<sup>33</sup> and, "I am alpha and omega"<sup>34</sup>—the alpha which looks down, and the omega which looks up, in fulfillment of scripture's, "He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all rule and authority and dominion, and every name that is named."<sup>35</sup>

7,9 And < to show what the truth is\* > when < someone > supposes < that > < only the Father is the true God\* > because he has said, "I am the first and the last," "I am alpha and omega," "The Lord thy God is one Lord,"<sup>36</sup> and "I am he who is,"<sup>37</sup> so that no one will deny the Son and the Holy Spirit (10) he says, "My Father is greater than I,"<sup>38</sup> and, "that they may know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."<sup>39</sup> This is not [said] because the Son is not the true God, but to reduce the name of the Trinity to a single oneness, and redirect men's thinking from many divinities to one Godhead.

8,1 But if the blunderer Arius gets the notion that only the one, that is, only the Father, is called the "*true*" God, while the Son is God but not "*true* God," Christ refutes him in his turn, in another way. He says [of himself],

“I am the *true* light, that lighteneth every man that cometh into the world,”<sup>40</sup> but of the Father, “God is *light*.”<sup>41</sup> (2) And he refrained from saying, “true light,” so that we would realize the equality of the Father’s Godhead with the Son’s and the Son’s with the Father’s because of “*true* God” and “*true* light,” and not be < misled\* > because of the Father’s being “light” and the Son’s being “God” without the addition of “true” in those instances. (3) There was no need to say “true” [in these two latter cases], since there was no doubt about it. The one perfection of the same relationship—the Father’s to the Son and the Son’s to the Father—was made plainly evident from the words, “God” and “light.”

8,4 And that demolishes all the idiocy of your error. The Father is a father, the Son is a son, and the Holy Spirit is a holy spirit. They are a Trinity—one Godhead, one glory, one sovereignty, < one God >, to whom be glory, honor and might, the Father in the Son, the Son with the Holy Spirit in the Father, forever and ever. Amen.

8,5 And we have now shaken this sect off, and trampled it in its turn by the power of the Holy Trinity, like a libys or molurus or elops, or one of those snakes which look very alarming but can do no harm with their bites. Let us once more go on to the rest, calling on him to come to the aid of my poverty and mediocrity, < so that > I may have his help in < giving\* > a proper < account\* > of each sect’s teachings and activities, < and\* > composing the refutations of them.

## XVII

### Contra los Origenistas, secta del Cristianismo

1,1 There are people called Origenists, but this kind of Origenist is not to be found everywhere. I think, though, that the sect we are now discussing < arose > next after these [others]. (2) They are named Origenists, but I am not sure after whom. I do not know whether they < are derived > from the Origen who is called Adamantius the Author,<sup>2</sup> or from some other Origen. Still, I have learned of this name.

1,3 The heresy they profess might have been modeled on the heresy of Epiphane, whom I described earlier in the Gnostic Sects.<sup>3</sup> But these people read various scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. And they reject marriage, although their sexual activity is incessant. Some have said that the sect originated in the region of Rome and Africa.

1,4 They soil their bodies, minds and souls with unchastity. Some of them masquerade as monastics, and their woman companions as female monastics. And they are physically corrupted because they satisfy their appetite but, to put it politely, by the act of Onan the son of Judah. (5) For as Onan coupled with Tamar and satisfied his appetite but did not complete the act by planting his seed for the God-given [purpose of] procreation and did himself harm instead, thus, as < he > did the vile thing, so these people have used their supposed < female monastics >, committing this infamy.

1,6 For purity is not their concern, but a hypocritical purity in name. Their concern is limited to ensuring that the woman the seeming < ascetic\* > has seduced does not get pregnant—either so as not to cause child-bearing, or to escape detection, since they want to be honored for their supposed celibacy. (7) In any case, this is what they do, but others endeavor to get this same filthy satisfaction not with women but by other means, and pollute themselves with their own hands. (8) They too imitate the son of Judah, soil the ground with their forbidden practices and drops of filthy fluid and rub their emissions into the earth with their feet, so that their seed will not be snatched by unclean spirits for the impregnation of demons.

2,1 But as I said, they use various scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments and certain apocrypha, especially the so-called Acts of Andrew and the others. Indeed, they themselves have often freely boasted of doing this thing. (2) Yet they accuse the members of the church, if you please, who have beloved “adoptive wives,” as they call them, of doing this too—but secretly from respect for public opinion, so as to engage in the wickedness < in fact\* >, but in pretense preen themselves on the name [“virgin”] from regard for the public.

2,3 But some have told me of certain persons, now dead, who supposedly also did this, having allegedly heard the information from women these people had forced into it. (4) Among them they used to mention a

bishop who had exercised the episcopate for a number of years in a small town in Palestine and had had women of this sort, I mean adoptive wives, to wait on him. Indeed, I have learned even from confessors that he was that sort of person. (5) All the same, I do not believe the persons who have said this and claim to have heard it from the women. For the strong evidence of the speakers' malice led me sometimes to believe, but at other times to disbelieve their evil report of the aged bishop after his death. (6) For the charge against him was something like this: "So-and-so was caught in sin with a woman, and his defense when we confronted him was that his partner in pollution had told him about the vicious practice"—although she was already along in years and in her old age!—"and taught him to use her but scatter his dirty fluids outside, on the ground."

3,1 And this is their filthy act, which deceives their own minds and is blinded by the devil. (2) I see no need for me to cite the texts which have been their downfall.<sup>4</sup> Otherwise I might seem to be using the texts which I mean as criticisms, to discourage the evil practices of each sect, as an incentive to those whose minds are always unstable and vain, and who pursue evil for themselves rather than desiring good. (3) Rather than this I shall offer a few sample arguments as protection against this frightful, snake-like sect.

3,4 Where have you gotten the idea of your vile act, you people? For to begin with, who cannot see that your teaching is entirely the teaching of demons, and the mischief you have contrived is the behavior of deluded, corrupt persons? (5) If conception is in any way evil, this is not because of childbearing but because of carnal relations. Why, then, do you give in to lust and have carnal relations?

3,6 And if carnal relations are not evil, neither is it evil for the one who has them to consummate what he has done. Or < must > an ascetic not cultivate the fruits of the soil, as "Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground?"<sup>5</sup> (7) But if one tills the ground, like Noah who "became an husbandman and planted a vineyard"<sup>6</sup>—Noah did not plant a vineyard in order for it not to yield vintage. He planted it and "drank of the fruit thereof and was drunken,"<sup>7</sup> as scripture says.

3,8 But the aged man is excus< able >; he was pleasing to God, and did not fall to drink from intemperance. Perhaps he was overcome with grief

and fell into a stupor, and succumbed to weakness from infirmity and old age because he could not bear them; [in any case] it was not to be mocked by his son. (9) But the son who mocked him received his curse, for the punishment of those who offer insult to their parents, and of thoughts in us that rebel against the knowledge of God and the ordinance he has rightly decreed.

4.1 For even though marriage is not as highly honored as virginity and virginity is superior to it—for true virginity is called glorious and virtuous, not unclean—marriage is respectable too, < if one > employs<sup>8</sup> God's good creatures for procreation, not shame, and does not misuse God's appointed method of conjugal intercourse. (2) For in fact, virginity is the state the apostle commends because he says, "The virgin, and the unmarried woman, careth for the things of the Lord, how she may please the Lord, that she may be holy in body and soul"<sup>9</sup>—showing that even though the unmarried state is open to suspicion, it is no cause of faults.

4.3 Indeed, < propriety must be preserved in marriage\* >. We know that Abraham sired children although he was dear to the Lord, and Isaac, Jacob and the rest. And they did not sully themselves with vile acts by touching filth and < slime\* >, or oppose God's good ordinance of procreation through lawful wedlock. (4) Nor did those of them who practiced chastity and virginity debase the contest and make something else of it, as though to evade by trickery the virtuous mode of competing. (5) Elijah too never lightly entered towns or associated with women, but lived in deserts. Elisha, John, and all who < exhibited > this great mark of the imitation of the angels, made themselves eunuchs in the right way for the kingdom of heaven's sake, in accordance with the Lord's ordinance in the Gospel.

4.6 And although I have a great deal to say about them, and could expose the devil's mockery of their minds with many proofs from scripture, I rest content with these few. (7) For anyone can see that their behavior is not sensible, and that such knowledge is not from God; their ridiculous activity, and their fall into the practice of iniquity, are diabolically inspired.

4.8 And now that we have maimed this sect too—like the horrid snake we call the viper, which has a short body but breathes a breath which is fearful for its venom, and blows destruction at those who come near it—

let us go on to the rest since we have crushed it, calling on God to help us keep the promise of our whole work in God.

## XVIII

### Sobre Orígenes, escritor del Cristianismo

1,1 Origen, also surnamed Adamantius,<sup>2</sup> comes next after these. He was the son of the holy and blessed martyr<sup>3</sup> Leonidas,<sup>4</sup> and in his youth suffered a very great deal of persecution himself.<sup>5</sup> He was well schooled in the Greek education<sup>6</sup> and brought up in the church, and became known at Alexandria in the Emperor Decius' time. (2) He was a native Egyptian, but lived and was brought up in Alexandria, and perhaps also went to the schools at Athens<sup>7</sup> at some time.

1,3 It is said that he suffered a great deal for the holy word of the faith and the name of Christ, and indeed was often dragged around the city, insulted, and subjected to excruciating tortures.<sup>8</sup> (4) Once, as the story goes, the pagans shaved his head, set him on the steps of the temple of their idol which they call the Serapeum, and ordered him to hand out palm branches to those who went up the stairs for the vile act of worshipping the idol. (The priests of their idols take this posture.) (5) Taking the branches he cried out without fear or hesitation, with loud voice and a bold mind, "Come get Christ's branch, not the idol's!" And there are many accounts of his brave deeds which the ancients hand down to us.

2,1 But his deeds did not remain worthy of the prize till the end. He had been an object of extreme envy for his superior learning and education, and this further provoked the authorities of his day. (2) With diabolical malice the workers of iniquity thought of mistreating him sexually and making that his punishment, and they secured a black to abuse his body. (3) But Origen could not bear even the thought of this devil's work,

and shouted that, given the choice of either, he would rather sacrifice.<sup>9</sup> (4) Certainly, as is widely reported, he did not do this willingly either. But since he had agreed to do it at all, he heaped incense on his hands and dumped it on the altar fire. (5) Thus he was excluded from a martyr's status at that time by the confessors and martyrs who were his judges, and expelled from the church.<sup>10</sup>

2,6 Since he had consented to this at Alexandria and could not bear the ridicule of those who reproached him, he left and elected to live in Palestine, that is, in Judaea. (7) On arriving at Jerusalem he was urged by the priesthood, as a man with such skill in exegesis and so highly educated, to speak in church.<sup>11</sup> (They say that the presbyterate had been conferred upon him earlier, before his sacrifice.)<sup>12</sup> (8) And so, as I said, since those who were then serving as priests in the holy church in Jerusalem urged him to speak in church and strongly insisted on it, he stood up and simply recited the verse of the forty-ninth Psalm, omitting all the intervening verses, "But unto the ungodly saith God, Why dost thou preach my laws and takest my covenant in thy mouth?"<sup>13</sup> And he rolled the scroll up, gave it back, and sat down in floods of tears, and all wept with him.

3,1 A while later, at the urgent request of many, he made the acquaintance of Ambrose, a prominent imperial official. (Some say that Ambrose was a Marcionite, but some, that he was a Sabellian.)<sup>14</sup> At any rate, Origen taught him to shun and abjure the sect and adopt the faith of God's holy church, for at that time Origen was of the orthodox, catholic faith. (2) Since Ambrose was from a different sect and, < being > an educated man, was a zealous reader of the sacred scriptures, he asked Origen to explain them to him because of the profundity of the ideas in the sacred books. (3) In compliance and at his urging, Origen was willing to become the interpreter of all the scriptures, as it were, and<sup>15</sup> made it his business to expound them. It is said that < he spent\* > twenty-eight years in Tyre



in Phoenicia<sup>16</sup> (4) <devoting himself\* > to a life of extreme piety,<sup>17</sup> and to study and hard work. Ambrose provided support for him and his stenographers and assistants,<sup>18</sup> and papyrus and his other expenses;<sup>19</sup> and Origen carried his work on the scripture through by burning the midnight oil, and with the most intense study.

3,5 First, making a painstaking effort to collect the <books\* > of the six [Old Testament] versions—Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, Theodotion, (6) and a fifth and a sixth [version]—<he issued them\* > setting each Hebrew expression next to them, and the actual <Hebrew > letters as well. But directly opposite these, in a second column next to the Hebrew, he made still another parallel text, but in Greek letters. (7) Thus this is, and is called a Hexapla,<sup>20</sup> and besides the Greek translations <there are > two parallel texts, of the Hebrew actually in <Hebrew > letters, and of the Hebrew in Greek letters. It is thus the whole Old Testament in the version called the Hexapla, and in the two Hebrew texts.

3,8 Origen had laboriously accomplished this entire work but he did not preserve his fame untarnished till the end, for his wealth of learning proved to be his great downfall. (9) Precisely because of his goal of leaving none of the sacred scriptures uninterpreted he, as an allurements to sin, disguised himself and issued mortally dangerous exegeses. (10) The so-called Origenists <took their cue\*> from this. Not the first kind, the <ones who practice\* > the obscenity. As I have already remarked, I cannot say whether they originate with this Origen who is also called Adamantius, or whether they have another founder whose name was <also > Origen.

3,11 It is said, however, that our Origen too contrived <a > measure affecting his body. <For > some say that he severed a nerve so that he would not be disturbed by sexual pleasure or inflamed and aroused by carnal impulses.<sup>21</sup> (12) Others say no, but that he invented a drug to apply to his genitals and dry them up. But others venture to ascribe other inventions to him—that he discovered a medicinal plant to assist memory.

(13) And though I have no faith in the exaggerated stories about him, I have not neglected to report what is being said.

4.1 The sect which sprang from him was located in Egypt first, but < it is > now < to be found > among the very persons who are the most eminent and appear to have adopted the monastic life, among those who have really retired to the deserts and elected voluntary poverty. But this is a dreadful sect and worse than all the ancient ones, and indeed, holds beliefs similar to theirs. (2) For though it does not train its disciples to perform the obscenity, it casts an evil suspicion,<sup>22</sup> one worse than the obscenity, upon the Godhead itself. For Arius took his cue from Origen, and so did the Anomoeans who succeeded him, and the rest.

4.3 For Origen claims, and at once<sup>23</sup> dares, if you please, to say first that the Only-begotten Son cannot see the Father, and neither can the Spirit behold the Son;<sup>24</sup> and angels surely cannot behold the Spirit, nor men the angels. (4) And this is his first downfall. For he does not believe that the Son is of the Father's essence, but represents him as entirely different from the Father, and created besides. But he holds that he is called "Son" by grace.

4.5 But he has other downfalls too, which are more serious. He says that the human soul is preexistent, and that souls are angels and celestial powers, but have sinned and so been shut up in this body as a punishment. (6) They are sent < down > by God as a punishment, to undergo a first judgment here. And so the body is called a "frame" (δέμα), says Origen, because the soul has been "bound" (δέδεσθαι) in the body, imagining the ancient Greek fabrication. And he spins other yarns about this as well. He says that we speak of a "soul" (ψυχή) because it has "cooled off" (ψυχθῆναι) in coming down.<sup>25</sup>

4.7 He smears on texts from the sacred scriptures that suit him, though not as they are or with their real interpretation. He claims that the words of the prophet, "Before I was humbled, I offended,"<sup>26</sup> are the words of the soul itself, because it "offended" in heaven before it was "humbled"

in the body. (8) And “Return unto thy rest, O my soul,”<sup>27</sup> are the words of one who has been valiant in good works here, returning to his rest on high because of the righteousness of his behavior.

4,9 And there is much else of the sort to be said. He says that Adam lost the image of God. And this is why the skin tunics are signalized in scripture, for “He made them tunics of skin and clothed them”<sup>28</sup> refers to the body. And he talks a great deal of nonsense which is widely repeated.

4,10 He makes the resurrection of the dead a defective thing, sometimes nominally supporting it, sometimes denying it altogether, but at other times < saying > that there is a partial resurrection. (11) Finally, he gives an allegorical interpretation of whatever he can—Paradise, its waters, the waters above the heavens, the water under the earth. He never stops saying these ridiculous things and others like them. But I have already mentioned things of this sort about him, and discussed them at length, in some of my other works.<sup>29</sup>

5,1 But even now, in the Sect that deals with him, it will do no harm to describe them again for the same reason and purpose, and give his refutation from his own counterfeits. (2) For there is a great deal of his nonsense that came later, and the cultivation of an idea that is false and departs from the truth. (3) For he appeared to speak against every sect before him and refute each one, but later he spat this sect up into the world, one of no little influence.

5,4 So then, first I shall quote his own words in refutation of his false, bogus notion; then I shall show what I, in my mediocrity, intend to say against him. And here they are, the things he told the world in *The First Psalm*; (5) for though he is always on slippery ground in every scripture, in the essential parts he erred in so many words.

But since < his writings are\* > very bulky—as I mentioned, he is said to have written a long work on every scripture—< it is impossible to quote all of it; but Origen never\* > refused to say what he thought < in his expositions of the scripture\* >. (6) And he has a modest reputation for what he said about ethics, types of animals and so on in his sermons and prefaces, and often gave clever expositions. (7) But in his position on doctrines, and about faith and higher speculation, he is the wickedest of all before and after him, except for the shameless behavior in the sects.

(8) (For as I indicated above, he chose to adopt even an ascetic style of life. Some say that his stomach was ruined by his excessively severe regimen, and fasting and abstention from meat.

5,9 Well then, I shall quote his own words from the *First Psalm*<sup>30</sup> < along with > his doctrinal speculations in it—word for word, so that no one may call my attack on him vexatious. (10) Not, by any means, that he strayed from the truth only in the *First Psalm*; as I have often said, he did it in every exposition. But because of the bulk of his work let me select some things from his *Psalm* here, and show the whole of his unsoundness in the faith from one, two or three remarks, of course taking care to speak against them. (11) And here, at once, is the text of every word, to show you, scholarly hearer, that Origen plainly held that the Son of God is a creature, and also show you, from his impudence about the Son, that he taught that the Holy Spirit is the creature of a creature. (12) Let us take a part of the *Psalm*, from the beginning until the actual expression [in question], in Origen's own words.

6,1 *God's oracles tell us that the sacred scriptures have been locked away and sealed with the "key of David"*<sup>31</sup>*—also, perhaps, with the seal of which it said, "an impression of a seal, hallowed to the Lord."*<sup>32</sup> *They are sealed, in other words, by the power of the God who gave them, the power which is meant by the seal. (2) In the Book of Revelation John instructs us further about this locking away and sealing and says, "And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia write, These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and none shall shut, and shutteth, and none shall open. I know thy works; behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it."*<sup>33</sup> (3) *And a little further on, "And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne a book written within and on the backside, sealed with seven seals. And I saw another strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book and to loose the seals thereof? (4) And no man in heaven, nor on earth, neither under the earth, was able to open the book, neither to look thereon. And I wept, because no man was found worthy to open the book, neither to look thereon. (5) And*

*one of the elders saith unto me, Weep not. Behold, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the book and the seven seals thereof.”<sup>34</sup>*

*And, of the sealing alone, Isaiah says the following: “And all these words shall be unto you as the words of this book that is sealed. The which, if it be given to any man that is learned, saying Read this, he shall say, I cannot read it, for it is sealed, And this book shall be given into the hands of a man that is not learned, and one shall say unto him, Read this. And he shall say, I am not learned.”<sup>35</sup>*

*6,7 We must take it that this is said not only of John’s Revelation and Isaiah, but of all of sacred scripture—admittedly, even by those who are capable of a fair understanding of the oracles of God. For scripture is filled with riddles, parables, difficult sayings and manifold other forms of obscurity, and is hard for human comprehension. (8) In his desire to teach us this the Savior too said, “Woe unto you lawyers!”—as though scribes and Pharisees held the key but made no effort to find the way to open the door. “For ye have taken away the key of knowledge. Ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye suffered not to enter.”<sup>36</sup>*

*7,1 I have said this by way of preface, holy Ambrose, since I am compelled by your great love of learning and my respect for your kindness and humility, to embark on a struggle of the utmost difficulty, and admittedly beyond me and my strength. (2) And since I was hesitant for a long time, knowing the danger not only of speaking of holy things but, far more, of writing of them and leaving one’s work for posterity, you will be my witness before God of the disposition with which I have done this—even though, with all the world, I too inquire into these matters. For with all sorts of friendly blandishment, and with godly encouragement, you have brought me to it. (3) And I sometimes hit the mark, but sometimes argue too vehemently or < otherwise\* > appear to say something < too daring\* >. I have, however, investigated the sacred writings without despising the aptly put, “When thou speakest of God, thou art judged of God,” and, “It is no small risk to speak even the truth of God.”*

*7,4 Now since without God there can be no good thing, most of all no understanding of the inspired scriptures, I ask you to approach the God and Father of all through our Savior and High Priest, the originated (γενητός)*

*God, and pray that he will grant me, first, to seek rightly. For there is a promise of finding for those who seek; [but] it may be that there is no promise at all for seekers if God deems them to be proceeding by a road that does not lead to finding.*

8,1 And first I need to discuss the term, “originated God,” with this braggart with his illusory wisdom, this searcher out of the unsearchable and exhibitor of the heavenly realms, who, as a greater man than I has said, has filled the world with nonsense. (2) And anyone can see that there are many equivalents and synonyms. (3) If the term were used by someone else, one might say that this too had been said with right intent. But since I have found in many instances that Origen wrongly distinguishes between the Only-begotten God and the Father’s Godhead and essence—and the same with the Holy Spirit—it is plain that by saying “originated God” he is pronouncing him a creature.

8,4 For though some would like to outwit me and say that “originated” is the same thing as “begotten,” < this > is not admissible. < The latter may be said only of God, but the former\* > may not be said of God, but only of creatures. “Originated” is one thing, “begotten,” another.

8,5 Now as to Origen’s statement that God is created or originated, let me ask first, “How was the person created whom, by this expression of yours, you honor as God? And if he is created, how can he be worshiped?” (6) Set aside the holy apostle’s censure of those who make gods of created things; grant that a creature can be worshiped as God by the principles of the godly faith, which worships the creator, not the creature! Then it will be reasonable for you to derive your erroneous argument from the piety of the fathers. But you can certainly not prove this. (7) And even if you ventured to steal it from somewhere and distort it—even so, you Godstruck simpleton, you cannot change the good sense of the godly into judgment as poor as this! Both your intent and your argument are against you; (8) as I said, no created thing is worthy of worship. But if it is worthy of worship at all, then, since there are many other created things, it will make no difference to us if we worship them all along with the one creature; they are its fellow servants, and in the same category.

9,1 But let us see by the four Gospels through which the divine Word, when he came, revealed our whole salvation, whether Christ has ever said, “God created me,” or, “My Father created me!” And let us see whether the Father declared in any of the Gospels, “I have created the Son and sent

him to you.” (2) But enough of this for now; as to proof-texts, I have often cited them at length against people who introduce the notion of the Son’s creaturehood.

9,3 Even here, however, it will do no harm to show the ease with which the term can be refuted and ask the would-be sage, “Mister, how can he be a creature when he says, “I am in the Father and the Father in me, and we two are one?”<sup>37</sup> (4) How can he be different from the Father when he has equal honor? For “No man knoweth the Son save the Father, nor the Father, save the Son,”<sup>38</sup> and, “He that hath seen me hath seen the Father?”<sup>39</sup>

9,5 And in turn, resuming the thread I am likewise going to speak of all his doubts about resurrection, again from his own words. And let me make the whole of his opinion plain and reveal the infidelity of his doctrinal position from one passage. (6) < For > even though he has often spoken at length of this and talked nonsense about it in many books, I shall still offer the refutation from the argument he gives in *The First Psalm* against the sure hope of us who believe in the resurrection.

10,1 And it is as follows. He says, *Therefore the ungodly shall not arise in the judgment.*<sup>40</sup> Next (in his usual manner of parading the versions, *Likewise Theodotion, Aquila and Symmachus*. Then he scornfully attacks the sons of the truth:

10,2 *Thus the simpler believers suppose that the ungodly do not attain the resurrection and are not held worthy of the divine judgment; but they have no way of explaining what they suppose the resurrection is, and what sort of judgment they imagine. (3) For even if they think they are expressing their opinion of these matters, examination will show that they cannot defend the consequences of their beliefs, having no grasp of the nature of resurrection and judgment.*

10,4 *Thus if we ask them what it is a resurrection of, they reply, “Of the bodies we have now.” If we then ask further whether or not there is a resurrection of our whole being before we examine them they say, “Of our whole being.” (5) But if, allowing for the naivete of those who do not even < understand\* > the mutability of nature, we raise further questions and inquire whether all the blood that has been lost in bleedings will rise with our bodies—and all the flesh that has wasted away in illness, and all the*

hair we have ever had, or only the hair we had at the last, towards our end— (6) *they are distressed and sometimes take offense at the questioning since they believe we must allow God to deal with these things as he wills. But sometimes, since they believe that our hair at the end of this life goes down to the grave with the body, they say that it will arise with it.* (7) *The better of them, however, to avoid having to take account of the blood which has flowed from our bodies on many occasions, and the flesh which changes < to > sweat or something else in illness, say that it is our body at the end that rises.*

11,1 These are the would-be sage's trifling objections to the truth; I have been obliged to quote them as proof for those who wish to know the full sense of his disbelief in the resurrection. Indeed, he makes many other < silly remarks\* > in the course of the *Psalm*, one after another. (2) For he says, *Therefore the ungodly shall not arise in the judgment.*<sup>41</sup> From here on he attacks those who declare the certainty of the resurrection, and who believe in the sure hope of the resurrection of the dead, for their naivete. And by adducing many weak points, inculcating a sophistical opinion, (3) < and presenting > no reliable argument but any old thing drawn from logic for the ruin of his followers, he tried to overthrow the confession of our true hope in the resurrection by referring to the accidents of our nature.

11,4 But given my limited ability, I wouldn't dare hope to improve on those who have done good work already and replied with full justice to all the rhetorical villainy Origen has thought of. I believe I may rest content with the blessed Methodius' remarks against Origen with reference to the matter of the resurrection. I shall present these here, word for word; Methodius' words as he composed them are as follows:

12,1 *Thus the simpler believers suppose that the ungodly do not attain the resurrection < and are not held worthy of the divine judgment; but they have no way of explaining > what they think resurrection is, < or what sort of judgment they imagine >.* (2) *For even if they think they are expressing their opinion of these matters, examination will show that they cannot defend the consequences of their beliefs < and have no grasp of the mode of the resurrection and judgment >.*



12,3 *Thus if we ask them what it is a resurrection of, they reply, "of the bodies we have now." If we then ask further whether or not there is a resurrection of our whole being before we examine them they say, "of our whole being." (4) But if, allowing for the naivete < of those who do not even understand the mutability of nature >, we raise further questions < and inquire > whether all the blood that has been lost in bleedings will rise with our bodies—and all the flesh and hair we have ever had, or just what we had toward our end—(5) they will be distressed and take refuge in the answer that God < may > do as he will. The better of them, however, will say that it is our body at the end that rises, and thus not have to take account of the same blood which flows from our bodies on many occasions, < and the flesh which changes to sweat or something else in illness >.*

12,6 *But because of the natural mutability of bodies and points of this sort, we have raised further questions. As foods are taken into the body and change their appearances, (7) so our bodies too are changed in birds of prey and wild beasts, and become parts of those bodies. And when they in turn are eaten by men or other animals, they are changed correspondingly and become the bodies of men and other animals. (8) And as this continues for a long time, the same body must often become a part of several men. In the resurrection, then, whose body will it be? And as a result we become immersed in senseless drivel.*

13,1 *And after these objections they resort to the reply that all things are possible with God, and cite texts from the scriptures which, if taken at their face value, are capable of supporting their opinion. (2) For example, Ezekiel's "And the hand of the Lord was upon me, and he brought me forth in the spirit and set me in the midst of the plain, and it was full of men's bones. And he brought me about them round about, and lo, there were very many upon the face of the plain, and lo, they were very dry. (3) And he said unto me, Son of man, can these bones live? And I said, Lord God, thou knowest these things. (4) And he said unto me, Prophecy, son of man. And thou shalt say unto them, Ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith Adonai, the Lord, unto these bones: Lo, I will bring into you the breath of life, and I will put sinews upon you and cover you with flesh, and I will stretch skin upon you and put my Spirit within you, and ye shall live. And I will place you in your own land, and ye shall know that I am the Lord."<sup>42</sup>*

13,5 *They use this passage < as > something quite convincing. But they also < gather > sayings from the Gospels, such as, "There shall be weeping and*

*gnashing of teeth,"*<sup>43</sup> and, "Fear him that is able to destroy both soul and body in hell,"<sup>44</sup> and Paul's, "He shall raise up your mortal bodies through his Spirit that dwelleth in you."<sup>45</sup>

14,1 *But every lover of truth, who is just as determined as they to contend for the resurrection, must both preserve the tradition of the ancients and guard against falling into the tomfoolery of contemptible notions which are both impossible and unworthy of God. (2) And at this point it must be stated that by nature no body ever has the same material substratum, since something such as food is put into it from without, and as this food is eliminated, further things such as vegetable and animal products are put in place of the further materials which have been put into it. (3) Thus the body has not inaptly been called a river. For strictly speaking, the first substratum in our bodies is scarcely the same for two days, even though, despite the fluidity of the nature of a body, Paul's body, say, or Peter's, is always the same. (Same-ness does not apply only to the soul, the nature of which is neither in flux like our [body's], nor ever susceptible of addition.) (4) This is because the form which identifies the body is the same, just as the features which characterize Peter's or Paul's bodies remain the same—characteristics < like > childhood scars, and such peculiarities < as > moles, and any others besides.*

14,5 *This form, the bodily, which constitutes Peter and Paul, encloses the soul once more at the resurrection, changed for the better—but surely not this extension which underlay it at the first. (6) For as the form is < the same > from infancy until old age even though the features appear to undergo considerable change, so we must suppose that, though its change for the better will be very great, our present form will be the same in the world to come.*

14,7 *For a soul which is in bodily places must have bodies befitting the places. (8) And just as, if we had to become water creatures and lived in the sea, we would surely need gills and the other features of fish, so, as we are to inherit the kingdom of heaven and live in places superior to ours, we must have spiritual bodies. (9) But despite its change to greater glory the form of the previous body does not vanish, just as, at the transfiguration, the forms of Jesus, Moses and Elijah were not different from what they had been.*

15,1 *Therefore do not be offended if someone should say that the first substratum will not be the same then. For to those who can understand the matter, reason shows that, even now, the first substratum is not the same*

two days running. (2) It also should be realized that one thing is sown, but a different thing comes up; for "It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body."<sup>46</sup> (3) And Paul, practically teaching us that we will discard < every > earthly characteristic at the resurrection while our form will be preserved, adds, "This I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption."<sup>47</sup> (4) This will naturally be maintained in the case of the holy < body > by Him who gave form to the flesh—which is flesh no longer, but whatever was once characteristic of the flesh will be characteristic of the spiritual body.

15,5 And < as to > the sayings of the scriptures which our brethren cite, there is this to be said. First, Ezekiel's, since the simpler sort prefer to < rely > on it. According to these lines there will be no resurrection of flesh, but only of bones, skin and sinews. (6) At the same time they must be shown that they are too hasty, since they have not understood the passage. Simply because bones are mentioned we need not take them to mean the bones we have—just as it is obvious that, in "Our bones were scattered beside Hades,"<sup>48</sup> "All my bones were scattered,"<sup>49</sup> and, "Heal me, for my bones were troubled,"<sup>50</sup> it is plain that "bones" in the common acceptance of the word are not intended.

15,7 Now to this tally Ezekiel adds, "They say, Our bones are dried up. Are they therefore saying, "Our bones are dried up,"<sup>51</sup> with the intent that the bones be reassembled and rise? But this cannot be. (8) They could be saying, "Our bones are dried up," however, because they are in captivity and have lost all their living moisture. And so they add, "Our hope is perished, we are lost."<sup>52</sup> Thus the promise of the people's resurrection is a promise of their rising from their fall, and from the death which, in a way, they have died for their sins by being abandoned to their enemies. (9) Sinners too are called "sepulchers full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness"<sup>53</sup> by the Savior. And it is fitting that God open each of our graves of, and bring us forth from the graves quickened, as the Savior brought Lazarus forth.

16,1 But as to "There shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth,"<sup>54</sup> we must confront them with the objection that, as in this life the creator has made

every member of the body for some purpose, so he has made the teeth to chew solid food. Why do the damned need teeth, then? Our brethren do not claim that they eat in hell. (2) And it must be pointed out that not everything in scripture is to be taken literally. Scripture says, "Thou hast broken the teeth of sinners,"<sup>55</sup> and, "The Lord hath crushed the teeth of the lions,"<sup>56</sup> but who is so foolish as to suppose that, while preserving sinners' bodies, God breaks only their teeth? (3) Just as whoever wanted the lines to read like that was obliged by his discomfort with them to resort to allegory, so one must look for the gnashing of the teeth of the damned. The soul has the faculty of "chewing [on things]," and when convicted of its sins will "gnash its teeth" by the clashing of its thoughts.<sup>57</sup>

16,6 But "Fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell"<sup>58</sup> perhaps teaches that the soul is incorporeal, or even, perhaps, means that the soul will not be punished apart from the body. I have already spoken from the naturalist's perspective of the form and the first substratum of the body.

16,7 And the apostle's saying, "He shall also quicken your mortal bodies,"<sup>59</sup> even when the body is mortal and incapable of true life, can be a proof that, although the bodily form of which we have spoken is by nature mortal, it will itself be changed from a "body of death,"<sup>60</sup> be quickened by the life-giving Spirit "when Christ who is our life shall appear,"<sup>61</sup> and from <fleshly> become spiritual. (8) And "Some man will say, How are the dead raised up, and with what body do they come?"<sup>62</sup> is also plain proof that the first substratum will not be raised. (9) For if we have understood the illustration properly, we must hold that when the generative principle in the grain of wheat has laid hold of the matter which surrounds it, has permeated it entirely <and> has taken control of its form, it imparts its own powers to what was formerly earth, water, air and fire, and by prevailing over their characteristics transforms them into the thing of which it is the creator. And thus the ear of grain comes to maturity, vastly different from the original seed in size, shape and complexity.

17,1 *So much by way of summary of the points which Origen endeavored to make in his treatise on resurrection, in proof of a very complex hypothesis. But consider too the points which follow from these. (2) It remains to take up the additional texts from scripture so that, like an image < with > all parts of it in proportion, this presentation may < thereby > gain < symmetry > and be fully framed as a whole, lacking nothing that contributes to its shape and beauty. (3) We must therefore explain why the scriptures which enable one to perfect a better proof agree with the above. For if one is capable of a precise understanding of this and falls short in nothing that is needed, he will realize that the resurrection may not be taken to apply to this body which cannot remain unchanged forever, but that it must apply to the spiritual body, in which the very same form that is even now preserved in this body will be retained—so that, as has also been said by Origen, each of us will be the same even in appearance.*

17,4 *For he proposed that the resurrection will be as follows: Since the material body is mutable, he says, and since it never remains even briefly the same but is increased and diminished in the form characteristic of the man, by which his appearance is preserved, we must of necessity expect the resurrection to be reserved for the form alone. (5) And lest you say, "I don't understand"—Origen's treatment of this was difficult—I shall explain the sense of this more clearly to you here. (6) You have surely seen an animal skin, or something else of the sort, filled with water in such a way that, if it is emptied of a little of its water and then filled with a little, it always shows the same shape; for the container's contents must conform to the shape of the container. (7) Well then, suppose the water is leaking out. If one adds an amount of water equal to that which is spilled and does not allow the skin to be entirely emptied of water, unless that occurs the added water must look like the water which was there before, since the container of the inflowing and the outflowing water is the same.*

17,8 *Now if one chooses to compare the body to this, he will not be put to shame. For what is brought in by the food in place of the flesh which has been eliminated will likewise be changed to the shape of the form which contains it. And the part of it that is dispersed to the eyes looks like the eyes, the part that is dispersed to the face looks like the face, and the part that is dispersed to the other members looks like them. Thus everyone looks the same, though*

*the flesh in them is not their original flesh, but the flesh of the form whose shape the incoming was given.*

17,9 Now if we are not the same in body even for a few days but are the same in the form of the body—only this is stable from its creation—all the more, neither will we be the same in the flesh then, but we shall be the same in the form which now < and > always is preserved and remains in us. (10) For as, although the body is not the same now, its appearance is kept the same because it has the same form, so, though the body will not be the same then either, the form will be manifest, grown more glorious—no longer in a perishable, but in an impassible and spiritual body as Jesus' was at the transfiguration when he ascended the mountain with Peter, and as were the bodies of Moses and Elijah who appeared to him.

18,1 So much for this; this, in sum, is the sense of Origen's doctrines. (2) But suppose that one who doubts this urges the body of Christ—for he is called "the firstborn from the dead"<sup>64</sup> and the "firstfruits of them that slept"<sup>65</sup>—and says that we must expect the resurrection of everyone's < bodies > to be like the resurrection of Christ, so that "God will bring them which sleep in Jesus with him"<sup>66</sup> in the same way that Christ was raised. But, [he will go on to say], Jesus' < body > has risen even with the flesh it had, and with its bones, as Thomas was convinced. We [for our part] shall say, (3) "But Christ's body was not 'by the will of a man,'<sup>67</sup> 'of pleasure accompanying sleep,'<sup>68</sup> 'conceived in iniquities and begotten in sins.'<sup>69</sup> It was 'of the Holy Spirit, the power of the Highest and the Virgin,'"<sup>70</sup> while yours is the product of sleep, pleasure and dirt. (4) And thus the sage, Sirach, said, "When a man dieth it is said, He shall inherit creeping things, snakes and worms."<sup>71</sup> And < David > in the eighty-seventh Psalm said, "Wilt thou do wonders for the dead, or shall physicians rise up and confess thee? Will thy mercy be told in the grave and thy faithfulness in destruction? Will thy wondrous works be known in the dark, and thy righteousness in the forgotten land?"<sup>72</sup> (5) And for one who cares to gather them from the scriptures, there are other passages of the

same kind. <Let us omit them\* >, lest, by mentioning them all, I make my discourse many times longer than what has been said.

19,1 Proclus, then, came to a reluctant halt and the hearers were silent for some time, for they had been pretty well cast down into unbelief. And I saw that he had really finished, raised my head unnoticed by the rest, and heaved a sigh like sailors when the swell subsides, though I was still trembling slightly, and giddy—(I had been hit, I can tell you, and was overwhelmed by the frightfulness of the words.) (2) I turned to Auxentius and addressed him by name. “Auxentius,” I said, “I believe that the line, ‘Two proceeding together,’<sup>73</sup> was not spoken in vain, since we have two opponents. Therefore ‘Let the both of us become as strong as the both of them.’<sup>74</sup> (3) I choose you for my ally and fellow combatant in the battle against them to keep Aglaophon, in alliance with Proclus and armed against us with Origen’s objections, from sacking the resurrection. (4) Come then, let us stand our ground against their sophisms, fearing none of the counter-arguments by which the cowardly are struck. For there is no soundness or firmness whatever in them, but merely a specious show of words rehearsed for the purpose of aweing and swaying the hearers, not for the sake of the truth and for the hearers’ benefit, but so that the words will sound wise to the audience. (5) Thus probable propositions, embellished for the sake of beauty and to give pleasure, are sometimes thought better by the masses than the results of precise investigation—though the teachers are not striving for improvement and still more, for holiness, but to please and succeed, like the sophists who take money for what they say, and cut the price of their wisdom for applause.

19,6 “Anciently, expositions were always brief, and were given by persons who were at pains, not to please, but to benefit the audiences of their day. But latterly, ever since, from carelessness, anyone has been permitted to interpret the scriptures, they have all been filled with conceit and lost their keenness for doing good, but have prided themselves on their progress in debating as though they were clever enough to know everything—ashamed to admit that they needed teaching but <ambitious\* > to contend, like their teachers, and to seek to surpass...<sup>75</sup> (7) Thus from over-confidence they have lapsed from



piety, meekness, and the belief that God can do all that he has promised, and have come to meaningless, blasphemous disputations, unaware that deeds were not performed for the sake of words, but words [were spoken] for the sake of deeds—as < in > medicine, whereby the sick must be cured by the putting of set words into application—so that, once we have been tuned, our minds may be in full accord with our best words, and, like lyres, provide behavior in tune with our speech, but not discordant and inharmonious. (8) To attain to righteousness we must truly struggle to practice it—not struggle in appearance, setting foot on the path of wisdom with a limp, and in place of a real effort making an apparent one, disguised with pretexts, pretenses, and all the trappings of hypocrisy.

20,1 For there are indeed persons who, like women artfully made up for deception, < beguile the simple\* > with the embraces of words showily adorned, unless someone examines them with a concern for those even younger in the faith, and in a sober manner. (2) One must take care, then, before he learns to accept this sort of talk with trust. For deceivers often overtake the wavering, just as the Sirens overtake those who flee from them by disguising their hatred of humanity with beautiful singing from afar. (3) Or what do you < think > of this situation, Auxentius?" I said.

"The same as you," he replied.

20,4 "Mustn't we say, then, that the heretical sophists are no more than forgers of images of truth, who, like painters, know nothing of truth? For painters attempt to portray shipwrights, boats and pilots without knowing how to build or pilot ships.

20,5 "Now then, let's scrape their paint off, < if > you will, to convince those who, like children, admire such paintings that neither is this ship a ship, nor this pilot a pilot. It is a wall with its surface decorated for pleasure's sake with paint and pictures, and the artists who made these things with their paints are imitators, not of a ship but of the image of a ship and pilot."

20,6 "For one who is eager to hear you, your introduction is lengthy."

"Lengthy, my friend, but useful. If one were to remove the words of inspired scripture which these people have daubed on their opinion with bright colors for their own deception, and have arrogantly called righteousness and truth when they know nothing about righteousness, how scornfully do you think they would be treated if they were stripped of such names?"

"Very," replied Auxentius.

20,7 "Would you like to be the leader on this journey, Auxentius," I said, "or should I?"

"By rights you should," he said, "since you're initiating the discussion."



21,1 *"All right, it was said—come on, let's examine Aglaophon's mind a bit, going in order from the beginning. It was said that because of its transgression the soul has assumed this body we wear, after living blissfully without it in former times. (2) For < he said > that the skin tunics are the bodies in which it has been the soul's lot to be shut up, to be punished for their deeds by carrying corpses. Or wasn't this what you said first, Doctor, at the beginning? Come, if you think I've forgotten something, remind me."*

20,3 *"There's no need to remind you of it; this was exactly what I said at the beginning."*

20,4 *"Oh? As you went on, didn't you also say repeatedly that, because of its preoccupation with adornment, comfort, and the other temptations that accompany the craving of the belly, the body is a hindrance to our understanding and knowledge of the true reality? And further, that it is the cause of blasphemies and all sorts of sins, since by itself, apart from a body, a soul cannot sin at all? (5) And therefore the soul must remain free and devoid of a body after its departure, so that it may be without sin and transgression in the heavens, where, too, it will hold converse with the angels. For this body is the soul's accessory and abettor in pollution and sin; (6) there is no way a soul can sin without a body. Hence, for its preservation without sin forever, the soul will never again receive the body, to incline it to corruption and unrighteousness here below."*

21,7 *"Yes, this was also said."*

*"Oh?" I said. "And do you think you've said this well and rightly?"*

*"What difference does it make to you?" said Algaophon. "But you aren't refuting my argument."*

21,8 *"No difference," said I, "but I want to see your argument tested by your own words."*

*"I spoke well and rightly," he said.*

*"But if someone contradicts and disagrees with himself, do you think his case is put well and rightly?"*

*"Indeed not!"*

21,9 *"Do you think he's clumsily pretending to the truth?"*

*"The worst of anyone," he said.*

*"Then you don't approve of someone who plays the tune of his words with a false note?"*

*"I sure don't!"*

21,10 *"Then you can't possibly approve of yourself, because you're speaking clumsily. You've allowed that souls have strayed from God's commandment and sinned without bodies, and have said that God gave them the skin*

tunics later because of their wrongdoing so that they would be punished by carrying corpses—interpreting ‘tunics’ to mean the bodies. But in the course of your argument you forget your original proposition and say that, by itself, the soul can’t sin. (11) Sinning is in no sense its nature; the body has become its accessory in evils of all sorts. Thus it will be without a body for all eternity, so that it may never again be incited to wickedness as it was before by the body. (12) And yet you had first said that the soul had sinned in Paradise before it had a body, when it was still blessed and free from pain. For once its sin had been strengthened because of its obedience to the serpent, the soul was given the body as a prison in punishment for its transgression of the commandment.

21,13 “Thus either your former or your latter statement is incorrect. Either the soul sinned before it had a body and won’t be any more of a sinner even if it doesn’t get one, and your blather about the body’s not rising is worthless. Or else it sinned with a body, and the skin tunics can’t be considered to be bodies. (14) For the man clearly broke the divine commandment before the tunics were made; indeed, the tunics were made to cover the nakedness which had resulted from their sin. (15) But do I convince you, and do you see that you’ve offered contrary propositions? Has this been made clear to you, Aglaophon,” I asked, “or don’t you understand what I mean yet?”

21,16 “I understand,” he said, and don’t need to hear anything twice; I failed to notice that I spoke incorrectly. If I allowed that the skin tunics are bodies, I was obliged to admit that the soul had sinned even before it entered a body, (17) for the transgression came before the making of the tunics. For the tunics are made for them because of the transgression, the transgression isn’t committed because of the tunics. And because of this admission I had to agree that this body is not an accessory to evil, but that the soul in itself is responsible.

21,18 “Thus the soul will sin even if it doesn’t get the body, since even before it did, it sinned without a body. And it is foolish to say that the body cannot come back to life for fear of its becoming the soul’s accessory in sin. (19) For just as the soul sinned even before it had a body, so it will sin after discarding the body, even if it doesn’t receive a body again. On these grounds, then, I must not approve of my or anyone else’s saying that the skin tunics are our bodies. For if I did, I would have to admit the truth of your argument.”

22,1 “But Aglaophon,” I said, “don’t you think you’ve made another error?”

“What error?”

*"You said," I replied, "that the body has been contrived as a prison and bond for the soul, and this is why the prophet called us 'prisoners of earth,'<sup>76</sup> and David called us 'bound.'"*<sup>77</sup>

22,2 *"I can't answer you offhand," said Aglaophon. "But why not discuss it with someone else?"*

22,3 *And I—I saw that he was embarrassed, and afraid of losing the argument. "Do you think I'm trying to refute you from envy," I said, "and am not eager to clear the matter up? Don't flag under questioning, friend. (4) You see that we aren't talking about unimportant matters, but about the way in which we are to believe. I doubt that anything does a man as much harm as the essentials of the faith, if he should have a false idea of them.*

22,5<sup>78</sup> *"Come on, face my questions willingly! Explain yourself, and correct me if you feel I am speaking an untruth, thinking more of the truth than of me. For I believe that to be refuted is better than to refute, to the same degree that to be saved from harm oneself is better than to save someone else from harm. (6) Well then, let's compare our statements and see if there is any difference between them. The things we are arguing about are no small matters, but things which it is better to know about, and a disgrace not to. Well then, you don't believe that the body returns to life, but I do."*

*"Precisely," he said, "and this is the reason I have spoken."*

22,7 *"And," I went on, "you said that the body is a prison, dungeon, tomb, burden and chain, while I disagree."*

*"You're right," he said.*

22,8 *"In fact, you've said that the body is an accessory to licentiousness, error, pain, anger, and in a word, all the other evils that hinder the soul's improvement and do not allow us to attain the understanding and knowledge of true reality. (9) For even if we attempt a search for some part of reality, darkness always falls and obscures our reason, and does not permit us a clear view of the truth. For perception by our ears is full of deceit, as you said, and perception by our sight and by our other senses."*

22,10 *"Eubulius," he said, "do you see that I'm ready to compliment you whenever you explain my words correctly?"*

23,1 *"All right, to get you to compliment me some more—if you people think that the body is a prison, it cannot still be blamed for the soul's wicked-*

ness and unrighteousness, but on the contrary, must be considered the cause of its moderation and discipline. (2) Look here, you can follow me better in this way. Where do we take people with bodily ailments? To the doctors, don't we?"

"Obviously," said Aglaophon.

23,3 "And where do we take criminals? Isn't it to the magistrates?"

"Of course!"

"Is this so that they will be punished justly for what they have done?"

I said.

"Yes."

"But justice is the finest thing there is?"

He agreed.

"But is one who gives a just judgment right—for he is judging justly?"

He assented.

"But is the right thing beneficial?"

"Plainly."

23,4 "Then those who are judged are benefited. Their wickedness is removed because it is prevented by their torments, just as illnesses are removed by surgery and pharmacy at the doctor's. For the punishment of the criminal is the correction of the soul, which throws off the severe disease of wickedness."

He agreed.

23,5 "Oh? Wouldn't you say that the punishments which are proportionate to their crimes are imposed with justice on criminals, just as surgery proportionate to their hurts is applied to patients?"

He nodded.

23,6 "Then one whose crimes deserve death is punished with death, one whose crimes deserve the lash is punished with the lash, and one whose crimes merit imprisonment is punished with prison?"

Aglaophon agreed.

23,7 "And the offender incurs the penalty of prison, blows, or some other punishment of the sort, so that he will reform and abandon his wickedness, like bent wood straightened by hard blows?"

"You're quite right," he said.

23,8 "The judge isn't punishing him for his past crime but for the future, so that he won't do it again?"

"Plainly," he said.

23,9 "For it is plain that prison eliminates his criminal tendencies by not permitting him to do as he pleases?"

"True."

23,10 *"Then he is prevented from misbehaving, since his imprisonment does not leave him free to enjoy his pleasures. It confines him and teaches him respect for what is right, until such time as he is chastened and learns good sense."*

*"That is plain," said Aglaophon.*

23,11 *"In that case imprisonment is not accessory to wrongdoing."*

*"Evidently not."*

*"Instead, it teaches good sense and makes men better. It is the prophylactic of the soul, harsh and bitter but medicinal."*

*"Plainly so," he said.*

23,12 *"Well then? Come, let's examine the consequences once more. Didn't you grant that the body is the prison of the soul because of its transgression?"*

*"I did and I do," he said.*

23,13 *"But that the soul sins with the body—if you think that adultery, murder and impiety, which the soul commits with the body, are sin?"*

*He nodded.*

23,14 *"But we have agreed that a prisoner cannot commit crimes?"*

*"We have," he said.*

*"He is prevented from committing them because he is loaded with chains?"*

*"Yes."*

*"And the flesh is the soul's prison?"*

*He nodded.*

23,15 *"And yet we sin while we are in the flesh, with the consent of the flesh?"*

*"We do," he said.*

23,16 *"But a prisoner in bonds can't sin?" Here, too, he nodded.*

*"For he is restrained?"*

*"Yes."*

*"His bonds don't permit him to sin?"*

*"Obviously not."*

23,17 *"But the body is an aid to sin?"*

*"Yes."*

*"While the prison prevents it?" He agreed.*

23,18 *"Then, Aglaophon," I said, "the body is not a prison on your premises or anyone else's. It is the soul's aid either way, for good or evil."*

*He agreed.*

24,1 *"Then, Aglaophon, if this is the case, defend your first proposition. You said previously that the body is the prison, dungeon and bond of the soul. And do you see that what you said does not agree with what we are saying now? (2) How could it, my friend, if, on the one hand, we must suppose that the flesh is a prison, but on the other, that the soul has it as its partner in crime and its fellow prisoner? This isn't possible. (3) If the body was given to the soul as a place of torment because of sin, so that the soul in pain may be taught to honor God, how can the body be the soul's accomplice and partner in crime? Imprisonment, confinement, chains, and, in a word, all such corrective punitive devices are inhibitors of crime and sin for the prisoners. (4) Prison is not prescribed for the wrongdoer as an aid in wrongdoing, so that he will do further wrong, but so that, tortured by his chains, he will stop. It is for this reason that judges put malefactors in chains. (5) Even against their will they are kept from evildoing by their shackles; evil is an option, not for prisoners but for free men who live unguarded.*

24,6 *"Man first committed murder like Cain, progressed to unbelief, gave heed to idols, abandoned God. And why was the body given to him for a prison? Or, after man had transgressed before he had a body, why would God give him the body as an aid to greater wickedness? (7) Why does God say, 'Lo, I have set before thee life and death; choose life! I have set before thee good and evil; choose good!'<sup>79</sup> after the making of the prison, and 'If ye be willing and hearken unto me?'<sup>80</sup> These things were said to a person free to choose, not a prisoner under restraint.*

24,8 *"On all grounds, then, it is established that < we must > not regard the body as a chain, imprisonment or incarceration, or souls as therefore 'prisoners of earth,'<sup>81</sup> with God condemning them to be bound in chains of clay. (9) How can this be, when there is no proof of it? But it is also plainly absurd to suppose that the body will not accompany the soul in eternal life because it is a prison and a bond, to prevent our becoming prisoners forever, as they say, sentenced to corruption in the kingdom of light. (10) For once the assertion in which they declared the flesh to be the 'prison of the soul' has been refuted and discredited, the statement, 'The flesh will not rise lest we become prisoners in the kingdom of light'—and may this kingdom be ours!—is discredited as well.*

25,<sup>1</sup> *“Well, what other truth must I show to convince the captious, clearer than what has been said so that they will find it acceptable? One could refute this contention of theirs both by these arguments and by many more. (2) I shall prove in what follows, in the course of the discussion, with real truths and not with conjectures, that Jeremiah did not call us ‘prisoners of earth’ because of our partnership with the body, nor did David called us ‘bound’ for this reason. (3) As to the skin tunics and the fact that our first parents had bodies before the tunics were made and still enjoyed immortality, and further, that the body cannot be regarded as a prison and dungeon, I have made the appropriate remarks, gentlemen of the jury. (For I summon you to be the judges of my argument, ‘most excellent Theophilus.’)<sup>82</sup> As I promised I turn now to the sequel, to give us a clearer view of the things we would like to see.”*

26,<sup>1</sup> *God, the creator of all, brought all into being in good order like a great city, and regulated it by his decree. Each element had been joined in harmony by his will, and all had been filled with various living things, so that the world would grow to perfect beauty. He therefore gave life to all sorts of forms—stars in the sky, birds in the air, beasts on earth and fish in the water—and finally, after preparing the universe as a wonderfully beautiful home for him, God brought man into the world (2) as a likeness answering to his own image. He made him with his own hands like a glorious image in a noble temple.*

26,<sup>3</sup> *For it is understood that whatever God fashioned with his own hand must be immortal, being the work of immortality. (4) Immortal things are made immortal by immortality, as evil things are made evil by evil, and unrighteous things unrighteous by unrighteousness. For unrighteous deeds are not the work of righteousness, but of unrighteousness. Nor, on the contrary, is righteous behavior the work of unrighteousness but of righteousness—just as corrupting is not the work of incorruption either but of corruption, and immortality not the work of corruption but of incorruption.*

26,<sup>5</sup> *And in a word, whatever the maker is like, the product must necessarily be made like, on the same principle. (6) But God is immortality, life and incorruption, and man is the work of God. Anything made by immortality is immortal; man is therefore immortal. This is why God created man in person, but ordered earth, air and water to bring forth the other kinds of living things.*

26,7 *Man has been truly said to be neither a soul without a body by nature, nor a body without a soul, but that which, by the union of soul and body, has been compounded into the one form, that of the good. Hence it is plain that man was made immortal, free of decay and diseases.*

26,8 *One may also learn this well enough from the scripture. Of the other creatures which are changed at intervals of time by being young and growing old, it is said, "Let the waters bring forth creeping things"<sup>83</sup> and "Let the earth bring forth living souls according to their kind, four-footed creatures and creeping things and beasts of the earth according to their kind."<sup>84</sup> (9) But "Let the earth bring forth" is no longer said of man as it was of them, nor "Let the waters bring forth," nor "Let there be lights."<sup>85</sup> Instead [we read] "Let us make man in our image and after our likeness, and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the sky, and over all cattle,"<sup>86</sup> and "God took dust from the earth and formed man."<sup>87</sup>*

27,1 *Now then, so that you too may further understand the difference < in > whole and in part between man and the other creatures, and how man ranks next to the angels in honor because of his immortality, let us take this question up in turn in accordance with the true and orthodox reasoning. (2) Animation and life were given to the others by their inhalation of the wind in the air, but to man by the immortal and all-excelling essence itself, for "God breathed into his countenance the breath of life, and man became a living soul."<sup>88</sup> (3) The others were commanded to serve and be ruled, but man to rule and be the master. The others are given various natural shapes and forms, as many as their tangible, visible nature engendered at God's bidding. (4) Man, however, is given God's image and likeness, and entirely conformed to the original image of the Father and the Only-begotten. "For God created man; in the image of God created he him."<sup>89</sup>*

27,5 *Thus, as sculptors are concerned for their images, God was concerned for the preservation of his own image, lest it be easily destroyed. (6) Sculptors not only think of < the > beauty and loveliness of their pieces, to make them wonderfully beautiful, but also plan for their immortality as far as they can, so that they will be preserved for a long while without being broken. So*



with Phidias. (7) After he had finished the Pisaeon image—it was made of ivory—he had oil poured in front of the image around its feet, to keep it as nearly immortal as possible. (8) Now if this is so with the makers of human handiwork, did not the supreme craftsman, God, who can do all things and even create from nothing, of every necessity see to it that man, his own rational image, was wholly indestructible and immortal? Did he allow what he had seen fit to make in a distinctive way, and had fashioned with his own hands, in his image and after his likeness, to be most shamefully destroyed and consigned to ruin and corruption—the ornament of the world, for the sake of which the world was made? This cannot be said! Away with anyone so foolish as to think it!

28,1 But probably, Aglaophon, you people will not back off because of what has now been said, and will reply, “If the creature was immortal from the beginning, as you say, how has he become mortal? An immortal thing must remain unalterably what it is, without changing or degenerating into something inferior and mortal. This cannot be, since < it is not possible\* > for an immortal < thing to come to die.”\* >

28,2 [But it did], I shall say, because the enemy of all good came, and from envy bewitched the man who had been created with the authority to choose the good, and had received this ordinance. (3) “For God created man for immortality and made him an image of his own eternity.”<sup>90</sup> Indeed, “God made not death, nor doth he rejoice in the destruction of the living”<sup>91</sup> “but through envy of the devil death entered the world,”<sup>92</sup> as Wisdom testified through Solomon.

28,4 “Where did death come from, then?” If God did not make death, this has to be asked again. “If it came from envy, why was envy stronger than God’s purpose?” But this last is blasphemy, we shall say.

28,5 “Where did envy come from, then?” our antagonist will say. “If from the devil, why was the devil made? If he was made, is his maker then responsible for the existence of evil? (6) But God is in no way responsible for anyone’s evil. Thus the devil must be uncreated—and if uncreated, also impassible, indestructible and in need of nothing.”

An uncreated thing must necessarily possess all these attributes, and yet the devil is brought to nothing and chastised. Now whatever is chastised

*undergoes change and suffers, while an uncreated thing cannot suffer. The devil, therefore, is not uncreated but created.*

28,7 *But if the devil is created, and every created thing originates from some beginning and has a creator, the devil has a creator. And is the creator uncreated or created? But it must be understood that there is only one uncreated, God. Nor can there in any conceivable way be any creator whatever other than he. "I am the first and I am the last," he says, "and besides me there is no God."*<sup>93</sup>

28,8 *Nor can anything be changed or created contrary to God's will. Even the Son acknowledges that "He can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do. What things soever the Father doeth," he says, "the Son doeth likewise."*<sup>94</sup> (9) *Surely God can have no antagonist, opponent or rival god. If anything were to oppose God it would cease to exist, for its being would be destroyed by God's power and might. For only the Maker can destroy—even the things that are immortal.*

29,1 *"Then what is the devil?" you will say. A spirit assigned to matter, as Athenagoras has also said.<sup>95</sup> He was created by God like the other angels, and entrusted with the oversight of matter and material forms. (2) For this was the origin of the angels—their creation by God for the care of his created order. Thus God would have the general and universal care of the universe, having attached the supreme authority and power over all to himself and guiding the whole on a straight course, like a ship, with the rudder of his wisdom; but angels who have been assigned to it would have the care of the various parts.*

29,3 *The other angels kept to the tasks for which God had made and appointed them, but the devil mocked at his and became evil in the management of the things which had been entrusted to him. He conceived envy of us, like the angels who later became enamored of flesh and consorted with the daughters of men for pleasure. (4) For as in man's case, so to the angels God has allotted a will free to choose good or evil, either to obey his command, be with him and enjoy beatitude, or else to disobey and be judged.*

29,5 *The devil too was a "morning star"—"How hath the morning star fallen from heaven, that riseth in the morning!"<sup>96</sup> He once rose with the angels of light, once was a morning star, but he fell, was dashed to the earth, and is [now] the governor of the forces hostile to man. For the Godhead is*

*angry with the proud and balks their arrogant purposes. (6) But it occurs to me to say in verse,*

*Thou serpent, source and end of ills for all,  
Thou bearer of a grievous store of woes,  
Thou false guide of a blind world's ignorance,  
That joyest in the wails and groans of men!  
'Twas thou that armed the fratricidal arms  
Of kin to deeds of lawless violence.  
By thy contriving Cain first fouled the soil  
With secret bloodshed, and the first-formed man  
Fell to the earth from realms unblemished.*

30,1 *That is what the devil is. But death was devised for the sake of conversion, just as blows were devised for the correction of children beginning to read. For death is nothing but the severance and separation of soul from body.*

30,2 *"What, then," you will say, "is God the cause of death?" Again the same answer comes to me, "No indeed! Neither are teachers primarily responsible for children's being hurt by the blows. (3) Death is a good thing, then, if, like blows for children, it was devised for conversion. A word to the wise—[I do not mean] the death of sin, but the death of the sundering and separation of the flesh [from the soul]."*

30,4 *The man was responsible for himself and his own master, and as I said, had received a free will and the liberty to choose the good. And he had been told, "From every tree in the garden ye may eat, but from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil ye may not eat thereof. For in the day wherein ye eat of it, ye shall surely die."<sup>97</sup> (5) But once he had given in with regard to eating of it to the devil, who was inciting his entrapped wisdom to all sorts of disobedience, he set God's command aside. And this became a stumbling block, snare and hindrance for him.*

25,6 *For God did not make evil, and is absolutely not responsible, in any way at all, for any evil. But when any creature which God has created free to observe and keep the law he has justly enjoined, fails to keep that law, that creature is called evil. And to disobey God, by overstepping the bounds of righteousness of one's own free will, is the most serious harm.*

25,7 *Thus, because the man was spotted and sullied by his rejection of God's decree, and was smeared with the stains of the great evils the prince of darkness and father of deceit had brought forth—and because, as the*

scripture says, he was sentenced to hard labor so that the devil could keep deceiving him and inciting him to unrighteousness—God the almighty, seeing that, as the devil was a deceiver, man had been made an immortal evil by the devil's plot, (8) made the skin tunics, as though to clothe the man with mortality, so that all the evil which had been engendered in him would die with the destruction of his body.

31,1 These questions have already been raised, and it has been shown that the skin tunics were not Adam's and Eve's bodies. Still, let us explain it once more—it is not a thing to be said only once. (2) The first man himself acknowledged that he had bones and flesh before the tunics were made, when he saw the woman brought to him and cried, "This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh. She shall be called, Wife, for she was taken out of her husband. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother and cleave unto his wife, and the two shall be one flesh."<sup>98</sup>

31,3 For I have no intention of putting up with certain chatterboxes who do violence to the scripture without a blush, suggest that they were "intelligible bones" and "intelligible flesh," and turn things topsy-turvy with allegories in one passage after another, as their excuse for saying that the resurrection is not a resurrection of flesh. (4) This though Christ confirms the fact that the scripture should be taken as written, when he answers the Pharisees' question about the divorce of a wife with "Have ye not read that in the beginning the creator made them male and female, and said, For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother,"<sup>99</sup> and so forth? How can "Be fruitful and fill the earth?"<sup>100</sup> be taken merely of souls? Or (5) "God took dust from the earth and formed the man"<sup>101</sup> which is plainly said of the body proper? The soul was not made of earth and the heavier materials. (6) Thus it is established with full certainty that the man was provided with a body before the skin tunics were made. For all these things are said before his fall, but the making of the tunics is described after the fall.

31,7 Let us thus return to the investigation of the matter in hand, since we have given sufficient proof that the skin tunics were not [Adam's and Eve's] bodies, but the mortality which was made for beasts because of the beasts' want of reason—for only this explanation remains. (8) Rest assured, the man was exiled from Paradise for the following reason. God did not expel him because he did not want him to pick fruit from the tree of life and live—for he

could have lived forever if he had eaten once more, [a fruit] from [the tree] of life. God did this, as we have stated, to keep evil from becoming immortal.

31,9 For if it was at all God's will that man die altogether without tasting life, why did God send Christ from heaven to earth? (10) If my opponent should say that God did this because he had changed his mind, his argument would be feeble because it introduced a changeable God. But God is neither ignorant of the future nor malignant; indeed, he is supremely good, and foreknows that which is to come. (11) Thus God did not expel the man to prevent his eating from the tree of life and living forever, but so that sin would be killed first, by death. Then, with sin withered away after death, the man would arise cleansed and taste of life.

32,1 And no idiot should gamble that these things are meant in some other sense. For whoever decides that this flesh is incapable of immortality is indeed responsible for the ailment of his stupidity, and is a blasphemer. (2) If it were simply impossible for man to live forever without a body, why is Adam cast out after the making of the skin tunics, and kept from eating of the tree of life and living? (3) The prohibition is predicated on the assumption that, if he takes fruit from the tree of life and tastes it, he can avoid death. For scripture says, "And the Lord God made tunics of skin for Adam and his wife, and clothed them. And God said, Behold, Adam hath become as one of us, to know good and evil. And now, lest he put forth his hand and take of the tree of life and eat and live forever. And the Lord God sent him forth from the delight of Paradise to till the ground whence he was taken, and he cast Adam out."<sup>102</sup>

32,4 Thus the body could have lived forever and been immortal if it had not been prevented from tasting life. But it was prevented so that sin would be put to death with the body and die, but the body would rise washed clean of sin. (5) As I said, God made the body mortal by clothing it with mortality to keep man from being an immortal evil with the conquering sin alive in him forever—as it would be if it had sprouted in an immortal body and had immortal nourishment. (6) Hence the skin tunics—so that, through the body's destruction and its separation [from the soul], the sin underneath it would perish entirely, from the root up, leaving not even the smallest bit of root for new shoots of sins to sprout from again.

33,1 If a fig tree < has > taken root and grown tall and broad in the beautiful buildings of a temple, and has covered all the joints of the stones with intricate roots, its growth cannot be halted until it is uprooted altogether,

and the stones in the places where it sprouted are destroyed. (2) For the stones can be set back in the same places once the fig tree is removed, so that the temple will be preserved and no longer harbor any of the ills that were destroying it. But as the fig tree has been uprooted altogether, it will die. (3) Thus, with the temporary visitations of death, God, the architect, destroyed his temple, man, who had sprouted sin like a wild fig—"killing and making alive,"<sup>103</sup> as the scripture says—so that, once the sin had withered and died, the flesh would rise again from the same places like a temple restored, immortal and unharmed because the sin had perished altogether from the ground up.

33,4 While the body is still alive before death, sin of necessity lives within us and conceals its roots within us, even though it is checked on the outside by the cuts of cautions and admonitions. For after his enlightenment no one can do further wrong; sin has simply been removed from us altogether. (5) However, we often find ourselves in sins even after coming to faith and the water of purification. For no one will boast that he is so free of sin that he never even thinks of wrong at all.

33,6 Thus, as matters stand, sin is reduced and lulled to sleep by faith, and cannot bear harmful fruit; but it has certainly not been destroyed roots and all. (7) Here we remove its flowerings—evil thoughts, for example—"lest any root of bitterness trouble us,"<sup>104</sup> and we do not let them open, opening their closed pores to suckers. For like an ax the word chops sin's roots off as they grow below. Then, however, even the thought of evil will be done away.

34,1 Nor does the text of scripture fail to witness to this, for those who sincerely desire to hear the truth. The apostle knows that the root of sin is still not entirely removed from men, and declares, "I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing. For to will is present with me, but how to perform what is good I find not. For the good that I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that do I. If, then, I do that which I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me."<sup>105</sup> (2) And "I delight in the law of God after the inward man. But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members."<sup>106</sup>

34,3 Thus sin has not yet been entirely dug out by the roots, but is alive. (For it is not wholly dead; how can it be, before the man is clothed with death?)

[It is alive], to wither and fade with the man, and to be utterly destroyed and perish—like a plant, when < the stone > is destroyed in < the place > where, as I said, it preserved its roots by concealing them. But the man will rise again, with no further “root of bitterness”<sup>107</sup> lurking within him.

34,4 For death and destruction were employed as an antidote by our true protector and physician, God, for the uprooting of sin. Otherwise evil would be eternal in us, like an immortal thing growing in immortals, and we ourselves would live like the diseased for a long time, maimed and deprived of our native virtue, as persons who harbor the severe diseases of sin in everlasting and immortal bodies. (5) It is a good thing then, that God has devised death—this cure, like a medicinal purgative, of both soul and body—to leave us altogether spotless and unharmed.

35,1 Now then, since a number of illustrations of such matters are needed, let us by all means look for them, and not leave off until our argument ends with a clearer explanation and proof. (2) It is plainly just as though the best of artists were to remelt a lovely likeness he had made of gold or another material with all its limbs in proportion for beauty's sake, because he suddenly realized that it had been mutilated by some vicious person, who injured the piece because, from malice, he could not bear that it be beautiful, and reaped the empty fruit of envy. (3) With your great wisdom, Aglaophon, observe that if the artist did not want the piece he had created with so much zeal and care to be completely ruined and an eyesore, he would be well advised to melt it down again and make it as it was before. (4) If he did not remelt and refashion it, however, but < merely > patched and repaired it and left it as it is, the piece, which was hardened in the fire and cast in bronze, could never be kept the same, but would be altered, and diminished in value.

35,5 Thus if he wanted his work to be entirely good and flawless, he must break it up and recast it, so that the flaws, and all the alterations produced in it by treachery and envy, would be done away by its destruction and recasting, but the sculpture restored undamaged and unblemished to its own form, once more exactly like itself. (6) For even if it is dissolved back into its raw material, in the hands of the same artist the statue cannot be destroyed, but can be restored. Its blemishes and mutilations can be destroyed, however, for they are melted. They cannot be restored, for in every art the best craftsman looks, not to the ugliness of his work or its accidental flaws, but to its symmetry and tightness.



35,7 *For it seems to me that God has dealt with us in the same way. He saw his handsomest work, man, spoiled by the malicious plots of envy, and in his lovingkindness could not bear to leave him like that, or he would be flawed forever and marred with an immortal blemish. He has reduced him to his raw material again, so that all his flaws may be melted and done away with by the refashioning. (8) For the remelting of the sculpture in my metaphor stands for the death and dissolution of the body; and the remodeling and reshaping of the material stands for the resurrection. (9) The prophet Jeremiah himself has already made the same recommendation in the following passage: "And I went down to the house of the potter, and lo, he was making a work upon the stones. And the vessel he was making broke in his hands, and again he made it another vessel, as it pleased him to do. And the word of the Lord came unto me saying, Can I not make you as this potter, O house of Israel? Behold, as the potter's clay are ye in my hands."*<sup>108</sup>

36,1 *Observe that, after the man's transgression, the great hand of God did not choose to abandon its work forever, like a counterfeit coin, to the evil one who had unjustly harmed it by reason of his envy. Instead it melted and reduced it to clay once more, like a potter reshaping a vessel to remove all its flaws and cracks by the reshaping, but make it once again entirely flawless and acceptable. (2) "Or hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honor, and another unto dishonor";<sup>109</sup> in other words—for I am sure that this is what the apostle means—does God not have the power to reshape and refashion each of us from the same raw material and raise us each individually, to our honor and glory or to our shame and condemnation? To the shame of those who have lived wickedly in sins, but to the honor of those who have lived in righteousness. (3) This was revealed to Daniel also, who says, "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall arise, some to eternal life, some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that are wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament."*<sup>110</sup>

36,4 *It is not in our power to remove the root of wickedness entirely, but to prevent it from spreading and bearing fruit. Its full and complete destruction, roots and all, is accomplished by God, as I said, at the dissolution of the body; but its partial destruction, so that it will not bud, is accomplished by ourselves. (5) And thus whoever fosters the increase and growth of wickedness*



instead, but does not make it as barren as he can and reduce its size, must pay the penalty. For though he had the ability and the right to do this, he chose to prefer the harmful to the helpful.

37,1 Thus no one, with wagging tongue, may blame the Godhead for not giving each his just reward for vice or virtue; the man himself is at fault. "Who art thou, O man, that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus?"<sup>111</sup> (2) How can it? The man chose evil of his own free will! He may not ask the God who judges < with > unvaryingly righteous decrees, "Why hast thou made me to be thus condemned to torment?"

37,3 For note how, by deftly darting brief quotations, like a spearman, into the body of his words, Paul makes the interpretation of the readings unclear and extremely difficult, although they are entirely true and orthodox and contain nothing careless or evil.<sup>112</sup> (4) To those who look into the words with no zeal but mean-spiritedly, they sometimes seem disjointed and inconsistent; but to those who do this zealously and with sober reason, they are correspondingly full of order and truth. (5) Only a treatise in itself would be enough for a full and accurate discussion of this at this time. Indeed, it would be ridiculous to abandon your inquiry which has led me to compose this, and shift to other subjects.

37,6 For I have said this because of the justice which punishes willful evildoers. But now that we have made it abundantly clear that death was not devised for man's harm but <for his good\* >, whoever opens this book with a good will must have an understanding of the resurrection of the body. (7)<sup>113</sup> How can death not be beneficial, when it destroys the things that prey upon our nature? Even though it is unpleasant at the time, while it is being administered, it < is > plainly a medicine, of a very bitter sort, for the patient. (8) But now then! Not to make the same points time and again about the same things, let us further confirm what we have said from the Song in Deuteronomy, and then go on to take up the rest.

38,1 For what does God's "I shall kill, and I shall make alive; I shall smite and I shall heal, and there is none that shall deliver out of my hand,"<sup>114</sup> mean to teach but that the body is first killed and dies, so that it may rise and live again? (2) It is struck and shattered first, so that it may be remade

sound and whole. (3) And nothing has any power whatever to take it from God's great and mighty hand for ruin and destruction—not fire, not death, not darkness, not chaos, not corruption. (4) "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?" says scripture—"Christ" means the Father's Hand and Word.) "Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, For thy sake are we killed all day long; we are counted as sheep appointed to be slain. Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us."<sup>115</sup>

38,5 Absolutely true! This serves as the fulfillment of "I shall kill, and I shall make alive"—as I said—"I shall smite and I shall heal. "And there is no one to "take us," for our destruction, "from the love of God that is in Christ Jesus." Thus we are "reckoned as sheep for the slaughter," "to die to sin and live to God."<sup>116</sup> So much for this line of inquiry; here, once again, we must take up the next question.

39,1 Suppose that, as my opponent proposes, every procreated thing is ill in its origin and diet—for it increases in size from what is added to it, and becomes smaller because of what is subtracted from it. But whatever is not procreated is in good health, since it is not ill and has no needs or desires. Procreated things, however, desire both sex and food, but to have desires is illness, while to have no needs or desires is health. And procreated things are ill because they have desires, while things not procreated are not ill. And things that are ill suffer from a surplus or deficiency of the things which are added to them or taken away from them. Now anything that suffers both withers and perishes, since it is procreated. But man is procreated. Therefore man cannot be impassible and immortal.

39,2 But even as stated, the argument fails. If everything must perish if it is either brought into being or procreated—we may as well say it this way, because the first man and woman were not procreated, but were brought into being, but both angels and souls are brought into being for the scripture says, "He maketh his angels spirits"<sup>117</sup>—then, on their premises, angels and souls must perish! (3) But neither angels nor souls perish; they are immortal and indestructible as their maker intends them to be. Man too, therefore, is immortal.

39,4 No more satisfactory is the argument that all things will be destroyed completely and there will be no more earth, air and heaven. The whole world

will be overwhelmed with a deluge of fire, and burned to ashes for its purification and renewal, but will certainly not come to entire destruction and dissolution. (5) If the non-existence of the world is better than its existence, why did God make the poorer choice and create the world? But God made nothing to no purpose or inferior. (6) Thus God ordered the creation in such a way that it would exist and endure, as Wisdom proves by saying, "God hath created all things to exist, and sound are the origins of the world; in them is no poison of destruction."<sup>118</sup> (7) And Paul plainly testifies to this with his words, "The earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope, because creation itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of destruction to the glorious liberty of the children of God."<sup>119</sup> (8) Here he chooses to call this world a "creature," and says that "the creature was made subject to vanity," but that it expects to be set free from such bondage. For it is not the invisible things that are enslaved to corruption, but these, the visible ones.

39,9 The "creature," then, endures, renewed once more and in a comelier form, and is joyous and glad for the sons of God at the resurrection, though now it groans for them and shares their travail, while it too awaits our redemption from the perishability of the body. (10) Then, when we are raised and have shaken off the mortality of our flesh—as scripture says, "Shake off the dust, rise and sit down, O Jerusalem"<sup>120</sup>—and when we are set free from sin, it too will be set free from corruption and no longer enslaved to "vanity," but to righteousness. (11) "For we know," says scripture, "that all creation groaneth and travaileth together in pain until now. And not only they, but ourselves also, which have the firstfruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of the body."<sup>121</sup>

39,12 And Isaiah says, "For as the new heavens and the new earth which I make remain before me, saith the Lord, so shall your seed and your name be."<sup>122</sup> And again, "Thus saith the Lord that created the heavens, this God that formed the earth and made it. He established its bounds, he created it not in vain, but to be inhabited."<sup>123</sup> (13) Indeed God has not created the world

to no purpose or in vain, for destruction, as those who think vain thoughts would have it. He has made it to be, to be inhabited and to abide. Therefore heaven and earth must once more be, after the burning up and boiling away of all things. (14) To explain the necessity of this would require an even longer discussion. For after its dissolution the universe will not be reduced to inert matter, and its state before its establishment. Nor, again, will it be reduced to total destruction and decay.

40,1 But suppose our opponents say, "If the universe will not be destroyed, why did the Lord say that heaven and earth would pass away? And why did the prophet say that the heaven would perish like smoke, and the earth grow old like a garment?"<sup>124</sup>

40,2 "Because," we shall reply, "scripture's way is to call the world's change from its present state to a better and more glorious one a 'destruction,' like the change of anything to a more glorious form when its previous form is done away with; there is no contradiction or anomaly in the sacred scripture. (3) 'The form of this world passeth away,'<sup>125</sup> but the world does not. Thus scripture's way is to call the change of a previous form to a better, and sometimes a lovelier one, a 'destruction,' (4) as one might call the change from one's form in babyhood to maturity a 'destruction' because the stature of the infant is changed in its size and handsomeness. "For when I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things."<sup>126</sup>

40,5 We would expect the creature to be troubled because it is to die in the conflagration and be created anew, but we would not expect it to perish. Thus we, the newly created, shall dwell free from sorrow in the newly created world—as the hundred and third Psalm says, "Thou shalt send forth thy Spirit and they shall be made, and thou shalt renew the face of the earth"<sup>127</sup>—with God at last, the regulator of its mild climate, surrounding it. (6) For if there is to be an earth even after this age, there is every necessity that it also have inhabitants, who will never again die, marry and be born, but like the angels will unchangingly perform the best of works in immortality. (7) Thus it is silly to ask how bodies can exist then where there will be no air or earth or the rest.

41,1 But if we are to discuss such important matters with confidence, Aglaophon, something beyond what we have said is worth our looking into,

since it occasions a great deal of error. (2) After you said that, when the Sadducees tested him, the Lord declared that those who attain the resurrection will be like angels, you added, "But the angels, who have no flesh, are in the highest state of beatitude, and therefore also of glory. Thus if we are to equal the angels, we, like them, must be without flesh." (3) But, Sir, you have not understood that He who created the universe from nothing and set it in order, did not adorn it by allotting the nature of immortals to angels and ministers only, but to principalities, authorities and thrones as well. (4) The angels are one species and the principalities and authorities are another, for there is not [just] one rank, condition, tribe and family of immortals, but different species, tribes and varieties. The cherubim cannot relinquish their own nature and be changed into the form of angels; nor, in turn, can angels be changed into some other form. They must be the same as they are and have been.

41,5 But man too, who was charged < at > the first ordering of the universe to inhabit the world and rule all its denizens—man is immortal and will never be changed from his manhood into the form of the angels or any of the others. For no more can the angels be changed from their original form and turned into that of the others. (6) Christ did not come to announce the remaking or transformation of human nature into some other, but its change into its original nature before its fall, when it was immortal. (7) Each created thing must remain in its own assigned place, so that all may be filled with all: the heavens with angels; the thrones with powers; the luminaries with ministering spirits; the most sacred places and the pure and undefiled lights, with the seraphim who stand beside the great Will which controls the universe; and the world with men. (8) But if we grant that men are changed into angels, it is time to say that the angels can also be changed into powers, and the powers into one thing and another, until the ascending list incurs risk.<sup>128</sup>

42,1 But it is not as though God made man inferior or slipped up in the process of fashioning him, and like the poorest of workmen later changed his mind and decided to make him an angel; or that he meant to make an angel at first and could not, but made a man. This is incompetence. (2) If he wanted the man to become an angel and not a man, why ever did he make him a man and not an angel? Because he couldn't? < This > is blasphemy! (3) But did he put off doing the better thing and do the worse? This too is absurd. God neither makes mistakes nor puts off doing a good thing, nor

*lacks the power [to do it]. He has the power to do both as he wills and when he wills, for God is Power.*

42,4 *Very well, God created the man at the first and willed that he be a man. But if he willed it, and he wills what is good—and if man is good—and if man is said to be composed of soul and body—then man will not be bodiless [at the resurrection] but embodied, or man will be other than man. (5) For the immortal species must all be preserved by God. But man too is immortal, for Wisdom says, “God created man for immortality, and made him by his own eternity.”<sup>129</sup> The body does not perish, then, for man is body and soul.*

43,1 *Understand, then, that the Lord meant to teach these very things, because the Sadducees did not believe in the resurrection of the flesh. This is Sadducean doctrine, and so, to decry the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh, they made up the parable of the woman and the seven brothers, and came to him. (The evangelist, of course, added “came to him” himself, when he said, “Likewise Sadducees, which say that there is no resurrection, came to him.”)<sup>130</sup> (2) Now if there were no resurrection of flesh but only the soul were saved, Christ would have agreed that their opinion was good and right. But he refutes them instead by saying, “In the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as angels in heaven”<sup>131</sup>—(3) not by having no flesh, but by neither marrying nor being married but finally being immortal, and among the luminaries. They will be very like the angels in this respect—that, like the angels in heaven, we in Paradise will not spend our time in weddings and banquets, but in seeing God and enjoying eternal life under Christ’s headship.*

43,4 *For Christ did not say, “They shall be angels,” but, “They shall be like angels”—as [in the scriptural text], “crowned with glory and honor and but a little different from the angels,”<sup>132</sup> and nearly angels. (5) It is as though one were to say that on a balmy, calm night when all was illuminated with the moon’s heavenly radiance, the moon shone “like” the sun. We would certainly not say he was testifying that the moon “was” the sun, but that it was “like” the sun, (6) just as a material which is not gold but gold< en> is not said to be “gold,” but “like gold.” If it were gold, it would not be called “golden” but “gold”; but since it is not gold, but is < almost > gold and looks like gold, it is not called “gold” but “golden.”*

43,7 Thus, when Christ says that the saints will be as angels in the resurrection, we do not understand him to be promising that the saints will actually be angels in the resurrection, but that they will nearly be angels. (8) And it is the height of absurdity to deny the resurrection of bodies because Christ declared that the saints will look like angels in the resurrection, although the word itself clearly indicates the nature of the event.

43,9 For "rising" is not said of a thing that has not fallen, but of one that has fallen and gets up, as the prophet says, "And I will raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen."<sup>133</sup> But the beloved tabernacle of the soul has fallen "to dusty earth,"<sup>134</sup> for it is not the undying thing that topples over, but the thing that dies. It is flesh that dies, for the soul is immortal. (10) Now then, if the soul is immortal and the dead man is a body, those who say that there is a resurrection, but not a resurrection of the flesh, are denying that there is a resurrection. For it is not the thing that has been standing that rises, but the thing that has fallen and dropped, as scripture says, "Doth that which falleth not rise, or shall that which turneth away not turn back?"<sup>135</sup>

44,1 Now the Lord has plainly taught that the soul is immortal, both in his own words and through the mouth of Solomon. He has taught it in his own words in the story of the rich man and the poor man Lazarus, by showing the one at rest in Abraham's bosom after the discarding of his body, but the other in torments which he described in conversation with Abraham. (2) And he taught it through Solomon in the book entitled Wisdom, where it is written that "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God and there shall no torment touch them. In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die and their departure was taken for misery, and their going from us for utter destruction. But they are in peace, and their hope is full of immortality."<sup>136</sup> (3) Thus resurrection is of a body, not of a soul. One does not raise a person who is on his feet but a person who is lying down, just as not a healthy individual, but a sufferer is doctored.

44,4 And if anyone insists that resurrection will apply to the soul and not the flesh, this is a lot of foolishness and nonsense. One must first prove a corresponding decay and dissolution of the soul to prove its resurrection as well, and not by talking nonsense but by the clear statement of a plain fact. (5) But no matter, let us allow him to declare the soul mortal. Here we must make one of two assumptions. Either the Lord's declaration is untrue when



*he teaches that the soul is immortal, and whoever says that it does not perish is lying; or else it perishes, and Christ is < telling > a lie by teaching both in his story of the rich man and the poor man and in the vision of Moses and Elijah, that it is indestructible and immortal. (6) But the Lord has never contradicted himself or lied. He was not showing an image or simulacrum of Elijah and Moses on the mount with the intent of deceiving the apostles, but showing truthfully what they were. So even the slowest learner, as we might say, can learn that he is immortal, and affirm the indestructibility of the soul.*

*45,1 Resurrection, then, is a resurrection of the flesh and not of the soul, so that the tabernacle of David which has fallen into decay may arise and, risen and rebuilt, remain undamaged and unfallen for all eternity. (2) For God was not concerned that David's stone house be built to give him a fine home in the kingdom of heaven, but that his flesh, the tabernacle of the soul, be built, which he had fashioned with his own hands.*

*45,3 With your immense wisdom, Aglaophon, you must regard it in this way. You are sure to understand it very easily if you think of the image of going to sleep and getting up. If going to sleep results from waking and getting up results from sleeping, and this is a rehearsal for death and resurrection—"to the twins, sleep and death!"<sup>137</sup>—then, since rising results from [the sleep of] sleepers, the quickening to life of the flesh must be the result of death. (4) For if waking issues from sleep, and the sleeper certainly does not just go on sleeping in the same posture but gets up again, so life will issue from death; and the man who dies surely does not remain so because he dies. (5) For if waking issues from sleep, rising from falling and rebuilding from destruction, how can we possibly not expect the resurrection of the fallen and the quickening of the dead?*

*45,6 And observe, if you will, not only from sleeping and rising but from seeds and shoots as well, how the resurrection is proclaimed in them all. Note how seeds are put into the ground "bare,"<sup>138</sup> as the scripture says, without any flesh, and, rendered back again mature. If seeds died and decayed, but there were no more revival and sprouting of the seeds, why would it not be the lot of all things to be dissolved in death?*

*46,1 But for now, "most excellent Theophilus,"<sup>139</sup> and you other judges of the debate, I shall forbear to say more about this. Let us take up his next*



points as well, since they are far from satisfactory. (2) For again, in my opponent's forced, unnatural interpretation of the prophecy in the sixty-fifth Psalm, God takes sinners' actual souls, and as punishment for their sins puts them < into > the flesh as into a "snare."<sup>140</sup> But rather than orthodoxy, this is absurdity. (3) If the souls had possessed bodies before the transgression, as I have already pointed out, why would they be stuffed into bodies later, after their transgression, < as > into a snare? There was no time for them to sin before they got their bodies.

46,4 It makes no sense to say one minute that the souls have sinned because of the body, and the next that the body was made for condemnation as a prison and a snare, because they had sinned. (5) If they sinned because of the body, then the body was with them from the first, even before the sin. For how could they sin because of something which was not yet in existence? (6) But again, if the body itself is regarded as a snare, chains and a prison, the combination [of body and soul] cannot be responsible for the sin; it must be the soul alone. For bonds, snares and chains are made for the sinner after his sin.

46,7 But we have agreed that the body cannot be the prison of the soul, since the body cooperates with either sort of behavior, right or wrong, but a prison prevents wrong behavior. (8) So as I say, one of two alternatives must be true. Either we sinned with a body from the first, and can find no time when we were without a body; and the body shares the responsibility for good and evil actions with the soul. Or else we sinned when we were without a body, and the body is not responsible for evil at all. (9) And yet the soul cannot be mastered by irrational pleasure without a body; but our first parents were mastered and snared by irrational pleasure. Thus even before its sin, the soul was accompanied by a body.

46,10 As to the unthinkability of the body's being made as a prison to punish the transgression, leaving the soul, as our opponents say, with the unmitigated, constant torture of carrying a corpse, I believe I have now given a full demonstration of this with every possible proof. (11) Thus it is untenable and unacceptable to make of the body a snare and chains, and say that God brings the souls into the snare as punishment, after casting them down from the third heaven for their transgressions of his commandment.

46,12 For what could one be thinking of to believe the things they have so rashly said? And this although, despite their forced interpretation of it, the psalm does not have this meaning. I shall quote its actual words to show

*what fiction their exposition is, since they have no desire to understand the scriptures correctly.*

46,13 *The psalm goes something like this: "Thou hast proved us, O God, thou hast tried us like as silver is tried. Thou broughtest us into the snare, and laidest tribulations upon our back. Thou sufferedst men to ride over our heads. We went through fire and water, and thou broughtest us out to refreshment."*<sup>141</sup> (14) *And they add at once, "This is said by souls which have been cast down from the third heaven, where Paradise is, into the snare of the body as into a contest." For they say that "We went through fire and water" may mean either the soul's passage from the womb into the world, since it has its dwelling in the midst of much fire and moisture—or else it may mean the soul's fall from the heavens into the world, when < it > passes into the world through the fire, and the waters above the firmament.*

46,15 *I have decided to stand up to these people. Now then, Aglaophon, answer for them yourself [and tell us] what they will say. (47,1) For in the first place, Paradise, from which, in the person of our first ancestor, we were expelled, is obviously a particular place on this earth, set apart for the untroubled rest and residence of the saints. < This > is plain from the fact that the Tigris and Euphrates, and the other rivers that issue from it, can be seen here inundating our land with their flooding. (2) They do not pour down in a cataract from the sky; the earth could not even sustain such a weight of water pouring down all at once from on high.*

47,3 *Nor, to those who can recognize the nuances of words, is the apostle suggesting that Paradise is in a third heaven. He says, "I know < such a man > caught up to the third heaven; and I know such a man, (whether in the body or out of the body, God knoweth), that he was rapt away to Paradise."*<sup>142</sup> (4) *He is declaring that he has seen two great revelations and been taken up visibly twice, once to the third heaven and once to Paradise. "I know such a man caught up to the third heaven" is proof that a particular revelation was shown him in the third heaven, when he was caught up. (5) And the next sentence, "And I know such a man, (whether in the body, or out of the body), < rapt away > to Paradise," proves that one more revelation was shown him in Paradise.*

47,6 *It is jabber and rant, then, to speak of the souls' being cast down from the heavens, passing through the sources of fire and the waters above the firmament, and falling into this world. (7) Besides, Adam was not expelled*

*from the heavens, but from the Paradise planted in the east, in Eden. For his transgression did not precede his embodiment, as I have shown sufficiently already, and this body is not a snare. The transgression came after the soul's union with the body, for man is a composite of the two; and the fall from Paradise took place here. (8) But he (Origen?) did not examine the passage with any care at all, Aglaophon. He employed his skill in things which are not without risk, and set out to interpret the psalm in accordance with the opinions of low people, of whom I forbear to say more.*

48,1 *But now that I have come to the point of correcting their depravity, I should also like to explain to them the reason for this prophecy, "Thou hast proved us, O God. Thou hast tried us with fire as silver is tried."<sup>143</sup> (2) The martyrs, during their trials, were amply tested by the assaults of their tortures—for the most part, the prophecies are fulfilled in our faith. They thank God that they have fought the battle out honorably and with great courage, and say to him, "Thou hast proved us, o God. Thou hast tried us with fire as silver is tried," as though God, bent on victory in the true Olympics, tested them with many sufferings, enabling them to win greater glory in his eyes.*

48,3 *And see how Solomon calls out in praise of martyrs, in plain agreement with these words—for the line does not go uncorroborated by the testimony of other scriptures. "God proved them and found them worthy of himself. As gold in the furnace he tried them and received them as an whole burnt offering of sweet savor. And in the time of their visitation < they shall shine >." (4) And before that he had said, "And though they are punished in the sight of men, their hope is full of immortality. And being a little chastened they shall be greatly rewarded."<sup>144</sup>*

48,5 *Moreover, in the hundred and twenty-third Psalm it is the martyrs who sing "If the Lord had not been in our midst when men rose up against us, they had swallowed us up alive. The water had drowned us, our soul had passed through a torrent, our soul had passed through bottomless water. Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us for a prey unto their teeth. Our soul was delivered as a sparrow from the snare of the fowlers. The snare is broken and we are delivered."<sup>145</sup>*

48,6 *There are two choirs of victorious martyrs, one of the New Testament and the other of the Old, who with one accord sing their antiphonal hymn to*

God, their champion and the King of all: "Thou hast proved us, O God, thou hast tried us with fire as silver is tried. Thou broughtest us into the snare, thou laidest crushing burdens upon our backs."<sup>146</sup> Those [burdens] were the tribunal of the heathen, or the tortures in which they were hard pressed by crushing and burning. (7) For scripture says, "Test me, O Lord, and prove me, try my reins and my heart."<sup>147</sup>

48,8 Well might Abraham say, "Thou hast proved us, O Lord; thou hast tried us by fire as silver is tried,"<sup>148</sup> after hearing "Abraham, spare thy son,"<sup>149</sup> and throwing his sword away. (9) His heart had ached for his only son, though he honored God's command above < his child >. After Job's flesh had run with filth and his friends had reproached him, and after his body was in pain, well might Job say, "Thou hast set tribulations before us, o Lord, that thou mayest try us as gold in the furnace,"<sup>150</sup> on hearing God ask him from the whirlwind, "Or thinkest thou that I have dealt with thee otherwise than that thou mightest be found righteous?"<sup>151</sup> (10) And well might the three children in the furnace, sprinkled with dew to prevent their consumption by the fire, say, "Thou hast proved us, O God, thou hast tried us with fire as the silver is tried. We went through fire and water, and thou broughtest us out to a place of refreshment."<sup>152</sup>

48,11 Grant, O almighty God, the great, the eternal, the Father of Christ, that in thy day I too, Methodius, may pass unharmed through the fire and the waters turned to fuel, escape their onslaughts, and say, "I went through fire and water, and thou broughtest me out to refreshment." (12) For thy promise to those who love thee is, "If thou passest through the water I am with thee, and the rivers shall not overwhelm thee. If thou passest through the fire thou shalt not be burned; flame shall not scorch thee."<sup>153</sup> But so much for the exposition of the psalm.

49,1 But further, we must examine the argument in which, like sleepers dreaming many impostures, they declare that Paul said, "I was alive without the Law once,"<sup>154</sup> and loudly insist < that > by his life "before the commandment" he meant his life in the first man < in Paradise >, before the body. And

the words he adds, "But I am fleshly, sold under sin,"<sup>155</sup> confirm this. (2) For the man could not have been ruled and mastered by evil, and sold to it for his transgression, if he had not become fleshly; in itself, the soul is immune to sin. And thus, after first saying "I was alive without the Law once," Paul acutely added, "But I am fleshly, sold under sin."

49,3 Awe and consternation overcame the masses when they said these things, but now that the truth has come to light it is plain, not only that they have gone far wrong, but that they have ascended even to the height of blasphemy. (4) By granting that the souls had lived without bodies before the commandment, and supposing them completely immune to sin in themselves, they have once more demolished their own argument—or, far more, their own selves. For they make it out that the bodies < were given > to the souls later, as a punishment, because they had sinned before they had bodies. And indeed they have been moved to abuse, and compare the body with a prison and chains, and < set about\* > saying other silly things.

49,5 In fact, as has been said, the precise opposite is true; before the sin the soul must have a body. For if the soul in itself were immune to sin, it would not sin at all before it had a body. (6) But if it sinned, it cannot in itself be immune to sin, but must even be susceptible and prone to it. And therefore—again—it will sin even without getting the body, just as it sinned before it got one.

49,7 But why did it get a body at all later on, after it had sinned? Why did it need a body? If it was for torture and pain, why does it revel with the body instead, and behave licentiously? (8) And why does it plainly even have the freedom to make choices in this world? For here it is in our power to believe and not to believe, to do right and to sin, to do good and to do evil.

49,9 Moreover, how can the judgment still be on its way, in which God rewards everyone according to his works and behavior? Why not suppose that it is here already, if the soul's birth and entrance into a body is its judgment and retribution, whereas its death and separation from the body is its liberation and refection? For in your view it was put into a body as judgment and condemnation, for sinning before it had a body. (10) But my argument has more than amply shown that it is inadmissible to regard the body as the soul's torture chamber and chain.

50,1 To end our discussion of this here, one would need only to show from the scripture itself that, < even > before his transgression, the first man was composed of body and soul. I too shall go over the heads of this now, trying

< only\* > to correct the bases of their arguments, and thus not exceed the length suitable for speeches.

50,2 For you can see at once, gentlemen of the jury, that as the words which follow it indicate, the verse from Romans, "I was alive once without the Law,"<sup>156</sup> cannot apply to the life they claim the soul had before the body—even though, because he suffers from a completely incurable childhood ailment, this good physician of the texts forcibly changed the sense as he saw fit by removing the next lines. (3) For instead of keeping bodies' limbs next to their natural junctures and joints, and leaving the appearance of the body just right, as nature intended, he mutilated it, like a Scythian mercilessly hacking an enemy's limbs off for his destruction, by ignoring the order of scripture.

50,4 "All right," they will say, "if you have proved that this is not what they mean, why did the apostle make these declarations?"

"Because he regarded the 'commandment' as 'law,'" I would reply. "(Let us grant first that, as you suppose, he called the commandment an actual 'law.')" But Paul did not suppose because of this that, before the commandment, our first parents also lived without bodies; he supposed that they lived without sin. (5) Indeed the time between their creation and the commandment, during which they lived without sin, was short—[this time during which] they lived, not without bodies but with bodies. Thus they were expelled directly after the commandment, after a very brief youth in Paradise."

50,6 But suppose that someone seizes on the line which says, "When we were in the flesh, the motions of sins which were by the Law did work in our members," believes that Paul is accusing and repudiating the flesh; and suppose that he brings up all the other things of this kind that Paul said, (7) such as, "that the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us, which walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit."<sup>157</sup> Or, "For they that are after the flesh do mind the things of the flesh, but they that are after the Spirit, the things of the Spirit. For to be fleshly minded is death; but to be spiritually minded is life and peace. Because the fleshly mind is enmity against God, for it is not subject to the law of God, neither again can it be. < So then they that are in the flesh cannot please God >. But ye are not in the flesh but in the Spirit."<sup>158</sup> (8) We should ask him whether the apostle, and the persons to whom he wrote

*this, had already departed this life, if he was here decrying, not life lived in fleshly terms, but the flesh itself—or whether he was still in the flesh.*

50,9 *But it cannot be said that he sent this when he was not in the flesh. Both he and the addressees were plainly in the flesh. But in that case how can he say, “When we were in the flesh the motions of the sins that were by the Law did work in our members,” as though neither he himself, nor the addressees, were still in the flesh? (10) He is speaking not of the flesh itself but of a dissolute life. It is his habit to call a person who lives such a life “fleshly,” just as he calls one who is hardened to the beholding of the truth and the light of the mystery, “soulish.”*

50,11 *For [on their premises] they should say that neither can the soul ever be saved! Scripture says, “The soulish man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him. But he that is spiritual judgeth all things.”<sup>159</sup> (12) < Thus > in that case a soulish and a spiritual man are introduced, and the spiritual < is adjudged\* > as saved while the soulish < is adjudged\* > as lost, but this does not mean that the soul perishes and everything besides the soul is saved. So here, (i.e., at Rom. 5:8–9) when Paul says that the fleshly, and those who are in the flesh, must perish and cannot please God, he is not striving for the destruction of the flesh, but the destruction of the fleshly mode of life.*

50,13 *And further on, when he says, “They that are in the flesh cannot please God,” he adds at once, “But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you.”<sup>160</sup> (14) And shortly after that, “But because the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwelleth in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you. Therefore, brethren, we are debtors, not to the flesh to live after the flesh. For if ye live after the flesh ye shall die; but if ye, through the Spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live.”<sup>161</sup> As we must note, he maintained that the body’s appetite for pleasures is put to death, and not the body itself.*

51,1 *But if they argue, “Then why is it said that ‘The mind of the flesh is enmity against God, for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can it be?’”<sup>162</sup> we must reply that here too they are mistaken. (2) Paul was not suggesting that the flesh itself cannot be subject to the law of God, but that the “mind” of the flesh cannot be, and this is different from the flesh.*



51,3 *It is as though he were to say, "The impurity in poorly refined silver is not subject to the craftsman for manufacture as a household vessel. It cannot be; it must be removed from the silver first, and melted out." (4) And he was not claiming because of this that the silver cannot be wrought into a serviceable vessel, but that the copper in the silver, and its other impurities, cannot be. (5) Thus when he spoke of the "mind of the flesh," he did not mean that the flesh cannot be subject to the law of God, but that the "mind" that is in the flesh cannot be—its impulse to incontinence, for example. Elsewhere he sometimes called this the "old leaven of malice and wickedness,"<sup>163</sup> and urged that it be entirely removed from us. But sometimes he called it the "law which warreth against the law of my mind and bringeth it into captivity."<sup>164</sup>*

51,6 *For in the first place, if he meant that the flesh itself cannot be subject to the law of God, no just judge could blame us for licentious behavior, banditry, and all the other deeds we perform or do with the body—there is no other way of refraining from sin—then it is not true that the body cannot be subject to the law of God! How could the body be blamed for living up to its own nature?*

51,7 *But besides, neither could the body be brought to purity or virtue, if it were not in its nature to be subject to the good. For if the nature of the flesh is such that it cannot be subject to the law of God, but righteousness is the law of God, and prudence, then no one at all could ever be a virgin or continent. (8) But if there are virgins and continent persons, but continence is achieved by the subjection of the body—there is no other way of refraining from sin—then it is not true that the body cannot be subject to the law of God. (9) How did John subject his body to purity? Or Peter to sanctity? And why does Paul say, "Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof. Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin: but yield yourselves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God"?<sup>165</sup> And again, "For as ye have yielded your members servants to uncleanness and to iniquity, unto iniquity; even so now yield your members servants to righteousness unto holiness."<sup>166</sup>*

52,1 *Thus he knew that this tabernacle can be put to rights and assent to the good, so that the sins in it can be put to death. (2) Even with us, how can a man be the servant of righteousness if he does not first subject his fleshly*



members so that they will obey not sin but righteousness, and live worthily of Christ? Sinning and refraining from sin are accomplished through the body, and the soul employs it either as an instrument of virtue or an instrument of wickedness.

52,3 For if “Neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners can inherit the kingdom of God”<sup>167</sup>—(4) and if these things are accomplished by the body and derive their strength from the body, and no one is justified without overcoming them first—and if the one who overcomes them is the one who inclines to prudence and faith—then the body is subject to the law of God. For prudence is the law of God.

52,5 Thus the apostle did not say that the flesh is not subject to the good but that the mind of the flesh is not, removing, as it were, the flesh’s desire for immoderations, just as he removed the soul’s desire for evil. (6) In his earnest effort to purge even the intemperance of gluttony, teaching us that such desires and pleasures must be utterly eliminated, (7) and shaming those who believe that luxury and feasting are life—persons “who regard their belly as God,”<sup>168</sup> who < say >, “Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die,”<sup>169</sup> and who spend their time like greedy cattle on nothing but feeding and dining—he said, “Meats for the belly and the belly for meats: but God will destroy both it and them.”<sup>170</sup> And then he added, “Now the body is not for fornication, but for the Lord; and the Lord for the body. And God hath both raised up the Lord, and will raise up us by his power. What? Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid! What? Know ye not that that which is joined to an harlot is one body? For two, saith he, shall be one flesh. But he that is joined to the Lord is one spirit. Flee fornication. Every sin that a man doeth is without the body; but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body. What? Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own? For ye were bought with a price: therefore glorify God in your body.”<sup>171</sup>

53,1 Note that the apostle made these statements because the body can < be subject > to the law of God, and can be immortal if it is kept free of

the fuel of intemperance, and never soiled by forbidden stimulations of the passions. (2) For what else is "joined to an harlot,"<sup>172</sup> has relations with her, becomes one flesh by the junction and union of their members, but this external body with which all the sins of sex and passion are committed? (3) This is why Paul said, "Every sin that a man doeth is without the body; but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body."<sup>173</sup> (4) Vanity, unbelief, anger and hypocrisy are sins of the soul, but fornication, passion and luxury are sins of the body. With these the soul can neither take refuge in the truth nor the body be subject to the teachings of prudence; both will slip away from the kingdom of Christ.

53,5 And therefore if our bodies, when kept holy, are the "temple of the Spirit that dwelleth in us"<sup>174</sup> and "The Lord is in the body,"<sup>175</sup> and the members of the body are the members of Christ, the body is subject to the divine law and "can inherit the kingdom of God."<sup>176</sup> (6) For "He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you,"<sup>177</sup> so that "This mortal shall put on immortality and this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and death will be swallowed up in victory."<sup>178</sup> (7) For the apostle was not discussing some other body here on earth, but this body which dies and is put to death, and with which fornication and other sins can be committed.

54,1 But what if they surmise that there is a difference between "body" and "flesh"—to allow them this argument as well—and suppose that "body" is something different and invisible, < the property > of the soul, as it were, but "flesh" is this external, visible body? We must reply that it is not only Paul and the prophets who understand this flesh as "body." Others do as well, < pagan > philosophers, who are the most particular about the accuracy of terms. (2) If our opponents will also make a scientific investigation of this, "flesh" is the right word—certainly not for the whole mass of our tabernacle, but for some part of the whole, like the bones, sinews and veins. The whole, though, is "body." And physicians, who deal with precision with the nature of bodies, understand "body" to mean this visible body.

54.3 Plato too, moreover, understands “body” to mean this actual < body >. Thus Socrates said in the *Phaedo*, “Do we suppose that death is anything other than < the > soul’s departure from the body? And when the body has begun to exist separately by itself, apart from the soul, and the soul apart from the body, this is death.”<sup>179</sup>

54.4 Did not the blessed Moses—we come now to the Lord’s scriptures—understand “body” to mean the body we see, and say in the purifications that whoever touches something unclean “shall wash his clothes and bathe his body in water, and be unclean until even?”<sup>180</sup> (5) And what about Job? Did he too not understand “body” to mean this thing that dies, when he said, “My body is sullied with the rottenness of worms?”<sup>181</sup> (6) Solomon too said, “Wisdom will not enter into a soul that deviseth evil, nor make its abode in a body guilty of sin.”<sup>182</sup> And in Daniel it is said of the martyrs, “The fire had no power upon their bodies, nor was an hair of their head singed.”<sup>183</sup>

54.7 The Lord said too, in the Gospel, “Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought what ye shall eat or what ye shall put on. Is not the soul more than meat, and the body than raiment?”<sup>184</sup> (8) And the apostle proves that he understands “body” to mean this body of ours when he says, “Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body.”<sup>185</sup> And again, “If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall quicken your mortal bodies.”<sup>186</sup> (9) And again, “If the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body, is it therefore not of the body?”<sup>187</sup> And again, “And being not weak in faith, Abraham considered not his own body now dead.”<sup>188</sup> And again, “For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ: that everyone may receive the things done in his body according to that he hath done.”<sup>189</sup> (10) And again, “His letters are weighty and powerful; but the presence of his body is weak.”<sup>190</sup> And again, “I knew a man in Christ fourteen years ago, whether in the body, I cannot

tell, or whether out of the body, I cannot tell.”<sup>191</sup> And again, So men ought to love their wives as their own bodies.”<sup>192</sup> And again, “And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.”<sup>193</sup>

54,11 But our opponents have surely realized none of this. They supposed the apostle adrift on a stormy sea, as though his thoughts had no harbor and anchorage, but sailed back and forth making contradictory statements, sometimes that the flesh rises, but sometimes that it does not.

55,1 And so, to omit none of their propositions and hew <the> hydra all to pieces, I shall return to the subject. For next, as I promised, I shall put the other questions that they raise and show how to answer them, and prove that our opponent has said things that are themselves in accord and agreement with our faith in the resurrection of the flesh. (2) Let us see, then, what we were led at the outset to say of the apostle. As we originally suggested, his words, “I was alive without the Law once,”<sup>194</sup> mean our former life in Paradise in our first parents—not without a body but with a body—before the commandment. (3) For “God took the dust of the earth and fashioned the man”<sup>195</sup> before the giving of the commandment. We lived free from lust and knew no onslaughts of the senseless desire which, with the enticing distractions of pleasures, impels us to intemperance. (4) For if one has no rule to live by, and no control over his own reason, what life can he choose to live, to merit just praise or blame? He must be pronounced immune to all charges, since one cannot covet things that are not forbidden. (5) And even if he does covet them, he will not be charged. “Covet” does not apply to things which are accessible and at one’s command, but to accessible things which are not in one’s power. How can one desire and itch for a thing which is not withheld from him, and which he does not need? Thus <Paul said>, “I had not known lust if the Law had not said, Thou shalt not covet.”<sup>196</sup>

55,6 But when our first parents had been told, “Of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil ye shall not eat, and on the day ye eat thereof, ye shall surely die,”<sup>197</sup> they conceived desire and were infected with it. For one who “desires” does not desire the things that he has, controls and uses, but the

things which are forbidden and barred to him, and which he does not have. (7) Thus Paul was right to say, "I had not known lust if the Law had not said, Thou shalt not covet"—that is, if "Ye shall not eat thereof," had not been said. This is the way in which sin gained the opportunity and occasion for its entry, to mock me and pervert me.

56,1 For once the commandment had been given, the devil got his opportunity to produce covetousness in me through the commandment, and cunningly urged and provoked me to descend to the desire for the forbidden. (2) "For without a law sin is dead"<sup>198</sup>—that is, there was no way of committing sin when the commandment had not been given and was not yet in existence. "I was" blamelessly "alive"<sup>199</sup> before the commandment, because I had no rule and ordinance to live by, from which it would be sinful for me to fall away. (3) "But when the commandment came, sin revived and I died. And the commandment, which was ordained to life, I found to be unto death,"<sup>200</sup> because once God had given a law and specified what should and should not be done, the devil produced covetousness in me. (4) For though God's counsel and the commandment he gave me were meant for life and immortality, so that, if I obeyed the commandment and lived by it, I would have an untroubled life of the highest eternal beatitude, flourishing forever in immortality and joy, its result, because I transgressed it, was my death and condemnation. (5) For the devil—whom the apostle called "sin" in this instance because he is the artificer and originator of sin—took occasion from the commandment, deceived me into disobedience, and after deceiving me, killed me by bringing me under the sentence of, "In the day that ye eat thereof ye shall surely die."<sup>201</sup>

56,6 "Wherefore the law is holy, and God's commandment holy, and just, and good,"<sup>202</sup> because it was given, not to harm but to save. Let us not for a moment suppose that God does anything useless or harmful! (7) What, then? "Was that which was good"—the commandment I was given to be the cause of my greatest good—"made death unto me? God forbid!"<sup>203</sup> God's commandment was not the cause of my enslavement to corruption and the writing of the tablets of destruction. It was the devil, to make it clear that he had made evil ready for me by means of something good, so that the inven-

tor and architect of sin would become “exceeding sinful”<sup>204</sup> and be exposed as such, and the < wicked > overseer of the opposite of God’s commandment would be distinguished from the good.

56,8 *“For we know that the law is spiritual,”*<sup>205</sup> *and can thus be the cause of harm to no one; spiritual things have their dwellings far from senseless lust and sin. (9) “But I am fleshly, sold under sin.”*<sup>206</sup> *That is, since I am fleshly and placed as a free agent between good and evil, so that it is in my power to do what I will—for scripture says, “I have set before thee life and death”*<sup>207</sup> *—then, if I have consented to disobey the spiritual law, or commandment, but to obey the material law, or the counsel of the serpent, because of this choice I have fallen under sin and am sold to the devil.*

56,10 *And therefore, after laying siege to me, the evil settles, makes its home and lives in my flesh, like a drone in a beehive which often hovers buzzing around it. For because I broke the commandment, the punishment of being sold to evil was laid on me. (11) And thus, when I think of things I want not to do, “I allow not what I do.” For “I know not what I do” and “What I hate, that do I”*<sup>208</sup> *are not to be taken of actually doing evil, but of merely thinking of it. For unseemly thoughts often catch us off guard and cause us to imagine things we want not to, since the soul is very much perplexed by thoughts.*

57,1 *For to desire wicked things or not desire them is not entirely our choice, but we can choose whether or not to implement the desires. We cannot prevent the thoughts from occurring to us, since they are insinuated into us from without to test us; but we can refrain from obeying them or putting them into practice. (2) How did the apostle do the evil he disliked the most, and least of all do the good he liked—unless he was speaking of the peculiar thoughts which, for some unknown reason, we sometimes entertain even without intending to? (3) These must be repelled and silenced, or they will spread and possess the farthest bounds of our souls. For while these linger in us, the good cannot show itself.*

57,4 *The apostle was right, then, to say, “That which I do, I allow not; for what I would, that do I not, but what I hate, that do I.”*<sup>209</sup> *We want not even to think of things that are unseemly and infamous, for perfect good is not merely refraining from doing such things, but even from thinking of them.*

(5) *And yet this good which we want does not come to fruition; the evil which we do not want, does. Countless < thoughts > on countless subjects haunt our hearts and often enter them even against our will, filling us with curiosity and senseless meddlesomeness. (6) And thus we are capable of wanting not to entertain these thoughts, but < not > of banishing them, never to return to our minds. For as I said, we do not have the power to do this, but only the power to comply with the thoughts or not.*

57,7 *Thus the sense of the line, "For the good that I would, I do not,"<sup>210</sup> is something like this: "I want not to think of what is harmful to me, since [not to do so] is irreproachable good, "built foursquare without blemish by hands and heart,"<sup>211</sup> as the saying goes. And "The good that I will, I do not: but the evil that I would not, that do I" means, "I do not want to conceive of them, yet I conceive of the things I want not to."*

57,8 *And < it is worth > asking whether it was for this very reason that David besought God—his own disgust at thinking thoughts he did not choose to—[and said], "Cleanse thou me from my secret thoughts, and spare thy servant strange thoughts. If they get not the dominion over me, then shall I be innocent and cleansed of the great sin."<sup>212</sup> (9) And the apostle himself says elsewhere, "Casting down thoughts, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing every thought into captivity to the obedience of God."<sup>213</sup>*

58,1 *But suppose someone still ventures to speak up and reply that the apostle is teaching that we do the evil we hate and do not want to do, not only by thinking but also by actually doing it—(2) since Paul has said, "The good that I would I 'do' not: but the evil which I would not, that 'do' I." I shall require the one who says this to explain, if he is telling the truth, what the evil was that the apostle hated and wanted not to do, but still did—and < what > the good was that he wanted to do but did not do, but on the contrary, as often as he wanted to do this good, he did not do the good he wanted, but the evil he did not want. (3) When Paul wanted not to worship idols but to worship God, was he unable to worship God as he wanted to, but able to worship idols as he wanted not to? Or did he not live the sober life he wanted, but a licentious life that was vexatious to him? (4) And in a word, did he drink too much, squander his money, grow angry, do injury, and all the rest*



*of the evil he wanted not to, but not practice righteousness and holiness as he wanted to?*

58,5 *Indeed when, in his effort to see righteousness practiced among us with no admixture of evil, he urgently exhorts all the members of the churches not to transgress, he orders not only that active wrongdoers be reserved for destruction and wrath, but their sympathizers as well. (6) In his Epistles he often plainly teaches us to turn our backs on these very things and hate them, and says, "Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor drunkards, nor covetous, nor revilers, nor extortioners shall inherit the kingdom of God."*<sup>214</sup> (7) *And as his last word, to urge us to shun and reject all sin completely, he plainly says, "Be ye imitators of me, as I am of Christ."*<sup>215</sup>

58,8 *Thus the lines we have quoted suggest, not Paul's actual doing of the things he wanted not to, but his mere thinking of them. Otherwise, how could he be an exact imitator of Christ? Since savage thoughts often occur to us, however, filling us time after time with desires and senseless curiosity "like many swarms of buzzing flies,"*<sup>216</sup> *Paul said, "What I would not, that do I."*<sup>217</sup> *One must frighten these things away from the soul with a good courage, and not even incline to the carrying out of their suggestions.*

58,9 *For this troubling of our minds with many thoughts is meant to ensure our admission to the kingdom of heaven after being tested with all sorts of pleasures and pains—provided that we do not change, but like pure gold tried by fire, never depart from the virtue that becomes us. (10) We must therefore resist heroically, like shock troops who pay no heed to their arrows and other missiles when they see themselves under siege by enemies, but who eagerly charge them, with zeal unflagging in the defense of their city, till they put their band to flight and drive it beyond their borders. (11) For you see how, because of our indwelling sin, these thoughts from without band together against us like mad dogs or fierce, savage bandits, always urged on by the despot and chief of wickedness, who is testing our ability to withstand and resist them.*

59,1 *To work, my soul, or you will yield and be made prisoner, and I will have nothing to give in exchange for you! For "What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?"*<sup>218</sup> (2) *It would be a good thing—indeed, a most*



happy thing—if we did not have our adversaries and opponents. But as this cannot be—it would amount to salvation without effort—and we cannot have what we want, for we want not to have allurements to passion; and what we want does not materialize, but what we do not want does, since, as I said, we need to be tested; let us never, never yield to the evil one, my soul! (3) Let us “take the whole armor of God” to protect and fight for us, and “Let us put on the breastplate of righteousness, have our feet shod with the readiness of the Gospel of peace, and above all take the shield of faith, wherewith we shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the evil one, and the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, that we may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil”<sup>219</sup> and “cast down thoughts and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God,”<sup>220</sup> “for we wrestle not against flesh and blood.”<sup>221</sup>

59,4 I say this because this is the character of the apostle’s writings. There is a great deal to say in proof of the orthodoxy and circumspection even of every line in this Epistle; but to go over each one from this standpoint would take too long. Here I prefer to show simply his character and purpose (5) when he says, rightly, “What I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I. < If then I do that which I would not >, I consent unto the law of God that it is good. Now then it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. For I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, the good dwelleth not.”<sup>222</sup> (6) For you remember the limits we set for ourselves earlier. Even though I am going slowly despite my effort to run through everything quickly, although my discourse is more prolix than I had expected it would certainly be desirable to finish it. Besides, we have not yet reached the end of the subject.

60,1 Very well, we were saying, if you will recall, that from the moment when the man erred and broke the commandment, sin had its beginning because of his disobedience, and made its abode in him. (2) Thus a clash of impulses first fell upon us, and we were filled with unseemly thoughts. Because we had taken a shortcut past God’s commandment we were emptied of God’s inspiration, but filled with the material desire which the coiling serpent breathed into us. (3) And so, for our sakes, God devised death for the destruction of sin, to keep it from being immortal, as I said, since it had appeared in us while we were immortal.

60,4 Thus in saying "I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, the good dwelleth not,"<sup>223</sup> the apostle means the sin that, since the transgression, has made itself at home in us through desire, the pleasure-loving thoughts of which keep springing up around us like new shoots and twigs. (5) For there are two kinds of thoughts in us. The one kind arises from the desire which lurks in the body, and has been caused, as I said, by the inspiration of the material spirit. The other has come from our regard for the commandment, which we have been given to have as an innate natural law, and which urges and restores our thoughts to the good. (6) Hence we "delight"<sup>224</sup> in the law of God in our minds—this is what the "inner man" means—but with the desire that dwells in the flesh we delight in the devil's law. For the law which "warreth against and opposeth the law of God"<sup>225</sup>—that is, opposes our mind's desire, our impulse to the good—is the law which is forever fostering lustful, material turns to lawlessness, and is altogether a temptation to pleasures.

61,1 For it seems plain to me that Paul here assumes the existence of three laws. One corresponds to the innate good in us, and he plainly called this the "law of the mind." One arises from the assault of the evil and often draws the soul to sensual imaginings; Paul said that this "law" is at war with the "law of the mind." (2) Another is the law which corresponds to the sin that has become habitual in the flesh because of its lust; this, Paul called the "law of sin which dwells in the members." Mounted on this as his steed, the evil one often spurs it against us, driving us to wickedness and evil deeds. (3) For the law which is breathed into us from without by the evil one and which, through the senses, pours into the soul itself like a stream of pitch, is strengthened by the law in the flesh which corresponds with its lust.

61,4 For it is plain that the better and the worse are within ourselves, and that, when that which is by nature better becomes stronger than that which is worse, the mind as a whole is swayed to the good. But when the worse is larger and weighs us down—the thing which is said to be at war with the good in us—the man, again, is led to all sorts of imaginings and to the worse sort of thoughts.

62,1 Because of this very law the apostle prays for rescue; like the prophet who said, "Cleanse thou me from my secret sins,"<sup>226</sup> he regards it as death and destruction. (2) His words themselves prove as much; he says, "I delight in the law of God after mine inner man, but I see another law in my members,

warring against the law of my mind and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin, which is in my members. O wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me from this body of death?"<sup>227</sup> (3) Paul does not term the body "death," but the law of sin in the members < of the body >, which lurks in us because of the transgression and is always inciting the soul's imagination to the "death" of wickedness.

62,4 At once, no doubt undone by the sort of death from which he was yearning for rescue, he also adds who his rescuer was: "I thank God through Jesus Christ."<sup>228</sup> We must note, Aglaophon, that if, as you people have supposed, he meant that this body is death, he would not be inviting Christ to rescue him later from such an evil. What more peculiar, or even more than peculiar outcome could we have from Christ's coming?

62,5 And why ever did the apostle say that he could be freed from this "death" by God through the coming of Christ, when, in fact, death was everyone's lot even before Christ entered the world? (6) For everyone was "rescued" from their bodies by being separated from them on their departure from this life. And all the souls likewise—of faithless and faithful, of unjust and just—were separated from their bodies on the day of their death. (7) What more than the others—who had lived in unbelief—was the apostle anxious to get? Or if he supposed that the body is the death of the soul, why did he pray for deliverance from the body, which he would surely get even against his will, just as death and the separation of their souls from their bodies is the lot of everyone?

62,8 And so, Aglaophon, he does not mean that this body is death, but that the sin which lives < within > the body through lust is death—the sin from which God delivered him by the coming of Christ. (9) "For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made us free from the law of sin and death,"<sup>229</sup> so that "He that raised up Jesus from the dead may also quicken our mortal bodies because of his Spirit that dwelleth in us,"<sup>230</sup> (10) "with the sin in the body condemned" to destruction, "so that the requirement of the law"<sup>231</sup> of nature, which attracts us to the good as the commandment directs, may be set alight and made visible. For before Christ's coming when the flesh was controlled by sin, this smoldered feebly under a heap of material cares. (11) For God gave new strength to "the impotence of the natural law within

us, while it was feeble”<sup>232</sup> from its defeat by the lust in our bodies. For he sent his Son to take a flesh like our sinful flesh—that which appeared was real, not an illusion—(12) so that, with sin condemned to destruction so as to “bring forth” no more “fruit”<sup>233</sup> in the flesh, the requirement of the law of nature would be fulfilled. It would have grown, through obedience, in those who followed, not the desire of the flesh, but the desire and guidance of the Spirit. (13) For “the law of the Spirit of life,” which is the Gospel and is different from the other laws and meant to foster obedience and the forgiveness of sins through the proclamation of it, “hath set us free from the law of sin and death,”<sup>234</sup> and entirely conquered the sin which rules the flesh.

62,14 I have said these things, Theophilus, to clarify the passages which they cite even from the words of the apostle, but do not expound correctly. But I shall turn to the rest, provided that I can find someone to help me through to the end of my discourse. For the material which follows this is abstruse, and by no means easy to master. (15) So I undertake the more difficult part of it, though I can see that the demonstration will be long and hard unless a breeze of understanding suddenly blows on us from heaven as though we were being tossed in mid-sea, and restores us to a calm harbor and a more reliable proof.

63,1 This is the <selection\*> of consecutive passages <which I have made\*> <from> Methodius’, or Eubulius’, <comments\*> on Origen and the heresy which, with sophistical imposture, Origen puts forward in his treatise on resurrection. I believe that my quotation of these passages here will do for his silly teachings, and sufficiently refute his <destruction\*> of men’s <hope\*> for life with a malignancy which has been taken from pagan superstition and plastered over. (2) For many other things—surely even as many more—were also said in his followup of the subject by Methodius, a learned man and a hard fighter for the truth. (3) But since I have promised to say a few things in its refutation about every sect—there are not few of them!—I content myself with quoting Methodius’ work [only] this far. (4) And I, of my poverty, shall add a few more comments of my own on Origen’s nonsense and conclude the contest with him, awarding the prize to God who gives us the victory and, in his lovingkindness,

adorns his church at all times with the unfading wreaths of the teachings of the truth. So, as best I can, I too shall speak against him.

63,5 As I have indicated earlier, Mister, you scornfully say, "Was God a tanner, to make skin tunics for Adam and Eve when no animals had yet been slaughtered? And even if animals had been slaughtered, < there was no tanner there. What the scripture meant, then, was\* > not skin tunics, but the body of earth which surrounds us." (6) And you are exposed in every respect as a follower of the devil's < inspiration > and the guile of the serpent, who brought the corruption of unbelief on mankind, deceived Eve, and continues to corrupt the minds of simple people with the villainy < of his inspiration ><sup>235</sup>

63,7 Let's see whether your arguments can stand, then, since you've worked so hard and carried the struggle of writing so many books out to such useless length. (8) For if the story of your composing 6000 books is true,<sup>236</sup> you energy-waster, then, after expending all that futile effort on lampoons and useless tricks and rendering your work valueless and empty, you made the toil of your trafficking profitless by being mistaken in the main points with which you counterfeited the resurrection.

63,9 For if the body does not rise, the soul will have no inheritance either. The fellowship of the body and the soul is one and the same, and they have one work. But faithful men exhaust themselves in body and soul in their hope of the inheritance after resurrection—and you say there will not be one! Our faith is < of no value >, then; and there is no value in our hope, though it is in accordance with the apostolic and true promise of the Holy Spirit.

63,10 But though you, on the contrary, confess a resurrection yourself, since what you have is an illusory appearance and nothing real, you are compelled to say nothing but the name. How can we speak of a soul's "rising," when it doesn't fall and isn't buried? (11) It is plain from the name that the *resurrection* of the body, which has fallen and been buried, is proclaimed, everywhere and in every scripture, by the sons of the truth. But if the body doesn't rise, the resurrection proclaimed by all the scriptures isn't possible. (12) And if there is no resurrection, [any] expectation of the resurrection of the dead is useless. For there is no resurrection of souls, which have not fallen; but there is a resurrection of bodies, which

have been buried. (13) And even if a portion of the body is raised while a portion is laid to rest, how can there be any such portion? There cannot be parts of the body which are raised, and parts which are laid to rest and left behind.

63,14 < Anyone with a sound mind can see\* > that, [just] because there is a spiritual body and an ensouled body, the spiritual body is not one thing and the ensouled body something else; the ensouled and the spiritual body are the same. (15) We have ensouled bodies while we are in the world and doing the corruptible deeds of the flesh; for in the world we are enslaved to the soul in its wicked deeds, as you too have said up to a point. (16) When we are raised, however, there is no more enslavement to the soul but there is a following of the Spirit, for from that time on they have the Earnest<sup>237</sup> as scripture says, "If we live by the Spirit, let us also walk by the Spirit; and if we walk by the Spirit, by mortifying the deeds of the body we shall live."<sup>238</sup> (17) There will be no more marriages, no more lusts, no more struggles for those who profess continence. There will be no more of the transgressions which run counter to purity, and no more of the sorts of deeds that are done here; as the Lord says, "They that are accounted worthy of that resurrection neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels."<sup>239</sup>

64,1 And thus Enoch was translated so as not to see death, and was not found. But at his translation he didn't leave his body, or part of his body, behind. If he had left his body he would have seen death, but being translated with his body, he did not see death. For he is in a living body, and because of his translation his state is spiritual, not ensouled, though, to be sure, he is in a spiritual *body*.

64,2 The same < has been said\* > of Elijah, moreover, because he was taken up in a chariot of fire and is still in the flesh—but in a spiritual flesh which will never again need, < as > it did when it was in this world to be fed by ravens, drink from the brook of Kerith, and wear a fleece. It is fed by another, spiritual nourishment the supplier of which is God, who knows secrets and has created things unseen; and it has food which is immortal and pure.

64,3 And you see that the ensouled body is the same as the spiritual body, just as our Lord arose from the dead, not by raising a different body,

but his own body and not different from his own. But he had changed his own actual body to spiritual fineness and united a spiritual whole, and he entered where doors were barred, (4) as our bodies here cannot because they are gross, and not yet united with spiritual fineness.

64,5 What was it, then, that entered where doors were barred? Something other than the crucified body, or the crucified body itself? Surely, Origen, you cannot fail to admit that it was the crucified body itself! (6) It refutes you by the clear demonstration it gave to Thomas, telling him besides, "Be not faithless, but believing."<sup>240</sup> For Christ displayed even the mark of the nails and the mark of the lance, and left those very wounds in his body even though he had joined his body to a single spiritual oneness. (7) Thus he could have wiped the wounds away too, but to refute you, you madman, he does not. Therefore it was the body which had been buried for the three days in the tomb, and which had arisen with him in the resurrection. For he displayed bones, skin and flesh, as he said, "See that a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have."<sup>241</sup>

64,8 Why, then, did he enter where doors were barred? Why but to prove that the thing they saw was a body, not a spirit—but a spiritual body, not a material one, even though it was accompanied by its soul, Godhead, and entire incarnate humanity. (9) It was the same body, but spiritual; the same body, once gross, now fine; the same body, once crucified, now < brought to life\* >; the same body, once conquered, now unconquerable. It was united and commingled with his divine nature and never again to be destroyed, but forever abiding, never again to die. (10) For "Christ is risen from the dead, the firstfruits of them that slept."<sup>242</sup> < But once risen > "He dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him."<sup>243</sup>

65,1 But also, to show you why Christ is called "the firstfruits of them that slept"<sup>244</sup> even though he was not the first to rise—Lazarus and the widow's son arose before him by his aid, and others by the aid of Elijah and Elisha. (2) But since they all died again after rising, Christ is the firstfruits of them that slept. For after his resurrection "He dieth no more,"<sup>245</sup> since, through his life and lovingkindness, he is to be our resurrection.<sup>246</sup>

65,3 Now if he is the firstfruits of them that slept, and if his body arose in its entirety together with his Godhead, his human nature < must appear in its entirety > after its resurrection with none of it left behind, neither its body nor anything else. “For thou shalt not leave my soul in hades, neither shalt thou give thine holy one to see corruption.”<sup>247</sup> (4) And what is said about the soul in hades means that nothing has been left behind; but “holy one” is said to show that the holy body has not seen corruption, but has risen uncorrupted after the three days, forever united with incorruption.

65,5 But Mister, you claim that these bodies are the skin tunics<sup>248</sup> though the passage nowhere says so. But you say it because of the seeds of the Greeks’ heathen teaching which were sown in you to from that source, and because of the Greeks’ perverse notion which brought you to this and taught you. (6) “For the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit; for they are foolishness unto him, because they are spiritually discerned.”<sup>249</sup>

65,7 If Adam and Eve had gotten the tunics before their disobedience, your falsehood would be a plausible one, and deceptive. But since it is plain that < the flesh is already there\* > at the time of Eve’s fashioning, < how can it not be an easy matter to refute your foolishness?\* > What was Eve fashioned from? From a body, plainly; scripture says, “God cast a deep sleep upon Adam and he slept, and God took one of his ribs.”<sup>250</sup> (8) But a rib is simply a bone; for God built up “flesh in its place.” If flesh is mentioned [at this point], how can its creation still be in prospect?

65,9 And it says earlier, “Let us make man in our image and after our likeness.”<sup>251</sup> “And he took dust of the earth,” it says, “and fashioned the man.”<sup>252</sup> But dust and flesh are nothing else than body. (10) Then later “Adam awoke from his sleep and said, This is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh.”<sup>253</sup> (11) The skin tunics were not there yet—and neither was your allegorical falsehood. “Bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh,” plainly means that Adam and Eve were bodies, and not bodiless.



65,12 And “She took of the tree and ate”<sup>254</sup> when she was seduced by the serpent and fell into disobedience; and Adam heard the voice of God walking in the garden in the evening, and Adam and Eve hid themselves among the trees.” And God said to Adam, “Where art thou?” But because he was found out, Adam answered, “I heard thy voice and hid, for I am naked.”<sup>255</sup> (13) What did he mean by “naked?” Did he mean the soul or the body? And what did the fig leaves cover, the soul or the body?

65,14 Then God said, “And who told thee that thou art naked, if thou hast not eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee that of it alone thou must not eat?” And Adam said, “The woman whom thou gavest me gave unto me and I did eat.”<sup>256</sup> Now where was the woman “given” from if not from the side, that is, from Adam’s body—*before* the tunics were given to Adam and Eve!

65,15 And God said to the woman, “What is this that thou hast done?” And she said, “The serpent beguiled me and I did eat, and gave unto my husband also.”<sup>257</sup> And God laid the curse on the serpent, the pangs of childbirth on the woman, and the eating of bread by his sweat on the man.

65,16 “And afterwards God said, Behold, Adam hath become as one of us. [And now] lest he put forth his hand and touch the tree of life and live forever.”<sup>258</sup> (17) And do not suppose, hearer, that the Lord said, “Behold, Adam hath become as one of us,” as a statement of fact. He said it in reproof, to reproach Adam’s vanity for being won round by the deceit of the serpent. What Adam had thought would happen, had not happened; that is, Adam had not “become as one of us.” From the desire to rise higher, Adam had fallen lower.

65,18 And it was not from envy that God said, “Let us cast him out, lest he put forth his hand to the tree of life, and eat, and live forever,” but to make sure that the vessel which had been damaged by its own fault would not always remain damaged. (19) Like a master potter he reduced the vessel with its self-inflicted damage to its raw material, the earth, [to] remold the righteous at the resurrection, completely undamaged, immortal in glory, capable of enjoying the kingdom—and remold the unrighteous at the final resurrection, with the ability to undergo the penalty of

damnation. (20) For God planted nothing evil, never think it! He planted just the tree, and by his own decree permitted Adam to take its fruit at the proper time, when he needed it.

65,21 But you will retort, "What becomes of 'In the day in which ye eat thereof ye shall surely die,'<sup>259</sup> if Adam could eat from it? 'Ye shall surely die' would apply to him, surely, no matter when he ate from it!"

65,22 But to the one who says this I reply, "God decreed Adam's death for the transgression he would commit, since, even before giving the commandment, God, < who > knows the future, knew that Adam would be deceived and eat of the tree." (23) Because they are mistaken in this point the sects blaspheme God and say, "Some God of the Law! He envied Adam, cast him out and said, 'Let us cast him out, lest he put forth his hand and take of the tree of life and live forever!'"<sup>260</sup>

65,24 But their stupid idea stands exposed as the false accusation it is. Not only did God not forbid them to eat from the tree of life in the beginning; he even encouraged them by saying, "Of every tree in the garden thou mayest eat for food." But the tree of life too was one of "all the trees in the garden," right before Adam's eyes. (25) Only from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil did God forbid them to eat. But Adam's greedy mind disobeyed the commandment instead, from simplicity and < by listening > to his wife Eve who had been deceived by the devil.

65,26 Since Adam, then, had become defective by his own doing, God did not want him to live forever defective. Like a master potter God chose to change the vessel, which had been spoiled by its own doing, back to its raw material, and again change it from its material, as though on the wheel, at the regeneration, remaking and renewing it with no defects so that it could live forever. (27) Hence at first he threatens death, but the second time he no longer says "death," but says, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return,"<sup>261</sup> "without having consigned the man to death . . ." <sup>262</sup> (28) And after some other material, "And God made tunics of skin and clothed Adam and Eve, and cast them out of the garden."<sup>263</sup> And you see, Origen, that your novel nonsense is worthless. How long Adam and Eve had had bodies!

66,1 But if this shows your guilt, you unbeliever and worse, and if you cannot receive the grace of the Spirit because of your soulish thinking, then tell me how wonderful and astonishing is each thing that God has done. (2) How has the heaven been spread out from nothing and hung in mid-air? How was the sun made bright, and how were the moon and the stars created? From which primal matter was the earth taken, when it was made from nothing? From which materials were the mountains hewn?

66,3 What was the origin of the whole world, which God brought forth from nothing? How were the clouds formed, which cover the sky in an instant? (4) Where were the gnats and fleas provided from by God's command, for his servant Moses? How did God change Moses' wooden rod into a living serpent that crawled? How was Moses' hand changed to snow? (5) And in Adam's time too, you unbeliever, God willed, and made actual skin tunics without animals, without human craft and any of the various sorts of human work—< and > made them for Adam and Eve at the moment of his willing them, as he willed at the beginning, and the heaven, and all things, were made at that very moment.

66,6 And for those who care < to choose\* > life, salvation can be put in a few words and heresy is an easy matter to refute. But for those who are unwilling to receive the doctrine of salvation, not even the whole aeon would not be time enough for discussion, since, as the sacred oracle says, "Their hearing is ever deaf, like the < deaf > adder that stoppeth her ears, refusing to receive the voice of the charmer and the spell cast by the wise."<sup>264</sup> However, although what I say here is not extensive, I believe that it is of no little value to the sons of the truth.

67,1 But I shall pass on to the discussion of resurrection which you base on the first Psalm. For when you deceive the ignorant, you waster of effort, by palming your ideas off on them, and say that some "simple" people believe that the impious do not attain resurrection—and when you show later how you ask these "simple" people which body will be raised, and < mock them by replying\* > in your own words for the people you call "simple"—< you are compelled >, for I must say this plainly, to call your so-called "simple" people "good."<sup>265</sup> (2) < For > you are not saying this of yourself, and no grace is being given to your speech; you say it because of the truth, which compels you to give the signs of the superiority and goodness of the servants of God!

67,3 Even the heathen proverb says, "Simple is the speech of the truth." We are accustomed to call the harmless persons, whom the Savior praises at many points, "simple." < For example >, [he says], "Be simple as doves,"<sup>266</sup> and, "Suffer the little children"—that is, the simplest of all—"to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven."<sup>267</sup>

67,4 Now the "simple," as you say, gave you the answer that the resurrection is that of this body in which we are enclosed. And when you raise a difficulty in reply to this and ask them, "Is it a resurrection of the whole body or of a part of it?" they answer, "of the whole body." (5) But when, in your very silly way, you say that this is no good because of the blood that is drained from our bodies, and the flesh, hair, and other things that are voided through our spittle, nostrils and excrement, there is a great deal of trickery in your wrong diagnosis. A better man than I, the venerable and most blessed Methodius, has already countered your fabrication with many arguments.

67,6 But you will also hear a bit from my modest self. Anything we want, we want perfectly clean; we do not require the excess material which is removed from a thing that is clean. (7) Once a garment has been woven on the web it is complete and that is what is cut from the warp, with < nothing > added to it or removed from it. If it is given to a fuller it will not be expected back from the fuller reduced in size; even from the fuller we get it back perfectly whole. (8) Thus it is plain to everyone that it is entirely the same garment, and has become a smaller body in no way but by the removal of the spots and dirt. And surely, since he has removed the dirt, we will not demand the garment back from the fuller dirty; we shall want the garment itself, untorn, in good condition, and perfectly clean.

67,9 But here is another illustration. You have raised the question of the fluid which is drained away by bleedings, illness, excretion, and the dribbling of our spittle and nostrils; but you will be refuted from the very things you have said. (10) For not just this is in the body; vermin—lice and bugs—grow from us, as it were, and are not considered either apart from the body or part of the body. (11) And no one has ever hunted for a bug shed by the body, or a louse bred from the flesh itself, to keep it, but to destroy it. Nor would anyone regard its destruction as a loss. (12) <Just so > we shall not make a foolish search for the fluids we

excrete—though it is often as you say<sup>268</sup>—nor would God return these for our reconstitution. He would leave them behind the second time, like dirt which is the garment's dirt but has been removed from the garment itself for neatness' sake. The creator would plainly return the whole garment by the goodness of his skill, with nothing missing or added; for all things are possible to him.

67,13 But if it were not that way—you, with your brains damaged by your long-winded notion! [If it were not that way], our Savior and Lord, the Son of God, who came to make our salvation entirely sure, and who illustrated our hope mostly in his own person to prove his truthfulness to us, could have discarded part of himself and raised part of himself, you trouble-maker, in keeping with your destructive fiction and accumulation of a host of worthless arguments.

67,14 For to refute your sort of argument, he himself says at once, "Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it fall and die, it beareth many grains."<sup>269</sup> And whom was he calling a "grain?" (15) It is plain to everyone, and the whole world agrees, that he was speaking of himself—that is, of the body of the holy flesh which he had received from Mary, and of his whole human nature. (16) But he said "fall" and "die" of the three-day sleep of his body itself as he says, "Where the fallen carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together"<sup>270</sup>—and you yourself will admit it. For his Godhead can never sleep, fall, be mastered, or be changed.

67,17 And so the grain of wheat died and rose. Well, did the grain rise whole, or did a remnant of it rise? Did another grain rise in place of the original grain, or did He Who Is himself arise into being? You will surely not deny < that the body\* > arose, which Joseph had wrapped in a shroud and laid in a new tomb. (18) Then who did the angels tell the women had risen?—as they say, "Whom seek ye? Jesus of Nazareth? He is risen, he is not here. Come, see the place!"<sup>271</sup> This was as much as to say, "Come, see the place, and let Origen know that there is no question of a remnant's lying here; the body has risen whole." (19) And to show you that it has risen whole, < scripture says > in refutation of your nonsense, "He is risen. He is not here." For no remnant of him was left behind; the very same body < had risen > which had been nailed [to the wood], pierced with the

lance, seized by the Pharisees, spat upon. (68,1) And why should I give the multitudes of arguments that demolish this pitiable wretch and the nonsense that has been generated in him? As Christ has risen and has raised his own body, so he will raise us.

68,2 For the holy apostle demonstrated our hope on this basis by saying, "How say some of you that there is no resurrection of the dead? If there is no resurrection of the dead, neither is Christ risen. And if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain and your hope is vain. And we are also found false witnesses of God, for we have said that he raised up Christ, whom he raised not up,"<sup>272</sup> and so on. (3) And later he adds, "This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality."<sup>273</sup> And he didn't just say "mortal," or just say "corruptible," or, "the immortal soul." He said "*this* corruptible," with the addition of "this;" and "*this* mortal," with the addition of "this." (4) His grain has risen itself, whole. A part of him has not risen; he has risen whole, and not as a grain different than the first. The very grain that fell in the tomb has risen whole.

68,5 And how can your nonsense have any validity? The sacred scripture knows of two "grains," one in the Gospel and one in the Apostle. (6) And the one gives the full explanation because of the process that has been carried to completion in it, which is the pattern of < our > resurrection. For by giving this teaching and putting it into practice, the Savior has surely done everything to prove it to us. (7) No sooner did he speak of the grain than he raised the grain, as a true confirmation of the faith of our hope for our resurrection.

68,8 Here the apostle takes over by the Holy Spirit's inspiration, once more using a grain of wheat to tell us of the saints' glory after the resurrection, and displays their < hope > for the enjoyment of good things. (9) He denounces unbelievers with, "But thou wilt say unto me, How are the dead raised up? With what body do they come?"<sup>274</sup> And to anyone who says such things he replies, "Fool!" For anyone with any doubt of resurrection is a fool and has no understanding. (10) Then he says, "or of other seeds, and it is not quickened except it die. But God giveth it a body as he hath willed, and to every seed its own body. Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die. And that which thou sowest,

thou sowest not the body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat or of other seeds, and it is not quickened except it die. But God giveth it a body as he hath willed, and to every seed its own body<sup>275</sup>

68,11 And you see that the body is not changed. No one sows barley and looks for wheat, and no one has sown cummin and gotten barley; the thing that is sown is the same as the thing that is raised. (12) But if—here, in the case of this perishable wheat which is not under judgment—< some > of it is left below in the ground and its shoot comes up, the part that is left behind is of no use, but the thing that comes up from it is better.

68,13 But because of the unbelief of those who do not look for the hope of God, Paul chose to display its splendor. In fact, the grain of wheat is a very tiny thing. Where are the roots, the bottom parts of it, the stems and the joints, in so tiny a grain? Where is such a number of quills, heads, sheaths, ears, and grains multiplying?

69,1 But to put this more clearly by describing things that are like it—how could Moses, the son of Jochabed and Amram, pierce the rock with his staff, bring water from its impenetrable matter, change something dry to something wet? How could he strike the sea, and part it into twelve highways in the sea, by < God's > command? (2) How could he gather so many frogs in an instant? How could he send the lice upon the Egyptians? How could he mingle the hail with fire? How could he make the blackness of a moonless night even darker for the Egyptians? How could he slay the Egyptians' first-born with pestilence?

69,3 How could he lead the people whose shepherd he was with a pillar of fire? How could he bring the bread of angels by prayer and supplication? How could he provide the flock of quails, and glut so many myriads by God's command?

69,4 How could he hear God's voice? Why was he, among so many myriads, privileged to hear God's voice and talk with God? How could he not need the requirements of human nature for forty days and forty nights? How could his flesh be changed to the brightness and shining ray of the sun, making the people so giddy that the children of Israel could not look him in the face? How could his hand, though flesh, be changed to snow? (5) How could he bid the earth open its mouth and swallow Korah, Dathan, Abiram and Onan (sic!)? (6) Why was he told at the end

of his life, “Ascend the mount and die there?”<sup>276</sup> Why does no man know his sepulcher? Holy writ suggests that Moses’ body was not buried by men but, as may reasonably be supposed, by holy angels. (7) And all this was while Moses was still in this world and still in this ensouled body—which had, at the same time, become fully spiritual.

69,8 Taking this as the earnest < of our hope, let us use it > as the model of the perfect sprouting then, when “It is sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power”<sup>277</sup> is fulfilled. (9) For how can something sown without knowing where be anything but “weak?” How can something dumped in a grave and heaped with dust, something torn, decomposed, and without perception, be anything but “dishonored?”

69,10 How can a thing be anything but “honored,” when it is raised, abides forever, and obtains a kingdom in heaven by its hope in God’s lovingkindness—where “The righteous” shall shine “as the sun;”<sup>278</sup> where they shall be “equal to the angels;”<sup>279</sup> where they shall dance with the bridegroom; where Peter and the apostles “shall sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel;”<sup>280</sup> where the righteous shall receive “what eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him?”<sup>281</sup> (11) Our resurrection, then, rests with God, and so does any man’s—righteous and unrighteous, unbeliever and believer, some raised to eternal life but some to eternal damnation.

70,1 Quiet, Babel, you ancient confusion who have been brought to life again for us! Quiet, Sodom, and your loud, awful clamor that ascends to God! (2) “For the redeemer shall come from Zion, and turn away iniquities from Jacob,”<sup>282</sup> “The trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall arise,”<sup>283</sup> and “We shall be caught up to meet him in the air”<sup>284</sup> as < my > better, the < venerable and > blessed Methodius, has said, and I myself have added by building on the same words.



70,3 For from the context of each expression one can see what the wages are. Though the holy apostle distinguished the natures of the two kinds [of saved persons], he united them in one hope with his words, “We shall be caught up in the clouds to meet him”—showing that it is actually this body < that rises > and not something else; for one who is “caught up” has not died. (4) And by indicating that “We shall not precede the resurrection of the dead”<sup>285</sup> as proof that what is impossible for men is easy and possible for God—“For we, the living, shall not precede them that are asleep and their resurrection”<sup>286</sup>—he made it plain that the living are caught up as well. This shows, from the living, that the bodies of the dead will be raised whole; and from the fact that the dead precede those who are alive and remain, it shows what is possible to God. (5) “For the dead shall arise, and they that are in the graves shall be raised up,”<sup>287</sup> says the prophet.

But since I do not want to omit what the prophet Ezekiel says about resurrection in his own apocryphon,<sup>288</sup> I shall give it here. (6) To give a symbolic description of the just judgment in which the soul and the body share, Ezekiel says, *A king had made soldiers of everyone in his kingdom and had no civilians but two, one lame and one blind, and each < of these > lived by himself in his own home.* (7) *When the king gave a marriage feast for his son he invited everyone in his kingdom, but despised the two civilians, the lame man and the blind man. They were annoyed however, and thought of an injury to do the king.*

70,8 *Now the king had a garden. The blind man addressed the lame man from a distance and said, “How much did we have to eat with the crowds who were invited to the celebration? Come on, let’s get back at him for what he did to us!”*

*“How?” asked the other.*

70,9 *And the blind man said “Let’s go into the garden and ruin the plants there.”*

*But the lame man said, “And how can I, when I’m lame and can’t [even] crawl?”*

*And the blind man said, "Can I do anything myself, when I can't see where I'm going? But let's figure something out."*

70,10 *The lame man plucked the grass nearby him, braided a rope, threw it at the blind man, and said, "Grab it, and come here to me by the rope." He did as he was told, and when he got there, the lame man said, "Here, you be my feet and carry me, and I'll be your eyes and guide you from on top, to the right and to the left."*

70,11 *By so doing they got into the garden, and whether they did it any damage or not, their tracks were there to be seen in the garden afterwards. (12) And the merry-makers who entered the garden on leaving the wedding were surprised to see the tracks in the garden. They told the king and said, "All are soldiers in your kingdom and no one is a civilian. Then why are there civilians' tracks in the garden?"*

70,13 *The king was surprised—as the parable in the apocryphon says, obviously speaking to men in a riddle. God is not unaware of anything. But the story says, *The king sent for the lame man and the blind man and asked the blind man, "Didn't you go into the garden?" but the blind man answered, "Oh, Sir! You see my handicap, you know I can't see where I'm going!"* (14) *Then he went to the lame man and asked him, "Did you go into my garden?" But he replied, "Sir, do you want to make me miserable over my handicap?" And then judgment was stymied.**

70,15 *What did the righteous judge do? Seeing how the two had been put together he put the lame man on the blind man and examined them both under the lash, and they couldn't deny the charge. (16) They incriminated each other, the lame man by saying to the blind man, "Didn't you pick me up and carry me?" and the blind man by saying to the lame man, "Weren't you my eyes?"* (17) *Thus the body is linked with the soul and the soul with the body, for the exposure of their joint work, and there is a full judgment of both, the soul and the body; < they are jointly responsible\* > for the things they have done, whether good or evil.*

70,18 *And see—you who care for your salvation—how all the attackers of the truth have added to their own wickedness, as the prophet David says, "He hath conceived labor and brought forth wrongdoing."<sup>289</sup> (19) For whoever induces labor with heretical notions within him also gives birth to wickedness, his own and his followers': "He hath digged a cistern and shoveled it out, and shall himself fall into the pit."<sup>290</sup>*

70,20 But if anyone can reply to all this, let him come on! If anyone < cares > to oppose God, let him make the venture! For God is mighty and “will not tire, or hunger, or thirst, and there is no finding out of his counsel”<sup>291</sup> by which he raises decayed bodies, saves what is lost, quickens what is dead; by which he clothes the corruptible with incorruption, brings the fallen seed to resurrection, by his renewing of it brings what has been sown and has died to a radiance more glorious. So we find in many scriptures where there are hints of our resurrection.

71,1 In David<’s > Psalm on the rededication of the house of David, the prophet aptly said of resurrection—[speaking] as one who awaited what was to come and saw it by the Holy Spirit’s inspiration—“I will exalt thee, O Lord, for thou hast lifted me up and renewed mine house”—that is, the fallen body—“and not made my foes to rejoice over me.”<sup>292</sup>

71,2 By holding every part of the hope [of resurrection] ready, Solomon too urged us in riddles to prepare for the next life. He says, “Prepare thy works for their end”—by “end” he means departure from this life—“and make ready for the field.”<sup>293</sup> [And yet] he directed the admonition to all alike—countrymen and townsmen, the learned and the artisans, from whom no agricultural labor is expected. (3) Why should linen-weavers, silversmiths, poets and chroniclers prepare to farm? But his cry summoned all together without distinction, and said further, “Make ready for the field.” < What > can it be suggesting but that the interment of the body, its end by burial, is a “field” for everyone, townsmen and countrymen alike? (4) And then he says next, meaning the same hope of resurrection, “And thou shalt *rebuild* thine house.”<sup>294</sup> He didn’t say, “Thou shalt *build* thine house;” it was built once by its formation in the womb, when our mothers conceived us all at our formation. The resurrection will come from the earth, or “field,” to a house that is no longer being “built” but, because of its cleansing in the entombed corpse, *rebuilt*.

71,5 And as the Savior said, “Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise,” or build, “it.”<sup>295</sup> For he is wisdom, and < excels\* > by a “counsel which there is no” human “finding out”<sup>296</sup> By it < he gathers\* > our < remains\* > from inaccessible places, since some of our bodies have been

scattered as ashes and some in the sea, while some have been destroyed by birds of prey, wild beasts, or worms—[gathers us] and brings us < whole to regeneration\* >. (6) For if God brought the < existent > from non-existence to existence, how much more easily can he restore the existent to the state which is proper to it? In this way he gives a just judgment, and will not judge one in another's place, depriving me of what is mine.

71,7 For if the enjoyment and inheritance of the kingdom of heaven are [only] the soul's, let the body have what it wants! Gideon and his men may live at ease and not be afflicted "in sheepskins and goatskins."<sup>297</sup> John, with his garment of camel's hair, need not labor in vain. Nor need we mortify the flesh in holy retirement, master our bodies through purity. (8) But if the body is the soul's partner in its disciplines, purity, fasting and other virtues, "God is not" [so] "unrighteous"<sup>298</sup> [as] to deprive the laborer of the fruit of his labor, and award no recompense to the body which has labored with the soul.

71,9 [If there is no resurrection of the body], judgment will plainly be suspended. For if the soul appears all by itself it can reply to its sentence, "The responsibility for the sin is not mine. Fornication, adultery and wantonness are caused by that corruptible body of earth. For I have done none of these things since it left me"—and it will have a good case, and undo God's judgment.

71,10 And even if God should bring the body to judgment by itself—for he can, as I have already shown through Ezekiel<sup>299</sup> For even though the action was set in a parable, that kind of thing was done as an allegory of the truth that was expressed in the [other] parable, when bone was joined to bone and joint to joint and, although the bones were dry and there was no soul or spirit in them yet to move them, the bodies were put together at once, and made firm by the prophet's command. (11) And if God so wills, he has the power to make this body appear and be moved without a soul, as Abel's blood, which is body, not soul, spoke after his death. (For the blood is not soul; anything that can be seen is a body.)

71,12 But the body cannot be judged without a soul. It too could retort, "I didn't sin, the soul did! Since it was separated from me have I committed adultery, fornication, idolatry?" And the body would dispute God's righteous judgment, and with reason. (13) For this and many other

cogent reasons God in his wisdom brings our dead bodies and our souls to regeneration by his kindly promises, so that one who has grown weary in holiness may receive his whole good reward from God; and those whose deeds were worthless may be judged as well, body with soul and soul with body.

71,14 And as a further assurance of our salvation < the Word himself\* > came in the flesh, took perfect manhood and < appeared among us\* >, to strengthen his faith within us—foreknowing your future unbelief, Origen, and desiring < to confirm\* > the doctrine which you doubt more, and which is doubted in many sects, the Manichaeans and Marcionites whose unbelief is similar to yours. And finally, when he had accomplished everything to confirm and establish his faith and truth in his own person, he did [the same things] for all to see. (15) For after rising from the dead [himself] he raised many bodies of the saints with him, and they entered the holy city with him, as I have also described elsewhere.<sup>300</sup> (16) And to leave no opportunity for an unfair stratagem, the scripture did not say, “the saints arose.” It hastened < to confirm\* > that very thing which is doubted by unbelievers, and to confirm what we know of salvation said, “the *bodies* of the saints.” (17) And it wasn’t just that he raised them, but that they showed < themselves > to many in the city when the words, “bringing forth prisoners in manhood”<sup>301</sup>—that is, bringing the souls of the risen bodies—had been fulfilled in them by his power. For these were the prisoners of the camp, who had been confined in hades. (18) And it says, “Likewise them that embitter, the dwellers in graves”<sup>302</sup> to mean the bodies of the risen. And he did not say, “them that have been embittered,” or “are embittered,” but, “them that embitter.”

71,19 For when the newly dead, together with the most ancient, appeared to many in the city—(I presume that he began the resurrection with Adam. And the newly dead < had been buried in the same place, Golgotha, and their bodies laid to rest above Adam’s, so that Christ, who\* > had been crucified < there, raised\* > those buried above Adam on Golgotha < together with Adam\* [himself] >, fulfilling the scripture, “Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ,” who was crucified above thee, “shall give thee light.”<sup>303</sup>) [When the recently dead appeared] and other members of their families recognized < them >, at

first they astonished the beholders. (20) For if a father met a child who had risen, or a brother met a brother, or a < kinsman > met a kinsman who had died ten or twenty years before, and asked in amazement, "Aren't you so-and-so, whom we buried here? How have you risen and come back?" (21) the newly risen would ask in reply, "What happened here among you three days ago, when the earth was shaken?"

And when the first said, "We arrested a fraud named Jesus who deceived the people and crucified him, and that put a stop to the deception," (22) the risen would at last confess the Lord's grace and truth and say, "Woe to you! You have denied and crucified the Author of the world's salvation! He has raised us by the mighty power of his Godhead and manhood." This at last would provide the fulfillment of the sacred scripture, "likewise them that embitter, the dwellers in the graves." (23) For when they heard from the risen that they had risen through the Lord Jesus, they would feel bitter as death because they had ventured to deny and crucify the Author of life. (24) And perhaps the kindly Lord did even this for the benefit of those who saw the risen. For I presume that many who were pricked in their consciences by seeing the risen, were benefited by it, and became believers. You be converted and believe too, you Origenists, and stop destroying many with your imposture!

72,1 But this will be enough about the would-be sage, Origen, who named himself Adamantius for no good reason, and his outrage against the truth in many points of the faith, the destructive doctrine of his clumsy invention. (2) I shall pass his sect by too, beloved, and investigate the others next, with my usual plea for God's aid to my lack of education, which will enable me to resist and overcome every voice that is raised in vain against the truth, as the holy prophet Isaiah said, (3) "Every voice that is raised against thee, all of them shalt thou overcome, but they shall be guilty."<sup>304</sup> I shall thus carry out my promise in God to those who are willing to read attentively for exercise in truth, and as a medicine, like an antidote, for each wild beast and poisonous snake—I mean these as symbols of the sects—and for this sect of Origenists, which looks like a toad noisy from too much moisture which keeps croaking louder and louder.

72,4 Taking the Lord's resurrection for a preventive draught, as it were, let us spit out the oil of the toad's poison, and the harm that has been done by the noxious creature. (5) For this is what has happened to Origen with all his followers, and I mourn him on this account. Ah, how badly you

have been hurt, and how many others you have hurt—as though you have been bitten by a baneful viper, I mean secular education, and become the cause of others' death.

72,6 Naturalists say that a dormouse hides in its den and bears a number of young at once, as many as five and more, but vipers hunt them. (7) And if a viper finds the den full, since it cannot eat them all it eats its fill of one or two then and there, but punctures the eyes of the rest, and after they are blinded brings them food, and feeds them until it is ready to take each one out and eat it. (8) But if simple people happen upon such creatures and take them for food, they poison themselves with < the > animals that have been fed on the viper's venom. (9) And you too, Origen, with your mind blinded by your Greek education, have spat out venom for your followers, and become poisonous food for them, harming more people with the poison by which you yourself have been harmed.