

Epifanio de Salamina

PANARION

LIBRO III, PARTE II

Prólogo

Here too are the contents of the second Section of this same Volume Three. By the division of the Sections which we have been using, it is a seventh Section. It is Section Seven and the end of the whole work, and contains four Sects:

Dimoerites, also called Apollinarians, who do not confess that Christ's humanity is complete. Some of them at one time dared to say that Christ's body is co-essential with his Godhead, some denied that he ever took a soul, but some, in reliance on the text, "The Word was made flesh,"¹ denied that Christ received his fleshliness from created flesh, that is, from Mary. They merely said contentiously that the Word was made flesh; but after that they say, I do not know with what intent, that he has not received a mind.

Antidicomarians, who say that the holy, ever-virgin Mary had relations with Joseph after bearing the Savior.

Collyridians, who offer a loaf in the name of this same Mary on a certain set day of the year. I have given them a name to correspond with their practice, and called them Collyridians.

A group < called > Massalians, which means, "people who pray." Of the sects current among pagans, the following, called Euphemites, Martyrians and Satanists, are associated with them.

This is the summary of the seventh Section, and the end of the three Volumes. There are eighty Sects in all. At the very end of the third Volume, and after Section Seven, is the Faith of the Catholic Church, the Defense of Truth, the Proclamation of the Gospel of Christ, and the Character of the Catholic and Apostolic Church which has been in existence from all ages, but which, in time, was made fully manifest by Christ's incarnation.

I

Contra los Apolinaristas, secta del Cristianismo

1,1 Though it is painful to me in the anticipation, directly after these another doctrine different from the faith sprang up. I cannot tell with what intent, but it was to make sure that the devil would not leave < the church untroubled* >, for he is constantly disturbing the human race and, as it were, warring on it, by putting his bitter poisons into its choice foods. And as though he were dumping its bitterness into honey, < he is introducing the heresy* > even through people who are admired for their exemplary lives and always renowned for their orthodoxy. (2) For this is the work of the devil, who envied our father Adam at the beginning and is the enemy of all men—as certain wise men have said, envy is always the opponent of great successes.² (3) And so, not to leave me and God's holy church untroubled but constantly in an uproar and under siege, the devil planted certain occasions for [it] even through persons of importance.

1,4 For certain persons—people, indeed, who were originally ours, who held high position, and who have always been esteemed by myself and all orthodox believers, have seen fit to remove the mind from Christ's human nature and say that our Lord Christ took flesh and a soul at his coming, but not a mind—that is, that he did not take full humanity. (5) I cannot say how they have contributed to the world with this, or who of their predecessors they learned it from—or what benefit they have derived from it or conferred on me, on their hearers, and on God's holy church, by causing us nothing but disturbance and division among ourselves, and grief, and the loss of our mutual affection and love. (6) For they have abandoned the following and the righteousness of the sacred scriptures, and the simple profession—the faith of the prophets, Gospels and apostles—and introduced a sophistical, fictitious doctrine, and a series of many dreadful teachings with it, so that they are examples of the scripture, "They shall turn away from sound doctrine and give heed unto fables and empty words."³

2,1 It was the elderly and venerable Apollinarius of Laodicea, whom I, the blessed Pope Athanasius, and all the orthodox had always loved, who originally thought of this doctrine and put it forward. (2) When some of his disciples told me about it I did not at first believe that a man like himself had introduced this doctrine to the world, and I waited patiently, with hopeful expectation, till I could learn the facts of the matter. (3) For I thought that his pupils who were coming to me from him had not understood the profound < utterances > of so well educated and wise a man and teacher, and had not learned this from him but had made it up on their own. (4) For even among the ones who were visiting me, a great deal was in dispute. Some of them dared to say that Christ had brought his body down from on high. But the heresy stayed in people's heads and drove them to shocking lengths, for others denied the doctrine that Christ had received a soul. (5) But some even dared to say that Christ's body was co-essential with his Godhead, and threw the east into great turmoil; it became necessary to call a council on their account and condemn persons of this kind.

2,6 Minutes were taken, moreover, and copies of them sent to the blessed Pope Athanasius. Because of the minutes the blessed Pope was obliged to write an Epistle himself against people who say such things, in which he harshly reproved the most venerable bishop Epictetus for even deigning to make a reply about this to the trouble-makers. (7) In the same letter the blessed Pope wrote plainly about the faith, and denounced those who were saying those things and making trouble. I feel obliged to present a copy of this letter here, in its entirety. It is as follows:

3,1 *I had believed that every worthless doctrine of all sectarians, however many there are, had been brought to an end by the council that convened at Nicaea. For the faith confessed by the fathers there, in conformity with the holy scriptures, is sufficient for the overthrow of all impiety and the commendation of the godly faith in Christ. (2) And therefore, when various councils were held just lately in Gaul,⁴ Spain and the metropolis of Rome,⁵ all the participants, as though moved by one spirit, unanimously condemned those who still secretly held the opinions of Arius, I mean Auxentius of Milan and*

Ursacius, Valens and Gaius of Pannonia. (3) But because such persons contrive so-called councils of their own, [the participants in the orthodox councils] have written everywhere that none but the council of Nicaea alone is to be termed a council of the catholic church—the monument of victory over every sect, especially the Arian, on whose account the council was chiefly called at that time.

3.4 After so much [of this sort], how can anyone still undertake to doubt or dispute? If they are Arians, it would be no surprise that they complain of writings against themselves, just as, when they hear, “The idols of the heathen are silver and gold, the work of men’s hands,”⁶ pagans consider the teaching concerning the Holy Spirit⁷ foolishness. (5) But if it is persons who appear to be orthodox and to love the fathers’ pronouncements who wish to revise them by disputation, they do nothing else than to “give their neighbor a foul outpouring to drink,”⁸ as scripture says, and to dispute about words, to no purpose but the overthrow of the simple.

4.1 I write in this way after reading the minutes your Reverence has taken. They ought not even to have been put in writing so as to leave not even a memory of these matters to posterity. For who has ever heard of such things? Who has taught or learned them? (2) “For from Zion shall go forth the word of the Lord, and the Law of God from Jerusalem;”⁹ but where have these things come from? (3) What hell spewed forth the doctrine that “< the > body taken from Mary is co-essential with the Word’s divine nature,”¹⁰ or, “The Word was transformed into flesh, bones, hair and the rest of the body,¹¹ and changed from his own nature?”¹²—(4) Who has ever heard Christians say that “The Son was clothed with a body by attribution, not nature?” Who has been so impious as both to say and to believe that “His divine nature, which was itself co-essential with the Father, has been curtailed, and from perfect

*become imperfect; and that which was nailed to the tree was not the body, but the very creative essence of wisdom?"*¹³ (5) And who can hear, "The Lord produced his passible body by transformation, not from Mary but from his own essence," and suppose that a Christian is saying this?

4,6 And who conceived of this wicked impiety, so as even to think of saying "Whoever says that the Lord's body is from Mary no longer believes in a Trinity in the Godhead, but in a quaternity >?"¹⁴ In other words, persons who hold such views are saying that the flesh which the Savior assumed from Mary is of the essence of the Trinity. (7) And again, from what source have certain persons spewn forth an equal impiety, so as to say, "Christ's body is not younger than the Godhead of the Lord but is forever begotten in co-eternity with him, since it arose from wisdom?"¹⁵ (8) But why have persons called Christians even presumed to doubt that the Lord who came forth from Mary is the Son of God in essence and nature, but that, humanly speaking he is of the seed of David and St. Mary's flesh? (9) Who, then, have become so audacious as to say, "The Christ who suffered and was crucified in the flesh is not Lord, Savior, God and Son of the Father?" (10) Or how can people wish to be called Christians who say, "The Word has come to a holy man as to one of the prophets, and has not become man himself by taking his body from Mary?"¹⁶ Christ is one thing; the Son of God, the Son of the Father before Mary and before all ages, is another?" Or how < can > people be Christians who say, "The Son is one person, and the Word of God is another?"

5,1 These things were said in various ways in your minutes, but their intent is one and the same, and looks to impiety. Because of them, persons who plume themselves on the confession of the fathers at Nicaea have been differing and disputing with one another. (2) I am astonished that your Reverence has put up with it, and has not stopped them from saying these things and expounded the orthodox creed to them, so that they may either hear it and be still, or dispute it and be recognized as sectarians. (3) For

the statements I have quoted are not to be said or heard among Christians, but are in every way foreign to the teaching of the apostles. (4) For my part, I have had their statements inserted baldly in my letter, as I have said, so that one who merely hears them may observe the shame and impiety in them. (5) And even though one ought to accuse them at greater length and expose the shame of those who harbor these thoughts, it would be better still to end my letter here and write no more. (6) It is not right to investigate further and expend more effort on things whose wrongness has been so plainly revealed, or the contentious may think that they are matters open to doubt. In reply to such statements it is enough to say simply that they are not of the catholic church, and that the fathers did not believe them. (7) But lest the inventors of evils take shameless occasion from my complete silence, it will be well to mention a few passages from the sacred scriptures. For perhaps if they are embarrassed even in this way, they will desist from these filthy notions.

6,1 What has possessed you people to say, "The homoousion is the body of the Word's Godhead?"¹⁷ For it is best to begin with this proposition in order that, from the demonstration of its unsoundness, all the rest may be shown to be the same.

6,2 It is not to be found in the scriptures, for they say that God has become incarnate in a human body. Furthermore, the fathers who met at Nicaea said, not that the body, but the Son himself is co-essential with the Father. And they confessed that the Son is of the Father's essence, but that— again, in accordance with the scriptures—his body is of Mary. (3) Therefore, either reject the Council of Nicaea < and > introduce these opinions as sectarians; or, if you desire to be the children of the fathers, do not believe otherwise than they have written.

6,4 Indeed, your absurdity can be seen from the following consideration as well. If the Word is co-essential with the body whose substance is of the earth, but the Word is co-essential with the Father in accordance with the fathers' confession, then the Father himself is co-essential with the body whose origin is of the earth. (5) And why do you still blame the Arians for calling the Son a creature, when you yourselves say that the Father is co-essential with created things, and—passing over to another impiety—that "The Word has been transformed into flesh, bones, hair, sinews and the whole body, and changed from his own nature?" (6) The time has come for you to say openly that he

is made of earth; for the substance of the bones, and of the whole body, is made of earth.

6,7 *What is this madness, of such severity that you even contradict yourselves? For by saying that the Word is co-essential with his body you distinguish the one from the other, but you imagine a change of the Word himself by his transformation into flesh. (8) And who will put up with you further if you so much as say these things? You have leaned farther towards impiety than any sect. If the Word is co-essential with his body mention of Mary is superfluous, and there is no need of her. If, as you say, the Word is co-essential with his body, the body is capable of existing eternally even before Mary, just as is the Word himself. (9) Indeed, what need is there for the Word's advent, either to assume something co-essential with himself or to be altered from his own nature and become a body? For the Godhead does not lay hold of itself, to assume something that is co-essential with it. (10) Nor did the Word, who atones for the sins of others, sin and so that, turned into a body, he could offer himself as a sacrifice for himself and atone for himself.*

7,1 *But none of this is so, perish the thought! "He took part of the seed of Abraham," as the apostle said, "wherefore in all things it behooved him to be made like unto his brethren"¹⁸ and take a body like ours. (2) Thus Mary is indeed the foundation [of his body], so that he took it from her and offered it, for us, as his own. And Isaiah indicated Mary by prophecy when he said, "Behold, the Virgin shall conceive and bear."¹⁹ And Gabriel was sent to her—not simply "to a virgin," but "to a virgin espoused to a man,"²⁰ to show Mary's true humanity through her suitor. (3) And scripture mentions her "bringing forth,"²¹ and says, "She wrapped him in swaddling clothes,"²² and, "Blessed were the paps which he hath sucked."²³ And a sacrifice was offered, as though for a son who had "opened the womb."²⁴ But these are all tokens of a virgin's giving birth.*

7,4 *And Gabriel surely did not simply tell her, "that which is conceived 'in' thee,"²⁵ or it might be supposed that a body had been introduced into her from without. He said, "that which is born 'of thee,'"²⁶ so that it might be*

believed that the child, when born, was actually born 'of her.' Nature shows this plainly besides, for the body of a virgin who has not given birth cannot have milk, and a body cannot be nourished with milk or wrapped in swaddling clothes without first being actually born.

7,5 This is the body that was "circumcised the eighth day."²⁷ Simon "took" this "up in his arms."²⁸ This became "a child and grew,"²⁹ reached the age of twelve, and attained his thirtieth year. (6) For "the very essence of the Word" was not "changed and curtailed," as some have supposed, for it is changeless and unalterable as the Savior himself says, "See that it is I, and I am not changed."³⁰ And Paul writes, "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today and forever."³¹ (7) But the impassible and incorporeal Word of God was in the body that was circumcised, was carried in its mother's arms, ate, grew weary, was nailed to the tree and suffered. (8) This body was laid in the tomb when Christ himself "went to preach to the spirits that were in prison,"³² as Peter said.

8,1 This above all reveals the folly of those who say that the Word was changed to bones and flesh. If this were so there would be no need of a tomb. The body itself would have gone of itself to preach to the spirits in hades. (2) As it is, Christ himself went to preach, but "Joseph wrapped" the body "in a linen shroud, and laid it to rest"³³ on Golgotha. And it has been shown to all that the body was not the Word, but the Word's body.

8,3 And Thomas handled this body once it was risen from the dead, and saw in it "the prints of the nails"³⁴—the sight of which nails the Lord had endured as they were hammered into his own body, and did not prevent although he could have. Instead he, the Incorporeal, claimed the characteristics of the body for his own. (4) Of course he said, "Why smitest thou me?"³⁵ as though he himself had been hurt, when he was struck by the servant. And though by nature he was intangible, he still said, "I gave my back to the scourges, and hid not my face from spitting."³⁶ (5) For what the Word's human nature suffered, the Word united with the human

nature imputed to himself, so that we might participate in the Word's divine nature.

8,6 *And it was a paradox that the one who suffered was the same as the one who did not suffer. He suffered in that his own body suffered, and he was in the very body that suffered; but since the Word, who is God by nature, is impassible, he did not suffer. (7) And the Incorporeal himself was in the passible body, while the body had within it the impassible Word, nullifying the weaknesses of the body itself. (8) But he did this, and became what he was, in order to assume our characteristics, nullify them by offering them in sacrifice, and finally, by enduing us with his own characteristics, enable the apostle to say, "This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality."*³⁷

9,1 *But this was not done by attribution as some, in their turn, have surmised, perish the thought! Since the Savior became true man, he truly became the salvation of man as a whole. (2) If the Word were < in > the body by attribution, as they say, and something which is said to be by attribution is imaginary, both men's salvation and their resurrection must be called [only] apparent, as the most impious Mani teaches.*

9,3 *But our salvation has by no means been imaginary, or a salvation of the body alone. The salvation of man as a whole, soul and body, has truly been accomplished in Christ. (4) Therefore the Savior's true body, which he received from Mary as the sacred scriptures teach, is really human. But it was a true body because it was the same as ours. For since all of us were Adam's descendants, Mary is our sister.*

9,5 *And no one can doubt this if he recalls what Luke wrote. For after the resurrection from the dead, when some thought that they were not beholding the Lord in the body he had taken from Mary but were seeing a spirit in its place, he said, "See my hands and feet, and the prints of the nails, that it is I myself. Handle me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have. And when he had thus spoken, he showed them his hands and his feet."³⁸ (6) From this, again, those who dare to say that the Lord was changed into flesh and bones can be refuted. He did not say, "as ye see me 'be' flesh and bones," but "'have' flesh, and bones," so that there can be no question of the Word himself being changed into these things. It must be believed that he himself was 'in' these things, both before his death and after his resurrection.*

10,1 *But since these things can be proved in this way, there is no need to deal with the rest and enter into any discussion of them. (2) For as the body in which the Word was is not co-essential with the divine nature but truly born of Mary; and as the Word himself was not changed into bones and flesh, but became incarnate in the flesh—(3) for this is the sense of the words in John, “The Word became flesh,”³⁹ as can be learned from a similar passage. For it is written in Paul, “Christ became a curse for us.”⁴⁰ And as Christ did not himself become a curse, but [it is said] that he became a curse because he assumed the curse for us, so he became flesh, not by turning into flesh, but by assuming flesh for us and becoming man.*

10,4 *For—once more—to say, “The Word was made flesh,” is the equivalent of saying that he became man, as is said in the Book of Joel, “I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh.”⁴¹ < For > the promise did not < extend > to animals but is for men, for whom, indeed, the Lord became man. (5) And since this is the meaning of this text, those who have supposed that “The flesh that came from Mary was before Mary, and the Word had a human soul before her and had always been in it before his advent,” must surely with good reason condemn themselves. (6) Those too who have said, “His flesh is not subject to death, but is of an immortal nature,” will cease to say so. For if Christ did not die, how could Paul “deliver” to the Corinthians “that which I also received, that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures?”⁴² How could Christ rise at all, if he did not first die?*

10,7 *But those who even suppose that there can be “a quaternity instead of the Trinity” if the body is said to be from Mary, must blush beet red. (8) “For,” < they say >, “if we say that the body is co-essential with the Word, the Trinity remains a Trinity, since the Word imports nothing foreign into it. But if we say that the body born of Mary is a human body, then, since the body by its nature is other than [the Word], and since the Word is in it, there will necessarily be a quaternity instead of a Trinity because of the addition of the body.” (11,1) But they do not realize how they fall foul of themselves by saying this. For if they say that the body is not from Mary but is co-essential with the Word, it will be shown nonetheless that they, on their notion, are speaking of a quaternity—the very misrepresentation that they made to avoid giving the impression that they believed it. (2) For as the Son who, in their view, is not the Father himself despite his co-essentiality with the Father, but is called a*

Son co-essential with the Father, so the body, which is co-essential with the Word, is not the Word himself, but different from the Word. (3) But since it is different, on their own showing their Trinity will be a quaternity. For the true, and truly perfect and undivided Trinity receives no addition, but the Trinity of their invention does. And since they invent a God other than the true one, how can they still be Christians'?

11,4 For once more, their foolishness can be seen in another of their sophisms. They are very wrong if they think that a quaternity is being spoken of instead of a Trinity because the Savior's body is, and is said in the scriptures to be, of Mary and human, since this makes an addition to the Trinity because of the body. For they are equating the creature with the creator, and supposing that the Godhead can receive an addition. (5) And they have not understood that the Word did not become flesh to add to the Godhead, but to enable the flesh to rise—nor that the Word did not come forth from Mary for his own betterment, but for the redemption of the human race.

11,6 How can they think that the body, which was redeemed and given life by the Word, makes an addition of Godhead to the life-giving Word? Rather, a great addition was made to <the> human body itself by the Word's fellowship and union with it. (7) Instead of a mortal body it became immortal; instead of an ensouled body it became spiritual. Though a body of earth, it passed through the heavenly gates. The Trinity is a Trinity even though the Word took a body from Mary. It allows of no addition or subtraction but is forever perfect, and is known as one Godhead in Trinity; thus it is preached in the church that there is one God, the Father of the Word.

12,1 Because of this, finally, those who once said, "The one who came forth from Mary is not the Christ himself, and Lord and God," will hold their tongues. (2) If he was not God in the body, why was he called "Immanuel, which, being interpreted, is, God is with us,"⁴³ as soon as he came forth from Mary? And if the Word was not in flesh, why did Paul write to the Romans, "of whom, according to the flesh, Christ came, who is God over all, blessed for evermore. Amen?"⁴⁴ (3) Let those who formerly denied that the Crucified is God admit their error and be convinced by all the sacred scriptures—most of all by Thomas who, after seeing the nail prints in his hands, cried out, "My Lord and my God!"⁴⁵

12,4 *For though the Son was God and the Lord of glory, he was in the ingloriously nailed, dishonored body. The body suffered when it was pinned to the wood and blood and water flowed from its side, but all the while, as the temple of the Word, it was filled with the Word's Godhead. (5) Thus it was that the sun withdrew its rays and darkened the earth on seeing its maker lifted up in his tortured body. But though of a mortal nature, the body itself rose in transcendence of its nature. It ceased from the corruptibility of its nature, became the garment of the Word, and by donning the more than human Word, became incorruptible.*

12,6 *But there is no reason for me to discuss the imaginary thing some people say, "As a word came upon each of the prophets, so the Word came upon one particular man who was born of Mary." Their stupidity obviously carries its own condemnation. If this is the way he came, why is he born of a virgin, and not as the child of a man and a woman himself? Each of the saints was born like that. (7) Or, if this is how the Word came, why is every man's death not said to have been for us, but only the death of this man? If the Word arrived with each of the prophets, why is it said only of the son of Mary that he came "once, in the end of the ages?"⁴⁶ (8) Or, if he came in the same way that he came in the saints before him, why have all the others died and not yet risen, while the son of Mary alone arose the third day? (9) Or, if the Word came just like the others, why is only the son of Mary called Immanuel, because his body has been filled with Godhead and born of her? For Immanuel means "God is with us." (10) Or, if this is the way he came, since each of the saints eats, tires and dies, why is it not said that each one < was > eating, tiring and dying but said only of the Son of Mary? For the things this body suffered are mentioned because it was he himself who suffered them. And though of all the others it is said merely that they were born and begotten, only of Mary's offspring is it said, "And the Word was made flesh."⁴⁷*

13,1 *This will show that the Word came to all the others to help them prophesy, but that the Word himself took flesh from Mary and came forth as a man—God's Word in nature and essence, "but of the seed of David according to the flesh"⁴⁸—and was made man of Mary's flesh, as Paul has said. (2) The Father identified him in the Jordan and on the mount by saying "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."⁴⁹ (3) The Arians have*

denied him but we know and worship him, not distinguishing the Son from the Word, but knowing that the Word himself is the Son, by whom all things have been made, and we set free.

13,4 *Thus I am surprised that there has been any contention among you over matters so < plain >. But God be thanked, my sorrow at reading your minutes is matched by my joy at their conclusion. (5) For [the participants] departed in harmony, and peaceably agreed on the confession of the orthodox faith. It is this that has led me to write these few lines after much prior consideration, for I am concerned that my silence not give pain rather than joy to those who, by their agreement, have given me cause to rejoice. I therefore ask that, primarily your Reverence, and secondly your hearers, receive this with a good conscience, and, if < in any respect > it falls short of true religion, that you correct this and send me word. But if it has been unfitly and imperfectly written as by one untrained in speaking, I ask the pardon of all for my feebleness of speech. Farewell!*

14,1 Since I have inserted this letter and not merely set out to write against the Apollinarians because of things I have heard from them or from others, it has been made plain to everyone that I have accused no one falsely. (2) But next I shall take up the case against them, so that there can be no suspicion on anyone's part that I am slandering my brethren—though I pray for them even now, that they may correct the things that appear to disturb me, so that they may not lose me, or I, them. (3) For I have often made this plea, and have begged, and still continue to beg that they remove the contention and follow the sacred ordinance of the apostles, the evangelists and the fathers, and the confession of the faith which is simple, firm, unshakeable, and in every way entirely right.

14,4 Others have told me in private that the Lord did not take this flesh of ours, or any flesh like it, when he came, but took another flesh, different from ours. And if they would only speak to his glory and praise! (5) I too say that his body is holy and undefiled: "He did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth."⁵⁰ And this is plain to everyone who speaks and thinks of Christ in a godly way. (6) And even though I speak of his actual body just as he took our actual body, < I still mean that* > his body < remained* > undefiled. In us who have offended, however, < our bodies have become different from the Lord's* >. [This is] not because our bodies are different, and alien to his in their inferiority and degradation; < our bodies have become different from the Lord's* > because of our sins

and transgressions. (7) For the Lord did not take one sort of body while we have another sort; the very body which [in him] is preserved and kept undefiled, < in us has been sullied* >.

15,1 Others of them, even now motivated by contention, are led on by strange opinions and do not “hold fast to the head of the faith” as the fathers teach, “from whom the whole body, supplied and knit together by its joints and bands, increaseth with the increase of God,”⁵¹ as the apostle says. (2) With their ears ringing, perhaps as with strange doctrines, they, like Valentinus, Marcion and Mani, imagine things in supposed honor of Christ rather than telling the truth.

15,3 Whenever I tell them that Christ had our body, they turn at once to their own contentious fabrications (4) and say that he had nails, flesh, hair and so on, but not the kind we have; he had different nails, different flesh, and all the rest not like what we have but different from ours. < They imagine their* > futile words because they would like to do Christ some sort of quibbling favor in their own turn, if you please, like Valentinus and the other sects I have mentioned. (5) For they say, “If we confess that Christ’s < body > < has* > all [the features of a body] in their entirety,⁵² <we must also allow it all the natural functions.” But “Meddle not with more than thy works.”* >⁵³ This scripture refers to people of their kind, who are “busybodies and work not.”⁵⁴ (6) To strike terror in the hearts of the simple, they say straight off, “[If Christ’s body was like ours], he had the normal physical needs—evacuation, or going to the bathroom, or the other things.” They think all this is wise, but it is horrid and silly, as the prophet said, “Who hath required this at your hands?”⁵⁵ (7) Of which of the saints did scripture mention such things, although the prophets were men and not gods, and the evangelists and others were unquestionably made of soul and flesh like ourselves? Where did scripture not witness instead to the more seemly things in the saints, let alone the Lord Christ?

16,1 Those who are frightening the sheep, startling the doves and stampeding Christ’s lambs and flock, had better tell me where Moses went to the bathroom during the forty days! (2) Where did Elijah attend to his needs at the brook Kidron (sic), when he ate bread in the morning and meat in the evening, brought by the ravens at God’s command? (3) It

would be foolish of the scripture to speak of these things, just as it was foolish of these people to inquire into them. What is the good of such things? What use are they—except to foster unbelief, since prejudice finds its opportunities in silly statement and worthless rebuttal.

16,4 What's more, better tell me why God kept the children of Israel's hair from getting long for forty years, and their shoes from wearing out, and their clothes from getting worn or torn, when that was his will. (5) Had they come from heaven too? Were they gods? Indeed, they were not in God's good graces, but had provoked God in many ways. Didn't they have the same frailties as we? God did this to show that in him all things are possible, and that he allows them to happen and not happen.

16,6 But for our sakes, lest anyone should attribute anything supernatural to them because of the miracles God did for them—that is, that their hair did not grow, and their clothes did not wear out and the rest, and because “Man ate the bread of angels”⁵⁶—(7) the sacred scripture reassured us by saying, “Let each man take an iron peg in his girdle, that, when thou eatest thyself in a place, thou shalt dig and cover thine own stool; for ye are people sanctified, and the Lord dwelleth in the midst of your camp.”⁵⁷ (8) As to this, the native Hebrews tell the story that this was the standard for a while, until God willed to show this wonder in them, that even though they were eating both meat and land-rails,⁵⁸ they found they had no need of it.

17,1 And whether, < as seems more likely* >, the Hebrews have this tradition in their ancestors' honor, whether, < preferably >, as a gratuitous addition or as a fact—though they surely know themselves that their clients were mortal and not gods, and were made of flesh, blood and soul—(2) who can put up with the Apollinarians' insufferable remarks about Christ, the divine Word who came from heaven, and his in all respects glorious and true human nature? In it he fulfilled the saying, “in all points tempted as a man, yet without sin.”⁵⁹ (3) For even though he truly had our flesh, it was possible for him not to do the things that we regard as undignified, and to do such things as were seemly, and of a fitness in proportion to his Godhead. For it was by his doing that the hair of the children of Israel did not grow, their clothes did not get dirty, and these things < which >, according to tradition, happened to them. (4) But there

is no doubt that Christ indeed had man-made clothing: "They parted his raiment, and upon his vesture did they cast lots."⁶⁰ (5) But if his garment was made by men it was plainly made of wool and linen, and woollen and linen things are inanimate and lifeless. (6) And yet when Christ willed to display the power of his Godhead "He was transfigured and showed his countenance as the sun, and his garments white as wool."⁶¹ (7) "For to the Mighty One all things are possible,"⁶² and in an instant he can change lifeless and inanimate things, contrary to expectation, to glory and splendor, like Moses' rod, like the shoes of the children of Israel. (8) For we all agree that the holy apostles were men, with mortal bodies like ours. But because of the glory of God that indwelt them they were immortal, and Peter's shadow healed all the sick who were brought to him, and napkins and kerchieves from Paul's clothing worked miracles.

18,1 And why do these people take the trouble to make shameful guesses about God, on subjects there has never been a need to discuss—for any prophet, evangelist, apostle or author? (2) However many of such things they say, even if they make a million more bad guesses, they won't overturn the faith of our fathers which declares Christ truly < man >.

18,3 For Christ was truly born in the flesh of Mary the ever-virgin, by the agency of the Holy Spirit. He was called Immanuel, or "God is with us," < and > can have no second birth. (4) As a child he fled to Egypt with Joseph and Mary, since [enemies] were seeking the child's life—which is as much as to say that he could be killed in the flesh. Still, he was worshiped by the magi as true God, begotten in the flesh < in reality >, not appearance. (5) And due to Joseph's fear because of Archelaus, he did not enter Jerusalem on his return from Egypt—showing that the child could be arrested, and could⁶³ suffer too soon what he was to suffer in the flesh.

18,6 < He came willingly to baptism* >, but was hindered by John, recognized as master by the servant as God truly incarnate. But in this case, so as to "fulfill all righteousness"⁶⁴ in the flesh and "leave us an example"⁶⁵

of salvation in his true and perfect humanity, he did not accept his servant's honor.

18,7 Moreover, he grew truly weary from his journey—and he was not simply weary but sat down as well, because he had truly become man. < And yet > he cried, “Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest,”⁶⁶ to show that his Godhead is sufficient to give rest to all the world's multitudes who come to him. (8) Further, he was tempted by the devil, and remained forty days without food or drink, to show the self-sufficiency of his Godhead. (9) For he did not go hungry as you and I master ourselves like philosophers, and subject himself to discipline and restraint; because of his true Godhead, he went hungry without lacking anything. (10) And the scripture says, “He was afterwards an hungered,”⁶⁷ to show the true incarnation of his Godhead, which allowed the manhood the satisfaction of its lawful and true needs, so that the truth of the sequence [of these events]⁶⁸ would not hide the true manhood. (11) For he was hungry at the fig tree too, and he made real clay. But as God he commanded the fig tree and was obeyed. And on the ship he rebuked the wind, and it dropped. (12) And with the spittle and clay he fashioned the missing member and bestowed it on the blind man, as upon Adam, by the command of his Godhead and the spittle of his humanity—and once again, by the clay. For all things were in him in their fullness; suffering in his flesh, impassibility in his Godhead, until he arose from the dead, never again to suffer, to “die no more”⁶⁹ at all.

18,13 But if there are any who suppose that, because he did not get it from a man's seed, he received a different body, this in no way makes it unlike our bodies. Since we agree that it was born of Mary, it was ours. Mary was not different from our bodies—for Adam was not from a man's seed either, but was formed from earth! (14) And his body was by no means different from ours because of his being of the earth and not of a man's seed. For we are his descendants and our bodies are not different from his, even though we are of a man's seed and born of a woman's womb.

18,15 But by quibbling about this often and having it in their heads, some have lost touch with the question before us. In turn, some of those who come to see me have wasted a million other words and more on the

accusation of a man who is widely esteemed. And in fact, I think they have made the disturbance worse than necessary, whether < unintentionally* > from stupidity or ignorance, or whether they deliberately come forward and speak out. But with the readers' agreement, let this be enough about the non-essentials; < I have not written* > from motives of envy, or dislike of the man. (16) For I pray that he has not been parted from the church of Christ and the sweetness of the whole brotherhood, but that he has given up instigating the contention over this matter and returned, as scripture says, "Return, return, O Shunamite; return, and we will look on thee."⁷⁰ In any case, I shall once more take up the thread of the subject.

19,1 He will not say that Christ's human nature is complete. Furthermore, he hinders some people's salvation by frightening them and telling them we must not say that Christ has "taken up" perfect manhood, supposedly because of the scripture, "The Lord taketh up the meek."⁷¹ (2) But no one can show that this is anything out of the ordinary or different—to say that he Lord "took up" flesh, or "took" perfect manhood—from our frequent use of synonymous expressions. (3) Scripture says, "The Lord taketh up the meek," "He took me up from the flocks of sheep,"⁷² "He was taken up,"⁷³ and, "The two men said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye? This [Jesus], who hath been taken up from you."⁷⁴ (4) And there is no difference at all in the meaning of taking up, whether one says "Christ took up," or, "took," or, "formed his own humanity."⁷⁵ Nor can those who choose to attack the simple and < say that > we must < not > talk like this, frighten us with this word.

And no one need think that I am speaking slanderously, or jokingly, about this matter. (5) I have often thought of writing on this subject, but < have held back > so that no one would think I was attacking him from enmity. Humanly speaking, he has done me no harm, and taken nothing of mine. (6) But though I considered not writing this, I am compelled to by the truth itself, so as to omit no < one > whose opinions are different from the faith, as pious readers will understand later that I am not speaking from worldly jealousy. (7) Indeed, the man would be of the utmost service to me—< he is the best* > in the world, both in < education* > and

in love—if, in harmony with God's holy church, he would agree with us all in every way and not import any strange doctrine.

19,8 Whether he or his disciples use the expression in passing, in a different sense [but] in this form and appearance, I cannot say. (9) But I have often considered, and been perturbed that they justify the arousal of contention and a battle to the death for the sake of this expression. (10) And this tells me that they probably use the expression in some rather strange sense.

20,1 For when you ask any of them they all tell you something different, but some say that the Lord has not taken perfect manhood or become perfect man. (2) But since many found this repugnant they finally turned to deception, as I learned directly from them in so many words. (3) For I visited Antioch and had a meeting with their leaders, one of whom was the bishop Vitalius, a man of the most godly life, character and conduct. (4) And I advised and urged them to assent to the faith of the holy church, and give up the contentious doctrine.

20,5 But Vitalius said, "But what quarrel is there between us?" For he was at odds with a respectable and eminent man, the bishop Paulinus, and Paulinus was at odds with Vitalius, whom I had summoned. (6) I hoped to reconcile the two; both appeared to be preaching the orthodox faith, and yet each of them disagreed [with the other] for some reason—(7) for Vitalius had accused Paulinus of Sabellianism. And thus, when I arrived < at Antioch* > I had refrained from full communion with Paulinus, until he convinced me by submitting a document < in > which, on a previous occasion, he had stated his agreement with the blessed Athanasius to clear himself. (8) For he brought a signed copy of this and gave it to me. It contains a clear statement about the Trinity and the mind of Christ's human nature, composed by our blessed father Athanasius himself. I append this statement; it is as follows:

21,1 *I, Paulinus, bishop, believe as I have received from the fathers that there is a perfect existent and subsistent Father and a perfect subsistent Son, and that the perfect Holy Spirit is subsistent. (2) I therefore receive the above account of the three entities and the one subsistence or essence, and receive*

those who so believe; for it is godly to believe and confess the Trinity in one Godhead. (3) And of the incarnation for us of the Word of the Father, I believe as it has formerly been written that, as John says, "The Word was made flesh."⁷⁷ (4) For I do not believe as the most impious persons do, who say that he has undergone a change; but I believe that he has become man for us, and was conceived of the holy Virgin and the Holy Spirit.

21,5 Nor did the Savior have a lifeless body without sensation or intelligence. (6) For as the Lord has become man for us, it would be impossible that his body be without intelligence. (7) I therefore condemn those who set aside the creed of Nicaea, and do not confess that the Son is of the Father's essence, or co-essential with the Father. (8) I also condemn those who say that the Holy Spirit is a creature made by the Son. (9) I further condemn the heresies of Sabellius and Photinus, and every heresy, for I am content with the creed of Nicaea and with all that is written above.

22,1 But I said besides to my brother Vitalius and those who were with him, "And what do you have to say? If there is anything wrong between you, put it right!"

"Let them tell you < themselves >," said Vitalius. (2) But Paulinus and his companions said that Vitalius and his denied that Christ has become perfect man.

Vitalius answered at once, "Yes, we confess that Christ has taken perfect manhood." And this was wonderful for the audience to hear, and a great pleasure. (3) < But > since I know the spirit of those who gain their brothers' agreement through pretenses, I kept asking for his exact meaning, and said, "Do you confess that Christ has truly taken flesh?"

"Yes," he agreed.

22,4 "Of the holy virgin Mary and by the Holy Spirit, without the seed of a man?" He agreed to this too.

22,5 "Did the divine Word, the Son of God, actually take flesh from the Virgin at his coming?" He emphatically agreed.

By this time I had become glad, for I had heard from some of those youngsters who came to me on Cyprus that he did not believe that Christ's flesh was from Mary at all. (6) But when this most godly man himself had confessed that our Lord Jesus Christ took flesh from Mary, I asked him, in turn, if he also took a soul. To this too he agreed with the same vehe-

mence, and said, "One must not say otherwise, but must tell the truth in everything. (7) For whoever writes to men about the truth must disclose his whole mind, have the fear of God before his eyes, and include no falsehood in the message of the scripture."

23,1 Vitalius, then, agreed that Christ had also taken a human soul; for it was he who had said, "Yes, Christ was perfect man." But next, after my questions about the soul and the flesh, I asked, "Did Christ take a mind when he came?"

Vitalius at once denied this and said, "No."

23,2 Then I said to him, "Then why do you say that he has been made perfect man?" And he revealed his own notion of the meaning of this: "We are calling him perfect man if we make him the Godhead instead of the mind, and the flesh and the soul, so that he is perfect man composed of flesh, and soul, and Godhead instead of mind."

23,3 So now his contentiousness was out in the open and I discussed it at length, and proved from scripture that we must confess that the divine Word took everything in its perfection, that he provided < the human nature > in its fullness at his incarnation and < possesses > it in its fullness; and that he united it [with his Godhead] after his resurrection and possesses it, and none other, in glory, in its entirety and spiritual, united in his Godhead with himself; and that the whole fullness makes one Godhead, and he sits at the Father's right hand in heaven, on the glorious throne of his eternal sovereignty and rule. But in the end I got up without having convinced either side, because of their obvious contentiousness.

23,4 But this is how I realized that they were not talking about the mind, but that their doctrine of the mind is different [from ours]. For at times they would not admit that Christ had taken a soul. (5) But when I made the rejoinder, "Well, what is the 'mind' then? Do you think it's a real thing inside a man? Is man therefore a conglomerate?" some of them opined that the "mind" is the "spirit" which the sacred scripture regularly says is in man. (6) But when I showed them that the mind is not the spirit, since the apostle plainly says, "I will sing with the mind, I will sing with the spirit,"⁷⁸ there was a long discussion, but I could not convince the contending parties.

24,1 Then in turn, I asked some of them, "What do you mean? Are you saying that the mind is an actual thing?" And some of them said it is not a thing, because I had convinced them with, "I will sing with the mind,

I will sing with the spirit," that we must not believe that the mind is the thing called "the spirit of a man." (2) And since they had no reply to this, I then said, "All right, if the mind isn't a real thing but is a movement of our whole selves, but you say of this that Christ is the mind, do you therefore imagine that Christ isn't a real thing, and that he has brought his incarnation about only nominally, and in appearance?"

24,3 And I felt deeply grieved⁷⁹ then, and the even tenor of my life was made painful, because dissensions had been sown for no good reason among these people who are brethren and praiseworthy, so that that enemy of man, the devil, may keep causing differences among us. (4) But, brethren, considerable mutual damage arises from this cause. It would be simplest if no discussion of this had been stirred up in the first place. What good has this innovation done the world? How has it benefited the church—or rather, hasn't it harmed it by causing hatred and strife? But because this doctrine has been put forward, it has become frightening. (5) It is not for the betterment of our salvation; it is a denial of our salvation, not only on this point for one who does not confess it, but in a very small point too.⁸⁰ One must not stray from the way of the truth even in an unimportant matter.

24,6 Let me speak against this doctrine too, then, since I choose not to stray from my own salvation or abandon the rule of God's holy church and confession. (7) None of the ancients ever said this—no prophet, apostle, evangelist, no interpreter down to our own day, when this doctrine of such sophistry issued from the very learned man I have spoken of. (8) For he has been equipped with no mean education. He began with elementary schooling and Greek learning, and was trained in the whole of dialectic and rhetoric. Moreover, his life is otherwise of the holiest, and he remained beloved by the orthodox⁸¹ < and > ranked with the foremost, until this business. (9) He suffered banishment too, because he < would > not associate with the Arians. And why should I say all this? I am very sorry, and my life is a grief to me because, as I have often said, the devil is always afflicting us.

25,1 Now then, to omit none of the truth, as I have said, I shall begin on this doctrine. What good has it done us to expel the mind from Christ's

human nature? (2) If your argument was advanced to be a help—if I can say that—to our Lord Jesus Christ, the divine Word and the Son of God, and we are to deny that he took a mind so as not to conceive of any defect in his Godhead, the Manichaeans, the Marcionites and other sects deserve much more credit than we. They will not ascribe flesh to him, so as not to make his Godhead defective.

25,3 But the meaning of the truth does not conform to human wishes, but to the wisdom that governs it, and the incomprehensibility that directs it. (4) Since we profess our faith in this form and do not agree with Mani—he will do Christ no favor by supposing that Christ has not taken flesh, but will be deprived of the truth by confessing Christ's incarnation [only] in appearance. [Since we do not agree with him], even now this vulgar chatter will be a favor of no use to our brothers. (5) Both they and we agree < that* >, unless they are willing to change their minds, < the Manichaeans will depart from our confession of faith entirely.* > And when pressed, certain Apollinarians have often been caught in the denial that Christ took true flesh, as I said, because some of them have dared to say that his flesh is co-essential with his Godhead. (6) But they should be cast out as < un >repentant, and exposed for such wickedness before those of them whose view of Christ's flesh is correct. Surely the most godly Apollinarius himself will not deny this.

26,1 Now if the Word took true flesh when he came, and truly took it from Mary, not by a man's seed but through the Holy Spirit; and if he was truly conceived and, since he was God and the fashioner of the first man and all things, fashioned his own < flesh >; then the Word was not diminished at his coming, but remained in his own unchanging nature. (2) For since he is co-essential with God the Father and not different from the Father and the Holy Spirit, he underwent no change when he took flesh. If we agree, therefore, that he has plainly taken flesh and come to maturity, then he is not without a soul. (3) For except for things which do not move, everything that matures is composed of soul and body, as the scripture says, "Jesus increased in wisdom and maturity," to prove his flesh by the "maturity";⁸² but maturity, as I said, is attained by a soul and a body.

26,4 But after saying, "He increased in maturity," it next says, "and in wisdom." And how could he who is the Father's wisdom increase in wisdom, if his body was deprived of a human mind? And if he was without

mind, how could he increase in wisdom, soul and body? And you see how forced people's notion is when they reject the mind.

"But," Apollinarius would say, "I deny that he took a human mind. [If we say that he did], we will make him covetous, ill-tempered; for the mind in us is covetous." And there certainly is a great deal of human contention; as the scripture has said, "God made man simple, but they have made for themselves many counsels."⁸³ (5) Now if, by the confession that he has taken a human mind, we attribute any of our defectiveness to him, all the more, by confessing that he has taken flesh, we will grant on the same principle that he has become defective in this respect, in flesh. But perish that thought! (6) Now as the Word was < not > defective in the flesh when he came even though he had true flesh, so he has not conceived of anything unbecoming his Godhead in his mind. The Lord, when he came, did whatever is right for flesh, and for a soul and a human mind, so as not to disturb the course of his true human life. (7) For hunger, thirst, weariness, sleep, journeying, grief, weeping and disturbance were right. But these right things duly taking place in him showed < the truth* > of his true human nature.

27,1 For scripture never says that he had a wrong desire. But he had a good desire when he said, "With desire I have desired to eat this Pass-over with you."⁸⁴ Desire, however, does not stem from his Godhead, or from the flesh alone or the irrational soul, but from the perfect manhood of body, < soul and > mind, and everything in man. (2) For the Word acquired these things when he came—body, soul, mind and all that is in man, except for sin, except for defect, as the scripture says, "in all points tempted as a man except for sin."⁸⁵ But if he was tempted in *all* points, the Word acquired *all* things when he came. (3) If he had acquired everything, however, then in himself he was free from defect and kept them all unsullied—being perfect God born of flesh, and, as the Perfecter of the whole human nature, perfectly fulfilling all things. He was not divided by the unseemly behavior of the flesh, or distracted by the wrong thought of the mind within us.

27,4 For our mind was not given us to sin, but to examine the ends of our ideas from both sides and perform righteousness and the opposite. "The mind discriminates words; the throat tastes foods,"⁸⁶ and, "Eye

understands and mind sees.”⁸⁷ Thus the mind is the sight, taste and discrimination within us and is granted us by God, but assents to nothing unless the man wants it to. (5) But the flesh is continually denounced in every scripture for the lust that arises in it. Of course the text is not denouncing flesh itself; the word denounced the products of the flesh, as the apostle said because of the flesh’s by-products, “I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing.”⁸⁸

27,6 But in rejection of the sects’ idea that the flesh has nothing to hope for from the resurrection of the dead, Paul says, “This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality.”⁸⁹ Thus it may not be thought that, by rejecting the works of flesh which scripture regularly calls “flesh,” he is rejecting the hope of the resurrection of the flesh. (7) For he plainly denounced the deeds that are wickedly done in the flesh, but showed that, in a person who sanctifies his flesh, the flesh itself is a holy temple, as the scripture says, “Pure worship of God and our Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world,”⁹⁰ and elsewhere, “Blessed are they that keep pure the flesh.”⁹¹

27,8 But though the scripture has often spoken against “flesh” and taught us that lusts and pleasures grow in it, it makes no complaint against the mind. Instead it says, “I will sing with the mind, I will sing with the spirit,”⁹² and, “if, in turn, I sing with the spirit, but my mind is unfruitful.”⁹³ (9) And you see that there is fruit in him, in his mind. And even if there were no fruit, Paul never counted the mind as sinful, but made the fruit known by means of the mind.

28,1 But what harm did this do to the power of our Lord’s Godhead? What weakened his power? The holy woman’s belly? The Virgin’s womb? His parents’ journeys? Simeon’s embrace? Anna’s welcome? Being carried by Mary? The harlot’s touch? A woman’s hair touching his feet? Her tears? Being laid in a tomb? The shroud did not envelop that inviolate Lord and his supreme power by enwrapping his body.

28,2 Indeed, when he was still in the womb John leaped for joy at his Master's visit to him through the holy Virgin's pregnancy. But when he had been born and lay in a manger, it was no mystery to a choir of angels. Bands of angels were sent to serve as escorts at the coming of the everlasting king; hymns of victory were offered, peace was proclaimed to the shepherds.

28,3 But what caused any weakening of his power? While he was still a babe in arms a sign, the star, appeared in the east, magi arrived, worship was offered and gifts given. Scribes were questioned by the king, and in reply they confessed their faith in Christ. (4) And all the other things in the series, what harm did they do his Godhead? How did the possession of the flesh veil it, as is the case with us? He rebuked the waves, winds and sea, and the power of his Godhead was not prevented by the flesh from doing what it is the Godhead's nature to do. (5) What is more, though the flesh is a burden and load, he was not encumbered by a load. As the changeless God, and in the flesh but not changed by the flesh, he walked on the water < as though on dry land >. With a < loud > voice he called, "Lazarus, come forth!"⁹⁴ unhindered by the flesh, and with no enslavement of his Godhead in the flesh to his perfect manhood.

29,1 And I have a great deal to say < about this >. He rose from the dead, what is more, forced the gates of hades, took the captives, brought them upward; and after rising the third day in his holy flesh itself, and in his holy soul, mind and entire human nature, he became perfect man united with Godhead, for he had joined his manhood to his Godhead, and death "hath no more dominion over him."⁹⁵ (2) United with his Godhead, however, he made his coarseness fine and "entered where doors were barred."⁹⁶ And after his entrance he exhibited his "flesh and bones,"⁹⁷ suggesting the readiness of his power to save, and affording us a glimpse of our hope, for the Word has perfected all things by his coming. And he sat in glory at the Father's right hand after being taken up in his body itself, not burdened by its bulk [and yet] not without a body, for he had raised his body spiritual. (3) If our body is "sown in corruption, raised in incorruption, sown a natural body, raised a spiritual body,"⁹⁸ how much more the body of God's only-begotten Son? And thus the scripture, "Thou

shalt not deliver thine holy one to see corruption, neither shalt thou leave my soul in hell,”⁹⁹ has been fulfilled.

29,4 But I have said all this about his perfect human nature so that no one will suppose that, because he took perfect flesh, he therefore did the unsuitable deeds of the flesh. No orthodox believer thinks or says this of him. But if no one thinks that he did the unsuitable deeds of the flesh, no one may suppose that he did the unsuitable deeds of the mind! (5) And it is plain that, when he came, the Word became man perfectly.

And if we say, “[became man] perfectly,” we do not have two Christs, or two kings and sons of God, but the same God and the same Man—not as though he had come to dwell in a man, but the same God himself wholly made man. And not a man who advanced to Godhead but God come from heaven, who modeled his own manhood on himself in keeping with his mighty Godhead, as scripture says, “The Word became flesh.”¹⁰⁰

29,6 But as to “The Word became flesh,” to avoid giving the impression that he was man first, and Christ came to a man, the holy Gospel put “Word” first, and then confessed the flesh with, “The Word was made flesh.” (7) For it did not say, “The flesh was made Word.” This shows that the Word came from heaven first, formed his own flesh from the holy Virgin’s womb, and perfectly fashioned his entire human nature in his image. (8) For even if scripture says, “The Word was made flesh,” this is not because the Word was turned into flesh and the Word became flesh [in this way], or because the Godhead was transformed into flesh; at his coming, with his Godhead, the divine Word took his own humanity.

30,1 And scripture says that “Jesus increased in maturity and wisdom.”¹⁰¹ How could he “increase” [in wisdom] without a human mind?—I have said this already. And God’s holy prophet Isaiah also witnesses to this text by saying, “Behold, my beloved servant in whom I am well pleased shall understand.”¹⁰² (2) And do you see that “shall understand” refers to a perfect human nature? Without a mind, no one can “understand”; and the text does not apply to Godhead. For that which is understanding itself cannot be in need of understanding, and that which is Wisdom itself cannot be in need of wisdom; “He shall understand” is to be taken of the human mind.

30,3 And tell me, why was he hungry? If he was just flesh, how could he pay any attention to hunger? And if he was made only of body and soul, and his soul did not have the rationality of the mind which is the thought of the human nature—I don't mean wicked thought, but thought directed towards lawful need which is appropriate to his Godhead—then how could he be hungry or have a conception of hunger? (4) Tell me, how could he be grieved, if his soul was without a mind and reason? If a soul is irrational or if there is flesh without soul, it is not subject to grief or sorrow. (5) And I can think of many < replies* > which I should make to him. < For we must* > realize that quibbles are not to the point and that, if anything, they alarm those who want to think too far, and not measure themselves by the measure the most holy apostle recommended to us, “not to think more highly than we ought to think.”¹⁰³

31,1 They also confront us with certain words of scripture, “We have the mind of Christ,”¹⁰⁴ and say, “Do you see that the mind of Christ is different from our minds?” How simple people are! Each one leans in the direction he wants to go, and where he appears to be clever, turns out to be inept. (2) For though I am “inept in speech—but not in knowledge,”¹⁰⁵ as the scripture says—and though I am very limited, and I admire these people even when they attack the mind because of words, I am baffled by their notion because they interpret this text as proof of what is simply such sterile contentiousness on their part. For the thing (i.e., 2 Cor. 11:16) has no meaning with any bearing on this position.

31,3 For Paul says, “We have the mind of Christ.”¹⁰⁶ But we need to ask what “Christ” means to them, or what the “mind of Christ” is. And here they show that they understand Christ as one thing, and his divine nature as something else. (4) For if they suppose that Christ [himself] replaces the [human] mind, and yet call only Christ's human nature “Christ,” they are trying to lead me into one more dispute. And plainly, it is < not > [only] after the incarnation that he is described as the divine Word and Son of God. (5) < But > though the texts about him that call him Christ came earlier, even before the incarnation, it is in the incarnation that they are

fulfilled. For his Godhead does not lack the name of Christ, and his incarnation and human nature cannot be mentioned without such a name, as the scripture says, "Say not in thine heart, who shall ascend into heaven, that is, to bring Christ down. Or who shall descend into the deep, that is, to bring Christ up from the dead."¹⁰⁷

31,6 And the apostle, in turn, says, "that they may know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."¹⁰⁸ Now "Thou hast sent" means "[sent] from on high"; and yet it cannot be separated from the words of Peter, "Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved among you by signs and wonders, whom God hath anointed with the Holy Spirit,"¹⁰⁹ and texts of this sort.

32,1 And next, in their desire to confront me with ideas that are in every way contentious, my very beloved brethren also preach, not without daring, that his divine nature has suffered, because of the text which says, "If they had known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory."¹¹⁰ (2) But some of Apollinarius' disciples, who, I suppose, do not understand this, want to invent something else by putting this forward with the rest. I would be surprised if Apollinarius himself says anything of the kind.

For it is no surprise if the sacred scripture says that the Lord of glory has been crucified. (3) We confess that his human nature too is the Lord of glory. The humanity is not separate from the Godhead, if we understand each of them properly and see the whole in combination as one person and one perfection. (4) For we preach and believe that Christ can suffer [but] not that he (i.e., the human nature) suffered for himself, or that the Sufferer and the Lord are different persons, or that the Godhead suffered. Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered while his Godhead remained unaltered and impassible and yet, while remaining impassible, suffered in the flesh. (5) For if Christ died for us—and truly died—his divine nature did not die. He died in the flesh—as the scripture says, "He was put to death in the flesh but quickened by the Spirit,"¹¹¹ and again, "Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh."¹¹²

32,6 It is remarkable that we confess that he truly suffered and yet is truly impassible. For because of its changelessness, impassibility and co-essentiality with the Father, his divine nature did not suffer; his flesh suffered, and yet the divine nature was not separate from the human nature in its suffering. (7) For the divine and the human nature were together when Christ suffered in his flesh on the cross yet remained impassible in his divine nature, so that we are no longer justified only in his flesh but also in his Godhead, and our salvation is effected in both ways, in the divine nature and in the flesh.

32,8 For Christ was no mere man for us, but a subsistent divine Word < become > incarnate, and God truly made man for us. Thus our hope is not in man but in the Godhead; and our God is not a God who suffers, but an impassible God. Still, he has not wrought our salvation without suffering, but by dying for us and offering himself to the Father as a sacrifice for our souls, "cleansing us with his blood,"¹¹³ "tearing up the handwriting against us and nailing it to the cross,"¹¹⁴ as the scripture everywhere teaches us.

33,1 And if the need arises, I shall have a great deal to say in proof of this. Elsewhere, in explaining this view of our sure salvation, I have said that if a garment is stained by a flow of blood, the blood has not stained the body of the wearer, but the stain on the garment is not considered the garment's, but the wearer's. (2) In the same way the passion did the divine nature no harm but was suffered in the human nature, and yet not only as the human nature's; otherwise the scripture, "Cursed be everyone whose hope is in man"¹¹⁵ might be applicable to the work of salvation. It was also counted as the Godhead's though the Godhead does not suffer, so that the salvation of the passion might be credited to God's holy church in the Godhead.

33,3 And again, no pedant need wish to debate anything but the point of the comparison. Not every parable in the scripture is to be taken wholesale. For example, 'Judah is a lion's whelp'¹¹⁶ is said because the animal is the strongest and kingliest, not because it is irrational and a predator. (4) So with the garment. It is not put on and taken off; "He put on majesty" once, as the scripture says, but the second time "He put it on,

and was girded with strength,"¹¹⁷ in fulfillment of the most holy apostle's words, "Christ dieth no more, death hath no more dominion over him."¹¹⁸

33,5 But in spite of this my brethren would like to cite "We have the mind of Christ"¹¹⁹ to prove their point to me. However, going by what they say in explanation of the subject, they lead me to suspect that they may have understood "mind" [in the text] as something different from "Christ." (6) Yet if they do not think that the Godhead is separate from the humanity but that there is [only] one person, what further thing will this so-called "mind of Christ" be? Is the divine Word all by itself in the human nature, and without a human mind, as they say? Does [the divine] Christ have a "mind" other than the nature of his Godhead? Or is every difficult word used loosely, as proof of what goes on within us?

34,1 In fact every godly person lives, not in accordance with the mind of man, but in accordance with the "mind of Christ." He is filled by Christ in understanding, thinks righteously like Christ, lives in Christ by the confession [of him], is preserved in well-doing for Christ's sake. For this is the "mind of Christ," which is capable of being in us without confining Christ in an enclosure. (2) The Father, the Son and < the > Holy Spirit are everywhere, and Christ is in us spiritually if we become worthy of him, since no space encloses him, his Father and his Holy Spirit. By the power of his Godhead he is in all things, and yet is intermingled with nothing, because of his incommunicable and incomparable essence, and pure and infinite Godhead.

34,3 But when the apostle said, "We have the mind of Christ,"¹²⁰ what should we think he means? Did Paul have his own human < mind >? Or did he become filled with Christ's mind and lose his own, but have the mind of Christ instead of his own? Hardly! Each of his hearers would agree that he had his own mind but that he was filled with Christ's, who had equipped him with piety, knowledge, and God's heavenly way of life.

34,4 If, therefore, he was filled with Christ's mind while having his own, this means that, if we have to say it, Christ himself, the Word, was "mind"—for some have seen fit to call God "mind." (5) I, though, do not regard our mind as an entity—nor does any son of the church—but as a form of activity which God has bestowed upon us, and which is in us. But I do call Christ an entity, as all the faithful confess that he is; and

I confess that he is God and truly the Lord, begotten of the Father, Perfect of Perfect, Light of Light, and God of God. (6) But still, going by the same text, He who is mind in himself—as the holy apostle's teaching about him is “We have the mind of Christ”—had his own mind. And they to whom Paul testified had their own minds, and in turn were filled with the Mind, Christ, since his grace is capable of coming to fruition in them in this way.

35,1 Hence, on the exact analogy, it will make no difference if we assume this of Christ as well. For surely, even though Christ, who is mind in himself, shared the human mind as he shared flesh and blood and had the human soul, he was not the prisoner of the [human] mind. (2) For if the apostle who had the human mind as his own by nature, and the mind [of Christ] by participation in the gift, benefit and grace, no longer lived in accordance with his own mind but was directed, by a guidance transcending nature, by the mind of Christ, how much more the divine Word! He possessed all perfection in himself and was absolute perfection, absolute God, absolute power, absolute light, and the Completer, or rather, Perfecter, both of the mind and of the whole body, and wrought our salvation in all things by his advent in the flesh.

35,3 We must reject this text, then, as having no significance for this subject, and put aside the denial that all things, apart from sin, are complete in Christ. For the Word truly did all things at his coming, and brought the scriptural prophecies of himself to fulfillment—as the scripture says, “Behold, the Virgin shall conceive,”¹²¹ and so on. He was conceived truly and not in appearance, was truly engendered in a womb. He truly lived in the flesh with flesh, true soul and true mind, and all true human characteristics except for sin. (4) He was truly born of a virgin womb—and truly of a holy virgin, not by the seed of men—with true flesh and soul and, as I said, a true mind. He was truly with his parents on their journey, truly lay in a manger in swaddling clothes, was borne in Mary's arms, went down to Egypt and was brought back from Egypt and returned to Nazareth, (5) went to the Jordan and was baptized by John and tempted by the devil. He truly chose disciples and preached the kingdom of heaven, just as everything about him is true—his betrayal by Judas and arrest by Jews, being brought to Pontius Pilate and condemned to death by him, his crucifixion and saying, “I thirst, give me to drink.”¹²² He truly

accepted vinegar with gall, tasted it, and accepted nothing else to drink. He was truly nailed to the cross and cried, “Eli, Eli, lema sabachthani.”¹²³ He truly bowed his head and expired. His body was truly removed and taken away, truly wrapped in a shroud by Joseph and laid in a tomb, truly secured with a stone.

35,6 He descended to hades in his Godhead with his soul, bravely and mightily freed the prisoners, truly ascended the third day, the divine Word with his holy soul, with the captives he had rescued; he was truly raised with body, soul and all his human nature. He spent the forty days with his disciples, truly blessed them on the Mount of Olives, and truly ascended into heaven while his disciples watched him truly taken up to the clouds.

He took his seat and truly sits at the Father’s right hand in his body itself and his Godhead, in his perfect human nature itself, (7) in which he has united the whole in one, and as a single spiritual perfection—seated in glory as God, who will truly come to judge the quick and the dead. And nothing has been altered; all perfect things have been perfectly done in him, in their perfection.

36,1 I believe that this will do for these questions, and judge that now is the time to drop the subject. But again, I must also give some indication of the nonsense I have been told < by > those who say such things. I cannot believe that this is what they say, but I still shall not leave out what I have been told. (2) For some have even dared to report that certain of them, in their turn, say that Mary had relations with her husband Joseph after Jesus’ birth. But I would be surprised if even they say this. (3) There are people who do, and I have counted them as other schismatics, and by request have written a letter to certain persons in Arabia against the people who say this. (4) But I have said a great deal about this in treating of them in that letter. With God’s help I shall add it next, in a chapter of its own.

36,5 Others have reported the venerable man as saying that we will live for a thousand years in the first resurrection, doing the same things we do now—observing the Law and the other ordinances, for example, engaging in all the activities of daily life, and taking part in marriage, circumcision and the rest. I simply can’t believe this of him, but some have reported him as having said this, and insisted on it.

36,6 And it is plain that this millennium has been described in John's Revelation, and that the book has been believed by the majority, and the orthodox. But when the majority and orthodox read the book they know about the spiritual meanings, and take its spiritual statements as true < in the spiritual sense >, and believe that they must be given a profound explanation. For this is not the only profound utterance in Revelation; there are many others besides.

37,1 But for brevity's sake I merely mention the matter for now, to show the godly that, whenever one wants to overstep the bounds of God's holy church and the apostles' faith and teaching < which determine Christians* > hope, his mind will finally be turned, by the brief, quick mention in passing of the one subject in his momentary, chance thought, (2) to many pieces of nonsense and shaky speculations—unsuitable and strange disputes, and, as the apostle has said, “endless genealogies.”¹²⁴ (3) Anyone with sense can see that this is a very simple matter requiring no explanation; this sort of wisdom and subject for argument needs no investigation. (4) If we are raised to be circumcised again, why haven't we been circumcised before? In this regard, then, the ancients managed < to do > something more important than we, since they realized what perfection is, and were perfected in advance with what will be perfection then.

37,5 What becomes of the words of the apostle, “If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing,”¹²⁵ and, “All ye that are justified by the Law are fallen from grace?”¹²⁶ What about the Lord's words, “For in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are equal unto the angels?”¹²⁷ (6) On the other hand, “Ye shall sit at the table < of the kingdom > of my Father eating and drinking,”¹²⁸ and, “when I drink it new with you in the kingdom of heaven,”¹²⁹ with the additional word, “new,” and the phrase, “at the table of the kingdom,” mean something different. (7) I myself agree with this, since I have learned from the sacred scriptures that there is a partaking of immortal food and drink. Of these it is said, “Eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, what things God hath prepared for them that love him.”¹³⁰

38,1 Apollinarius though, says that we partake of the material pleasures first, in the millennium, without labor and grief, but that after the millennium we partake of the things of which “eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard” was said.¹³¹ (2) But this is contrary to the whole view of scripture. For if “The Law made no one perfect,”¹³² but we are commanded to observe the Law after our resurrection, [this is a contradiction].¹³³ And if the “holy Law”¹³⁴ which was given by the Lord through Moses “was our conductor to Christ”¹³⁵ because of its inferiority to the things which are perfected,¹³⁶ (3) but < is abolished > because Christ, the Perfect and the Lord, has come and received the holy bride and church from the conductor of its tutees, that is, of the faithful—and if we have recognized “Jesus,” the greater and the “Finisher,”¹³⁷ through the conductor’s Law—how can their argument prove to be anything but a sign of shallow thinking and silliness, when they say such things as that (4) a conductor is needed again after the perfection of Christ, so that we may return to the “beginning” “of the rudiments”¹³⁸ and the teaching, and of “the laying on of hands,”¹³⁹ as the scripture says. But the apostle tells us plainly, as though < he meant > the Old Testament and the Law, that “That which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away.”¹⁴⁰

38,5 For he says, “The priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the Law.”¹⁴¹ But if the Old Testament has been changed and the New renewed, who can have the audacity to bring the Old back into use and the relegate the New to obsolescence, thereby preparing us to “fall from grace,”¹⁴² and attempting to turn us away from the “profit”¹⁴³ of Christ?

38,6 But I have made these distinctions verbally in short compass, in the belief that this, again, is enough. Because of the extensiveness of the

work let us go on to the rest, beloved, calling, on God for aid as usual, on the subject of the rest, and in their description and refutation.

Against Antidicomarians

1,1 Certain other problems have been caused, especially in Arabia, by this sect—which some call the sect of the Dimoerites, or the sect which confesses Christ’s human nature² without a mind—and they have been referred to my modest self by some of the godly. (2) And first I have already written a letter on this subject. But to keep to my order of the enumeration [of sects] I shall discuss this one here too, < by inserting > the letter in its entirety, with the appropriate additions or omissions.

1,3 As though they had a grudge against the Virgin and desired to cheapen her reputation, certain Antidicomarians, inspired by some envy or error and intending to sully men’s minds, have dared to say that St. Mary had relations with a man after Christ’s birth, I mean with Joseph himself. (4) And as I have already mentioned, it is said that the claim has been made by the venerable Apollinarius himself, or some of his disciples. Indeed I doubt it³ but I have to speak about those who are saying this. But so as not to involve myself in a second hard task I subjoin the letter to Arabia which I have mentioned. It is as follows:

2,1 *Greetings in the Lord from Epiphanius, least of bishops, to my most honored Masters and beloved children and brothers in Arabia who share my orthodox faith, clergy, laity and catechumens!*

2,2 *There is reason to wonder at present, and reason not to wonder. There is reason to wonder, since all things are being fulfilled in our generation, and reason not to wonder, since they must be fulfilled. For day after day we are now increasingly faced with the speculation of human reasonings and fancies, sophistical in its nature and growing worse, which deserts the apostolic doctrine, as the most holy apostle foretold, “Many shall depart from sound doctrine, giving heed to fables and doctrines of devils,”⁴ and so on. (3) For if it is possible to look for evil ways and think them up, men exert themselves < in the search > for these, rather than obeying the commandment which*

*bids them seek the good and acceptable, and < the injunction >, "Let thy speech be seasoned with salt, that it may give grace to the hearers."*⁵

2,4 *And if we wonder why it is that new ills arise for us each day, we ourselves shall be like the uninstructed, who pay no heed to the sacred, prophetic words. These things must be fulfilled. "When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find the faith on earth?"*⁶ *must be fulfilled in all parts of the faith. (5) For where has "the mind of man that is bent on evil from his youth"*⁷ *got to? Which articles of the faith has it not destroyed? In which works has poor judgment not marred the usefulness of the seemliest writers, of a rationality such that it ought to be reflecting on godly things and making every effort to add to them, (even if it should do so contrary to their nature) rather than forcibly turning truths into impieties, to their detriment.*

3,1 *For finally, since all that is blasphemous and without the Holy Spirit has been accomplished in our generation, they are turning to other, new blasphemies. (2) For some blaspheme the Father, the God and creator of all—those who are said to be Gnostics and the so-called Marcionites and Archontics in their turn, and their companions the Manichaeans, who have been named with entire appropriateness by a righteous providence of God, and < bear > the name of madness. (3) All of these, along with further sects—I mean of Cainites, Sethians, Melchizedekians, Colorbasians, Cerdo-nians and the rest—< venture > to blaspheme the Father of all by denying that he is < the > God who has spoken in the Law and the prophets, and that he is rightly worshiped by all creatures as their maker and artificer. (4) Together with his worship they try also to do away with his sovereignty, and deny the God who exists while, by their false thinking, imagining one who does not, so that they are deprived of the true God and do not find the one they imagine.*

3,5 *For it is in this way that foolishness, and the seed of the devil's words, is wont to cause such disturbance and confusion, and with blasphemous thoughts incite the minds of created human beings to war < on > their Master with clumsy conjectures and denials of God.*

3,6 *But while avoiding this, some in their turn have dared to proceed to other evils by the denial of their Master who alone redeemed them, the only-begotten Child Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, the truly existent Son—begotten of the Father without beginning and not in time, forever*

of the Father and with the Father, begotten incomprehensibly and without defilement, co-essential with the Father and not different from the Father. (7) Some, again, have gone mad and bark at their own Master like rabid dogs—as the Jews did at the first, and have been called “dumb dogs”⁸ for not knowing him. They were awarded this name by the prophet, as is plain to see, < because of > their shameless rage at the Lord and his coming. (8) For they say that mad dogs are called “dumb” because they are left toothless by their mind on its departure.

4.1 For dogs are like this when they go mad. Though they once knew their master, his children, his household, all the householder’s other kin, when the madness takes them these persons’ faces seem different to them, and they attack even their owner’s kinsfolk, in whose honor they once wagged their tails, and to whose ways they once submitted. (2) When those who were awaiting the coming of Christ beheld their Master’s arrival—though they were prepared to receive the bridegroom, boasted of having seen the prophets, professed to obey their sacred oracles, and covenanted with Moses, “Be thou [for us] to the Lord,”⁹ and, “All that the Lord saith unto thee we will hear and do”¹⁰—[nonetheless] when they saw their Master’s arrival they did not know the appearance and marks of the truth which the prophets before him had portrayed, depicted, proclaimed and pointed to before his incarnation, and at once said to him, first, “Who is this that speaketh blasphemies?”¹¹ (3) But on another occasion they shamelessly ventured to say that he had a demon, and did not blush to call him a Samaritan as well. (4) Finally, as I have said, they set on him like mad dogs, nailed his hands < and struck him in the face >, as a dog in its madness always fastens < on the person before it* > and attacks his hands, and is not ashamed to scratch the faces of its owners.*

4.5 They gave their own Lord up to crucifixion; and of the prophets, the household of that same Master, they sawed one in half, stoned another, and slew another with the sword. (6) But their successors, the new Jews after them, are now behaving in the same way. The actual Jews by birth denied him; and those who, utterly mad and crack-brained, are now denying the truth of the Son’s perfect relation to the Father, maintain without intermission that he is a creature and something made, and different from the Father.

5,1 Others in turn have abandoned those blasphemous doctrines, and have still, as it were, seen the sight surpassing the nature of heaven itself, visited the heavenly realms, and pried into them. They make their arrogant announcement and confident affirmation as though they had come from the heaven, and banish the Holy Spirit from the Godhead. (2) They have not denied the Father or the Son's relation to him, but they go by another route to ensure the complete fulfillment of the prophecy, "Faith hath failed from their lips." ¹² (3) For what can this mean but that now—as though they had the authority—instead of being commanded by God they wish to command God about the Holy Spirit, who is not different from the Father and the Son, who is of the same Godhead, and who cannot possibly be alien to the Godhead? For they shamelessly say that the Spirit is alien to God, a servant, a creature, of recent origin, and something made, and contrive to get hold of anything else that is shameful, as an opinion of him.

5,4 Thus, because of its incurable wound of unbelief, the world of our day has inclined more < and more to evil* >. And that the wickedness which is destroying humanity through perversity, ignorance and unbelief may leave no stone unturned, an idle, foolish notion has diverted those who have, as it were, escaped the blasphemy of the holy Trinity, to other things, leaving no one's sin undetected.

5,5 For I hear that someone has a new notion about the holy, ever-virgin Mary, and dares to cast a blasphemous suspicion on her, so that our generation will be exactly like a dangerous serpent and poisonous snake lurking in a dark den and striking everyone with its bites—one near the face, another near the heel, another near the hand—(6) so that no one can escape the bite of unbelief. Though one suppose he has escaped it in one way he does not avoid the poison in another, while one whose faith is sound in one respect is exposed to some other form of harm.

6,1 Why this ill will? Why so much impudence? Isn't Mary's very name (i.e., "Virgin") a testimony, doesn't it convince you, you trouble-maker? Who, and in which generation, has ever dared to say St. Mary's name and not add "Virgin" at once when asked? The marks of excellence show from the titles of honor themselves. (2) For the righteous received the honors of their titles appropriately for each and as it became them. "Friend of God" ¹³ was added to the name, "Abraham," and will not be detached. The title, "Israel," was awarded to "Jacob" and will not be changed. To the apostles the title,

“Boanerges,” or “sons of thunder,” was given and will not be discarded. And St. Mary was given the title, “Virgin,” and it will not be altered, for the holy woman remained undefiled. “Doth not nature itself teach you?”¹⁴ Oh, this new madness, these new troubles!

6,3 There are many other things which the fathers did not venture to say in times gone by. Now, however, one blasphemes Christ’s incarnation by talking heresy about the Godhead itself, while another considers the entire matter of the incarnation defective; another is troubled about the resurrection of the dead, and someone else < by another > point. (4) And in a word, woe to our troubled generation with its salvation in peril, swamped on every side by the wicked second sowings of the devil’s sick fancies and heretical reasonings! (5) How dare they < so degrade > the undefiled Virgin who was privileged to become the Son’s habitation, and was chosen for this from all the myriads of Israel, so that something deemed worthy to be a vessel and dwelling place is to become a mere sign of child-bearing?*

7,1 For I have heard from someone that certain persons are venturing to say that she had marital relations after the Savior’s birth. And I am not surprised. The ignorance of persons who do not know the sacred scriptures well and have not consulted histories, always turns them to one thing after another, and distracts anyone who wants to track down something about the truth out of his own head. (2) To begin with, when the Virgin was entrusted to Joseph¹⁵—lots having compelled her to take this step—she was not entrusted to him for marriage, since he was a widower. (3) He was called her husband because of the Law, but it is plainly follows from the Jewish tradition that the Virgin was not entrusted to him for matrimony. (4) It was for the preservation of her virginity in witness to the things to come—[a witness] that Christ’s incarnation was nothing spurious but was truly attested, as without a man’s seed < but > truly brought about by the Holy Spirit.

7,5 For how could such an old man,¹⁶ who had lost his first wife so many years before, take a virgin for a wife? Joseph was the brother of Cleopas but the son of Jacob surnamed Panther; both of these brothers were the sons of the man surnamed Panther. (6) Joseph took his first wife from the tribe of Judah and she bore him six children in all, four boys and two girls, as the Gospels according to Mark and John have made clear.¹⁷ (7) His firstborn

son was James, whose surname was Oblias, or “wall,”¹⁸ and who was also surnamed “The Just” and was a nazirite, or “holy man.” (8) He was the first to receive the episcopal throne,¹⁹ the first to whom the Lord entrusted his throne on earth. (9) He was also called the Lord’s brother, as the apostle agrees by saying somewhere, “But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord’s brother,”²⁰ and so on. But he is called the Lord’s brother not by nature but by grace, because of being brought up with him. (10) For because she had been betrothed to Joseph Mary appeared to be the wife of a husband, but she had no sexual relations with him. For this reason the degree of the kinship of Joseph’s sons to the Savior was called, or rather, regarded as, that of brotherhood.

7,11 Similarly Joseph himself is held by dispensation to be in the position of a father, though he had had no part in the fleshly generation of the Savior. Thus Luke the evangelist says of the Savior himself that he was “the son of Joseph, as was supposed”²¹ and Mary too said to him the Gospel according to Luke, “Behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing.”²² (12) Who, then, can call Joseph the Lord’s father when he had no responsibility for his generation, especially when the incarnation took place without a man’s seed? But by the dispensation of providence this is how matters fell out.

8,1 Joseph begot James when he was somewhere around forty years old. After him he had a son named Josés—then Simeon after him, then Judah, and two daughters, one named Mary and one, Salome; and his wife died. (2) And many years later, as a widower of over eighty, he took Mary. So we are told in the Gospel, for it says, “Mary, his espoused wife,”²³ it didn’t say, “married wife.” And again, in another passage it says, “And he knew her not.”²⁴ (3) One can only wonder at all < the allegations* >²⁵ of those who look for wicked allegations, who < strive* > to discover the causes which need no discovery and to investigate the uninvestigable, but who turn from the essentials to foolish questions, so that we may surely catch the plague of every kind of unbelief and blasphemy because of the dishonoring of the saints.

8,4 *In the first place, the course of nature entirely confutes them. To begin with, an old man of over eighty did not take a virgin as a sexual partner; she was committed to his protection. Secondly, he himself was surely "just";²⁶ and when he had heard that that which was in her was "of the Holy Spirit"²⁷ he would not have dared to keep wanting her after such a providence, < and > use the vessel that had contained him whom heaven and earth cannot contain because of his transcendent glory. (5) Even if today many of the faithful strive to remain virgin in his name, and pure and continent, wasn't Joseph more faithful? And Mary herself who, as scripture says, "pondered all things in her heart."²⁸ After a dispensation of that sort, of such greatness and importance, < how could it not be wrong > for an elderly man to have relations once more, with a pure and honored virgin, a vessel which had contained the Uncontainable and had received such a mystery of a heavenly sign and man's salvation?*

9,1 *Where can I not find proof that the Virgin remained pure? For a starter, let them show me that Mary bore children after the Savior's birth! Let these designers and reciters of deceit and mischief make the names up and give them! But they can't show them because she was still a virgin and, perish the thought, had no sexual relations! (2) If she had ever born children even though she was always with the Savior himself, her children too would be said to be with < him >.*

But the text, "Lo, thy mother and thy brethren stand without, seeking thee,"²⁹ misleads them. (3) Besides, they do not know the earlier passage, "His brethren believed < not > on him."³⁰ As I myself grow older and wonder at the triviality of the things in the sacred scriptures—I can tell you, as I become fully acquainted with them I thank God for taking the precaution to prove the truth of every text in the sacred scripture by the seemingly trivial words. (4) I always heard that James was called the Lord's brother, and I said in wonderment, "What's the use of this?" But now I understand why the sacred scripture said this beforehand. When we hear, "Lo, thy mother and thy brethren stand without, seeking thee," (5) let us by all means learn that it is speaking of James and the other sons of Joseph, and not of sons of Mary whom she never had.

For it was plain that, in comparison with the [years of] the Lord's incarnation, James was the elder. (6) The scripture calls them brothers to confound [our opponents], and names James, Josés, Simeon, Judah, Salome and Mary, so that they will learn whose son James is and by which mother, and understand who is the elder.

Jesus was crucified in the thirty-third year of his incarnation, but it was the twentieth year of Herod the son of Archelaus. (10,1) For the Savior was born in Bethlehem of Judaea in the thirty-third year of the first Herod, the son of Antipater, which was the forty-second of the emperor Augustus. (2) And at the age of two he was taken to Egypt by Joseph because of what the magi had told him, since Herod was seeking < to destroy > the child.

10,3 King Herod died in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, but his son Archelaus reigned for nine years after him. (4) And the work [of salvation] was finished, and Jesus was crucified in the eighteenth year of Tiberius Caesar; it was the twentieth year of Agrippa called "The Great," or Herod the Younger, the son of Archelaus. (5) But nowhere have we heard that Joseph fathered [more] sons. Indeed, he did not live many years after his return from Egypt, for it was the Savior's fourth year, while Joseph was over eighty-four when he arrived from Egypt. (6) And Joseph survived for another eight years; and in Jesus' twelfth year, as it says in the Gospel according to Luke, he was sought for on their journey to Jerusalem, when he could not be found on the road.

10,7 But Joseph died during these years, and Jesus was no longer brought up by Joseph, but in Joseph's home. This is why the Gospel can no longer say that his father and mother and brethren came, but says, "Lo, thy mother and thy brethren stand without, seeking thee."³¹ (8) Nor did it say that his father and brothers had spoken to him, when they said to him in Galilee, "No one that doeth these things would be in secret; if thou doest these things, show thyself."³² It said that his brothers had spoken to him; Joseph was no longer alive in the flesh. (9) But then at his perfecting itself, when the Savior was on the cross, the Lord turned, as the Gospel according to John tells us, "and saw the disciple whom he loved, and said to him of Mary, "Behold thy mother". And to her he said, "Behold thy son."³³ (10) If Mary had children and her husband was alive, why did he entrust Mary to John and John to Mary? And

why not rather entrust her to Peter'? Why not to Andrew, Matthew and Bartholomew? But it is plain that he entrusted her to John because of virginity.

10,11 *For < he says >, "Behold thy mother," even though physically she was not John's mother; [he says this] to show that < as > the originator of virginity she was his mother, since the life began with her. (12) And lest it be supposed that the work [of salvation] was appearance and not reality he said this to John to teach him to honor his own mother, even though, physically speaking, John was not his kin; for the Lord was truly born of her in the flesh. (13) For if she had not truly been the mother who bore him, he would not have taken care to entrust the Ever-virgin to John—his mother because of the incarnation, but undefiled in his honor and the wondrous vessel. But the Gospel says, "And from that day he took her unto his own home."³⁴ But if she had a husband, a home, children, she would return to her own home and not to someone else's.*

11,1 *But this must not be twisted to the harm of any who suppose that, by a clumsy conjecture, they can find an excuse here to invent their so-called "adoptive wives" and "beloved friends." The things done there were done by dispensation, and the case is different from all the other godly stringent rules that ought to be observed. Indeed, when this had been done and John had taken her to himself, she was not yet living with him. (2) If any think < I > am mistaken, moreover, let them search through the scriptures and neither find Mary's death, nor whether or not she died, nor whether or not she was buried—even though John surely traveled throughout Asia. And yet, nowhere does he say that he took the holy Virgin with him. Scripture simply kept silence because of the overwhelming wonder, not to throw men's minds into consternation.*

11,3 *For I dare not say—though I have my suspicions, I keep silent. Perhaps, just as her death is not to be found, so I may have found some traces of the holy and blessed Virgin. (4) In one passage Simeon says of her, "And a sword shall pierce through thine own soul also, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed."³⁵ And elsewhere the Revelation of John says, "And the dragon hastened after the woman who had born the man child, and she was given the wings of an eagle and was taken to the wilderness, that the dragon might not seize her."³⁶ Perhaps this can be applied to her; I cannot*

decide for certain, and am not saying that she remained immortal. But neither am I affirming that she died.

11,5 For scripture went beyond man's understanding and left it in suspense with regard to the precious and choice vessel, so that no one would suspect carnal behavior of her. Whether she died, I don't know; and [even] if she was buried, she never had carnal relations, perish the thought! (6) Who will choose, from self-inflicted insanity, to cast a blasphemous suspicion [on her], raise his voice, give free rein to his tongue, flap his mouth with evil intent, invent insults instead of hymns and glory, hurl abuse at the holy Virgin, and deny honor to the precious Vessel?

12,1 But if we need to take the matter up from another point of view, let's examine the findings of the naturalists. They say that a lioness never gives birth but once, for the following reason. A lion is very fierce, grim of visage, of extremely violent strength, and, as it were, the king of the other beasts. (2) A lioness conceives by one mate, but the implanted seed remains in the womb for a full twenty-six months. Thus the cub comes to maturity inside its mother because of the time, and already has all its teeth before it is born, and its claws fully developed, and, as they call them, its "incisors, eye-teeth and molars," and all the beast's remaining features. (3) Thus while it is in the belly it rakes it with its claws in the course of its upward and forward movements and its other twists, and scrapes the wombs and ovaries that are carrying it. And so, when the mother has come to birth, that very day her belly becomes incapable of labor. (4) For the naturalists say that the ovaries and wombs are expelled with the cub, so that the lioness no longer feels desire unless, perhaps, she is forced. And even if it should happen that she is forced to mate, she can never conceive again because she has no wombs or ovaries.

12,5 Now even this series of events has given me a notion, beneficial rather than harmful, on the subject in question. (6) If Jacob says, "Judah is a lion's whelp,"³⁷ symbolically of Christ, and somewhere in John's Revelation it says, "Behold, the lion of the tribe of Judah, and the seed of David, hath prevailed"³⁸—(when the Lord is compared to a lion it is not because of his nature, but symbolically, and because of the kingliness of the beast, < the > boldest, strongest, and in all other respects the handsomest of the animals.) [If the Lord is a lion], then, I should call the mother who bore him a lioness; (7) how can any lion be born if the mother is not to be called a lioness? But

a lioness does not conceive a second time. Therefore Mary never conceives again; the holy Virgin cannot have had marital relations.

13,1 *But let us look to other considerations too, to < make the truth hevident in every way* >; since it was always with him, the truth < was* > a follower of Jesus. "Jesus was called to a marriage," and "his mother < was > there." ³⁹ And < nowhere > are his brothers mentioned, and nowhere Joseph. < For he says >, "Woman, what have I to do with thee? Mine hour is not yet come" ⁴⁰ He didn't say, "People, what have I to do with you?"*

13,2 *Mary Magdalene stood by the cross, and Mary the wife of Cleopas, and Mary the mother of Rufus, and the other Mary, and Salome, and other women. And it didn't say, "Joseph was there"—or "James the Lord's brother," < who > died in virginity < at the age > of ninety-six. (3) No iron implement had touched his head, he had never visited a bath house, had never eaten meat. ⁴¹ He did not own a change of clothing and wore only a threadbare linen garment, as it says in the Gospel, "The young man fled, and left the cloth wherewith he was clad." ⁴²*

13,4 *John, James and James, these three, lived in virginity—the two sons of Zebedee and James, who was the son of Joseph and the Lord's brother because he had lived with him, had been brought up with him, and had the status of a brother because of Joseph's only relationship to Mary, her betrothal to him. (5) Only this James was allowed to enter the Holy of Holies once a year ⁴³ since he was a nazirite and a member of the priesthood. Thus Mary was related to Elizabeth in two ways ⁴⁴ and James was distinguished by priesthood, since only the two tribes intermarried, the kingly with the priestly and the priestly with the kingly. Thus long ago the head of the tribe of Judah, Naason, took < the > ancient Elizabeth, Aaron's daughter, to wife during the exodus. (6) Hence many sects are unaware of < the > Savior's earthly genealogy, and because of their puzzlement disbelieve, and suppose that they can contradict the truth by saying "How could Mary, of the tribe of David and Judah, be related to Elizabeth, of the tribe of Levi?"*

14,1 *James also wore the priestly diadem. And once he raised his hands to heaven and prayed during a drought, and heaven immediately gave rain.*

He never put on a woollen garment.⁴⁵ From their continual kneeling before the Lord with extreme piety, his knees grew as hard as camels'. (2) He was no longer addressed by name; his name was "The Just." He never washed in the bath house, did not eat meat, as I have already said, and did not put on a sandal. And a great deal could be said about James and his virtuous life.

14,3 You see, then, that Joseph's home was most remarkable in every way. For if Joseph's sons knew the state of virginity and the practice of the nazirites, how much more did the elderly and honorable Joseph know how to preserve the Virgin in purity, and pay honor to the vessel in which humankind's salvation had once dwelt? "Doth not nature itself teach you?"⁴⁶ (4) The man was aged, very far advanced in years, and a man of standing, faithful character and pious demeanor. For the Gospel says, "From fear of God the man sought to put her away privily."⁴⁷

14,5 This James, the Lord's brother and Joseph's son, died in Jerusalem, after living for about twenty-four years after the assumption of the Savior.⁴⁸ For at the age of ninety-six he was struck on the head with a fuller's rod, was thrown from the pinnacle of the temple (6) and fell without injury, but knelt in prayer for those who had thrown him down and said, "Forgive them, for they know not what they do."⁴⁹ Meanwhile Simeon, his cousin but the son of Cleopas, stood at a distance and said, "Stop! Why are you stoning the Just? And look, he's praying for you the best he can!" And this was the martyrdom of James.

15,1 Now if Joseph's son lived for so many years, how could his father dare to abuse and insult a holy body in which God had dwelt, after he had seen awesome sights, angels standing guard at the birth of the Son, singing hymns from heaven and saying, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men?"⁵⁰ And the shepherds had come to the cavern where Christ was born (2) and told these things, so many signs and wonders, in the hearing of the aged Joseph, who was far advanced in years. (3) The incarnate Christ's human nature was taken from Mary's body for us—the body from which the holy and undefiled flesh was formed for us, in the Savior's Godhead. As the angel Gabriel < says > in the relevant passage, "The Spirit of the Lord shall come upon thee, and the power of the highest shall

*overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.”*⁵¹

15,4 Now how could Joseph dare to have relations with the Virgin Mary who was of such, and so great, holiness? But even if she had sexual relations—and perish that thought!—what good would it do us to inquire into this? Which is the better choice, to leave the matter to God, or to insist on what is bad for us? Plainly, scripture has not told us that we may not have eternal life, but will go to judgment, unless we believe that Mary had relations again. (5) It has, however, told us < to seek > what is good and righteous, what is holy, “that we may give grace unto the hearers also.”⁵² But people have abandoned the essentials, things that relate to faith in the truth, that are to the glory of God, and provide themselves with harmful things wherever they can find them. How disgusting it is even to think of < them >, especially as scripture says nothing of the sort.

16,1 For if the scripture said it, I would expound the proof-text truth < fully * > and think nothing of it. Is marriage unholy, after all? Is the marriage bed profane? Isn’t “the bed undefiled?”⁵³ Is marriage debased? But prophets and high priests refrain from it because their service is for a higher purpose. (2) After Moses became a prophet he had no more relations with his wife, she bore no more children, and he fathered no more. For he had adopted a way of life which afforded more leisure for his Master. How could he remain on Mount Sinai “for forty nights and forty days”⁵⁴ and still attend to his marriage? Or how [else] could he ready for ministry to God in the wilderness for forty years, and find the leisure for priesthood?

If he was married, how could he continually expound the mysteries and converse with God? (3) For if the holy apostle speaks expressly of us, and says, “< Let them be continent * > for a time, that they may be free for prayer,”⁵⁵ how much more will the saying be true of prophets?

Moreover, Mary was a prophetess. (4) Scripture says, “He went in unto the prophetess, and she conceived and bare a son. And the Lord said unto me, Call his name, Spoil Speedily, Plunder Fiercely, “and so on.”⁵⁶ (5) The meaning here, however, is Gabriel’s visit to Mary, when he went forth to bring her

the tidings that she would bear God's Son, a Savior, for the world, not by the seed of a man but through the Holy Spirit.

16,6 Moreover, Philip the evangelist had "four daughters that did prophesy,"⁵⁷ but they prophesied because of the virginity that was vouchsafed them. (7) Thecla too met St. Paul and dissolved her marriage, although her betrothed was most handsome, the leading man in the town, extremely rich, of excellent family, and very prominent. And yet the saint despised earthly things to gain the heavenly.⁵⁸ (8) Now if these persons [did] these things, how much more Mary, to whom the whole wondrous providence has come? But where can I find ideas to benefit them? How can I dispel the darkness of those who have spawned these dreadful doctrines, as the scripture says, "He hath conceived pain and brought forth iniquity?"⁵⁹ For these people do indeed conceive the pain of sick fancies, and bring forth the iniquity of blasphemies.

17,1 But no one should have those suspicions and say, in his attempt to implant them within himself in a different way, "Why does the Gospel say, 'Mary was found with child of the Holy Ghost before they came together?'"⁶⁰ Their coming together was expected, and this is why it said, 'before they came together.' (2) Furthermore, the same Gospel says once more, in another passage, 'She brought forth her son, the firstborn,' and, 'He knew her not until she had brought forth her son, the firstborn.'"⁶¹

17,3 And yet those who profess to distinguish between the senses of the scriptures (i.e., literal, allegorical etc.) and try to meddle with the loftiest and the deepest matters, do not know that the sense of this is as follows. (4) For if Mary had given birth again, scripture should have given the other brothers' names too. But never fear, if the Only-begotten < is called "firstborn" >, don't worry, it is because he is the "firstborn of all creation."⁶² The Gospels did not say, "She brought forth her firstborn," but, "He knew her not until she had brought forth her son"—and it didn't say, "her firstborn," but, "the firstborn." (5) By "her son," scripture meant what had been born of her in the flesh. But it didn't add another "her" to the term, "firstborn," but said imply, "firstborn."

For he is the One the apostle calls, "firstborn of all creation"—not united with creation but begotten before creation. (6) The apostle didn't say, "first-created," but, "firstborn"; and the passage is divided for its better and sounder interpretation by saying "firstborn" first, and then mentioning creation as inferior. For "firstborn" is understood of the Son, but "creation" < was made > through the Son. (7) Thus "She brought forth her son, the firstborn;"—but not "her firstborn," as though she was to bear another.

"And he knew her not." For how could he know that a woman would receive so much grace? Or how could he know that < the > Virgin would be so highly glorified? (8) He knew that she was a woman by her appearance, and her womanliness by her sex, and knew that her mother was Ann and her father, Joachim, that she was related to Elizabeth, that she was of the house and lineage of David. But he did not know that anyone on earth, especially a woman, would be honored with such glory. (9) He did not know her, then, until he had seen the wonder; he did not know how wondrous she was until he had seen "that which was born of her."⁶³ But when she gave birth he also knew the honor God had done her, for it was she who had been told, "Hail, thou that art highly favored, the Lord is with thee."⁶⁴

18,1 It is Mary who is intimated by Eve, for she was symbolically given the title, "mother of the living." For Eve was called "mother of the living"⁶⁵ in that passage," and this after being told, "Earth thou art, and unto earth shall thou return"⁶⁶ following her transgression. And yet, it was a wonder that she received the great title after this transgression. (2) Physically speaking, every birth of human beings on earth is from that Eve; but here life itself has truly been born into the world of Mary, so that Mary brings forth the Living One and becomes the mother of the Living. (3) Mary, then, was mystically called the "mother of the living." For "Who has given the woman the wisdom < of weaving > and skill in embroidery?"⁶⁷ was said of the two women. The first wise woman, Eve, < was > the weaver of earthly garments for Adam whose nakedness she had caused; for this task was assigned to her. (4) Since the nakedness was her fault, she had been given the task of clothing the physical body to hide its physical nakedness. But God's assignment to Mary was that she bear a lamb and sheep for us, and that, by his virtue, we

receive a garment of immortality wisely made—as though from his fleece—from the glory of the lamb and sheep.

18,5 But there is another marvel to ponder in connection with these women, Eve and Mary. Eve has become the occasion of human deaths, for “Death entered into the world”⁶⁸ through her. But Mary, through whom Life was born for us, is the occasion of life. (6) And this is why the Son of God came into the world; and “Where sin hath abounded, grace did much more abound.”⁶⁹ And in the place from which death came, life got the start of it, so that there might be Life in place of death. He who, in his turn, had become our life through a woman, shut out the death that came from a woman.

18,7 And since Eve in Paradise fell into the sin of disobedience while still a virgin, the obedience of grace in its turn has come through the Virgin, when she was told of the descent from heaven, of the coming in the flesh and eternal life. (8) For in Paradise God tells the serpent, “And I shall put enmity between thee and her, and between thy seed, and her seed.”⁷⁰ But there is no instance of a woman’s seed < with an enmity toward the physical seed of a snake * >, unless, as the riddle suggests, the “enmity” is taken to mean Eve’s enmity towards the progeny of the snake itself, and of the devil who dwelt in the snake, and his envy.

19,1 And in fact, the whole cannot have its complete fulfillment in Eve. But it will truly be fulfilled in the holy Seed, the elect Seed, the unique Seed, the Seed which originated from Mary alone, and not from union with a man. For he came to “destroy” the “power of the dragon and crooked serpent which flees”⁷¹ saying that it has taken the whole world captive. (2) And so the Only-begotten came from a woman for the destruction of the serpent— that is, of heresy, corruption and deceit, imposture and iniquity. (3) It is he who truly “opens a mother’s womb.”⁷² All the firstborn who have ever been born—to put it delicately—could not manage this; none but the Only-begotten, who “opened a virgin’s womb.” That has been accomplished in him alone, and in no one else.

19,4 But this⁷³ can also be seen from the subject itself. The expression, [“mother of the living”], is to be understood of Mary, and I shall take the one that says, “For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother and

shall cleave unto his wife, and the two shall become one flesh,"⁷⁴ as a reference to the church. (5) The holy apostle also says, "This is a great mystery, but I say it concerns Christ and the church."⁷⁵ (6) And see the precision of the scriptures! It says, "formed,"⁷⁶ of Adam, but of Eve it no longer speaks of being "formed," but of being "built." For it says, "He took one of his sides and built it into a wife for him,"⁷⁷ to show that the Lord formed his body from Mary, but the church has been built from his side itself—when his side was pierced, and the mysteries of blood and water became atonements for us.

20,1 But in any case Joseph knew Mary, not with any knowledge of physical intimacy, not with the knowledge of intercourse—he knew her, and honored her whom God had honored. For he did not know how glorious she was until he saw the Lord who was born of a woman. (2) And "Before they came together she was found with child"⁷⁸ is said to keep the argument of those who think that the God-ordained mystery came from sexual commerce from prevailing. For it meant, "before this thing that was expected took place—but the thing did not take place." (3) For even if it was expected that the Virgin would have relations with Joseph, an impossibility because of his age, the holy scripture shows us in advance, and confirms our notion, < to > convince < us > that, although the thing is possible despite the sacred childbirth, no man < may > ever again approach the Virgin for sexual relations—convincing us in the same way in which the angel convinced Joseph that his suspicion was unfounded. (4) For there is a similarity between "before they came together," which means that this was expected but did not happen, and, "Being a righteous man he sought not to make her a public example but to put her away privily,"⁷⁹ which means that he would become evil if he made her a public example, but he did not. In the same way the angel teaches him, "Fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife"⁸⁰ though she had not yet become his wife, "even if you suspect her of a fall"; but she is not what you think," and so on. (5) For he says directly after that, "for that which was conceived in her,"⁸¹ as though it had already occurred,⁸² but then, "she shall bear a son,"⁸³ as of a

future event; and she did. (6) And the prediction⁸⁴ < has come down to us* > because its truth has been demonstrated, just as “before they came together” < has come down to us* > because we are satisfied⁸⁵ that no such thing has occurred. “Until she brought forth her son, the firstborn,” is to be interpreted along the same lines,⁸⁶ because of the marvel of the knowledge of the Virgin, with her honor in the sight of God.

21,1 But no one should suppose that because it says, “before they came together,” they came together later on. No one can prove this or show it; scripture has provided this added confirmation to show that the Savior’s conception was undefiled. “[Joseph] knew her not” is said to her glory; (2) “firstborn” is said because he is the Firstborn, before there are any creatures, and the “firstborn among many brethren”⁸⁷ as the apostle said—not brethren by < birth > from Mary as though she bore other sons, but the brethren who were vouchsafed adoption as sons through him when, to remove any suspicion of docetism, he truly became her son in the flesh. (3) What is more, he was the firstborn and the son of the Virgin herself—not, as I said, because she had other sons. For this is similar to his first birth before the incarnation. He who is truly the Father’s heavenly Firstborn before all creation, is not called Firstborn because there were others begotten of the Father after him. Because he is Only-begotten, he has no second brother. (4) Thus he was always Mary’s firstborn during his sojourn on earth, but since he had no second brother born of her, he was Mary’s only child.

Those who have invented things that will hurt and not help them must stop. Don’t do it! Please don’t! (5) He who honors the Lord, also honors his holy < vessel >; he who dishonors the holy < vessel >, dishonors his own Master as well. Leave Mary the holy vessel, the holy Virgin, alone! These harmful < contrivances > are of no use to us; we must think more reverently, or we will become proud, or contentious, or garrulous. (6) For as the scripture says, We shall “give account for every idle word.”⁸⁸ Let us look after ourselves, < then >, and mind our own business. Let us not attribute our behavior to the saints, not look at the saints’ lives in terms of our own.

22,1 For some who are who are constrained and inclined to sensuality and have within them a pernicious expectation [of it], would doubtless like to smear the saints as well, to provide a plausible excuse for their wicked,

*weak-willed expectation. To them the apostle says, "I would that all men were as myself."*⁸⁹ But why does he say, "myself;" except because of his purity?

22,2 *"But because of fornication, let each have his own wife!"*⁹⁰ But the pronoun has been left out; Paul said this for a reproof, and to convert them. He could have said, "because of your fornication." He left "your" out, however, not to appear to have said this as abuse of anyone. (3) But the words were spoken in condemnation of certain persons who were unwilling to free themselves for God, as our fathers of old used to do after living in accordance with the Law and knowing their own vessels fittingly for procreation. I have found a scripture somewhere that says, "Rebecca conceived of one."⁹¹ (4) By saying, "of one," he described it politely but showed that her conception was a righteous one. He is telling us that, once he had children, Jacob had no further relations with his wife.

22,5 But it is a simple and easy matter for our minds to be diverted to evils instead of the essentials. Our human reason is shaky, and not quick to direct its zeal into the Lord's straight path. It veers sometimes to the right and sometimes to the left, and finds it hard to obey Solomon's injunction, "Turn not to the right hand, nor to the left."⁹² (6) Since our wickedness is taking another turn with regard to the same thoughts, and urges our good sense to go off on other paths, let us make sure that excessive praise of the Virgin does not become another occasion of delusion for anyone.

23,1 For in blasphemy of the Son, some, as I have already indicated, have done their best to make him literally different from the Father's Godhead. Others again, whose views are different, have said that the Father is the same, the Son is the same, and the Holy Spirit is the same, as though, if you please, they had been encouraged to honor the Son too highly. In both cases the plague is incurable.

23,2 Similarly, some have dared to speak insolently of this holy and blessed Ever-virgin, as though she had had sexual relations after that greatest and unsullied providence of the Lord, his incarnation. And of all wickedness, this is the most impious. (3) But even as I say < that I am astonished > to learn how some have dared to give themselves to [the] sin with the utmost readiness, I am once more astonished to hear the other. For < I have heard > in turn that others, who are out of their minds on the subject of this holy Ever-virgin, have done and are doing their best, in the grip both of some madness

and of folly, to substitute her for God. (4) For they say that certain Thracian women there in Arabia have introduced this nonsense, and that they bake a loaf in the name of the Ever-virgin, gather together, and < both > attempt an excess and undertake a forbidden, blasphemous act in the holy Virgin's name, and offer sacrifice in her name with woman officiants.

This is entirely impious, unlawful, and different from the Holy Spirit's message, and is thus pure devil's work, and the doctrine of an unclean spirit.

(5) The words, "Some shall depart from sound doctrine, giving heed to fables and doctrines of devils,"⁹³ apply to these people as well. For as the scriptures say, they will be "worshipping the dead"⁹⁴ as the dead were given divine honors in Israel. And the glory of the saints, which redounds to God in its due season, has become an error for others, who do not see the truth.

23,6 For in Shechem, that is, the present day Neapolis, the inhabitants offer sacrifices in the name of Core, supposedly because of Jephthah's daughter who was once offered to God as a sacrifice. And for those who have been taken in by it, this has become the misfortune of idolatry and vain worship. (7) And because Pharaoh's daughter honored God's servant Moses, and took him up and reared him, the Egyptians honored her to excess in place of God because of the fame of the child in those days, and by an evil tradition have handed this down to the foolish as an observance. And they worship Thermutis the daughter of Amenophis⁹⁵ who was Pharaoh until that time, because, as I said, she reared Moses.

23,8 And there have been many such things to mislead the deluded, though the saints are not responsible for anyone's stumbling; the human mind finds no rest, but is perverted to evils. (9) The holy virgin may have died and been buried—her falling asleep was with honor, her death in purity, her crown in virginity. Or she may have been put to death—as the scripture says, "And a sword shall pierce through her soul"⁹⁶—her fame is among the martyrs and her holy body, by which light rose on the world, [rests] amid blessings. Or she may have remained alive, for God is not incapable of doing whatever he wills. No one knows her end.

But we must not honor the saints to excess; we must honor their Master. (10) It is time for the error of those who have gone astray to cease. Mary is not God and does not have her body from heaven but by human conception, though, like Isaac, she was provided by promise. (11) And no one should

make offerings in her name, for he is destroying his own soul. But neither, in turn, should he be insolent and offer insult to the holy Virgin. Heaven forbid, she had no sexual relations after or before the Savior's conception.

24,1 *I have thought these few points through and put them in writing for those who are willing to learn the truth of the scripture, and not talk wildly and sharpen their blasphemous tongues to no purpose. (2) But if any prefer to object, and receive not what is beneficial but the opposite, I too will have to say, despite my insignificance, "Let him that heareth, hear, and him that disobeyeth, disobey";⁹⁷ 'let no man trouble' the apostles any more, or 'me.'"⁹⁸ (3) What I knew to be reverent and of use to the church I have said of the holy Virgin, in defense of her who is in every way favored, as Gabriel said, "Hail, thou that art highly favored, the Lord is with thee!"⁹⁹ But if the Lord is with her, how can she be a partner in another union? How can she have intercourse with flesh, when she is preserved by the Lord? (4) The saints are in honor, their repose is in glory, their departure in perfection, their portion in blessedness, among the holy women alone. Their choir is with the angels, their dwelling in heaven, their manner of life in the sacred scriptures. Their fame is in incomparable and perpetual honor. Their rewards are in Christ Jesus our Lord, through whom and with whom be glory to the Father with the Holy Spirit forever. Amen.*

24,5 *All the brethren send you their greetings. And do you yourselves greet all the faithful, orthodox brethren among you, who detest pride and hate the fellowship of the Arians and the foolishness of the Sabellians, but honor the Trinity in its co-essentiality, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, three entities, one essence, one Godhead, and in a word, one glory—and are not in error about our Savior's saving incarnation and advent in the flesh, (6) but believe completely in the incarnation of Christ as perfect God and at the same time perfect man except for sin; who took his body itself from Mary, and took a soul and mind, and everything human except for sin—not a Christ who is two, but one Lord, one God, one king, one high priest, God and man, man and God, not two but one, united not as a mixture or as an unreal thing but as a great dispensation of grace. Farewell!*

24,7 *Since I am satisfied that the copy of my letter is correct, and am of the opinion that this much will do for a reply to them, I have also passed this sect by in God, as I would a snake peeping out of its hole. I have fully*

refuted it with God's wise doctrine and his power—a power that breathes a sweet odor, like storax, on the world in the virtue < of the faithful >, holy children of the virginity which began with Mary, through the light which has dawned on the world through her. I have showed what the evil poison of this serpent's reptilian wickedness is. Let us go on to the rest once more, to finish the entire work in God.

Against Collyridians

1,1 < Another > sect has come to public notice after this, and I have already mentioned a few things about it in the Sect preceding, in the letter about Mary which I wrote to Arabia. (2) This one, again, was also brought to Arabia from Thrace and upper Scythia, and word of it has reached me; it too is ridiculous and, in the opinion of the wise, wholly absurd. (3) < So > let's begin the discussion and description of it; as others like it were, it too will be adjudged silly rather than wise.

1,4 For as, long ago, those who, from an insolent attitude towards Mary, have seen fit to suspect these things were sowing damaging suspicions in people's minds, so these persons who lean in the other direction are guilty of doing the worst sort of harm. In them too the maxim of certain pagan philosophers, "Extremes are equal," will be exemplified. (5) For the harm done by both of these sects is equal, since one belittles the holy Virgin while the other, in its turn, glorifies her to excess.

1,6 And who but women are the teachers of this? Women are unstable, prone to error, and mean-spirited. (7) As in our earlier chapter on Quintilla, Maximilla and Priscilla, so here the devil has seen fit to disgorge ridiculous teachings from the mouths of women. For certain women decorate a barber's chair or a square seat, spread a cloth on it, set out bread and offer it in Mary's name on a certain day of the year, and all partake of the bread—as I partially discussed in my same letter to Arabia. Now, however, I shall speak plainly of it and, with prayer to God, give the best refutations of it that I can, so as to grub out the roots of this idolatrous sect and with God's help, be able to cure certain people of this madness.

2,1 Now then, servants of God, let us adopt a manly frame of mind and dispel the madness of these women. The speculation is entirely feminine, and the malady of the deluded Eve all over again. Or rather, it is still the

malady of the snake, the seducing beast, and the false promise of the one who spoke in it. This promise made no < sound > suggestion and did not make its undertaking good, but only caused death by calling the untrue true, and encouraging disobedience by the sight of the tree, and aversion to the truth itself by attraction to many things.

2,2 But we shall have reason to suppose that, as the ideas the deceiver sowed by saying, "Ye shall be as gods,"² so are the minds of these women which have been ensnared by the pride of that snake. Once again he is bringing death on that sex, as I have often said.

2,3 For to begin with, to whom is it not immediately obvious, < if he will > investigate the whole scope of the past, that their teaching and behavior are devilish, and their undertaking a deviation? Never at any time has a woman offered sacrifice to God—(4) Eve herself, though she had fallen into transgression, still did not dare to undertake such a further impiety. Not one of her daughters did, though Abel sacrificed to God at once, and, even though they were not accepted, Cain offered sacrifices before the Lord. Enoch pleased God and was translated. Noah made thank offerings to the Lord, as a token of gratitude, with the extra animals in the ark, in thanksgiving to the One who had preserved him. (5) The righteous Abraham offered God sacrifice, and Melchizedek the priest of God Most High. Isaac was pleasing to God, and Jacob made the best offering he could on the stone, by pouring oil from his flask.

And the children of Jacob. We find that Levi was the next to receive the priesthood, but that those who received the priestly order came from his stock—I mean Moses the prophet and expositor, Aaron and his sons Eleazar and Phinehas, and his grandson Ithamar. (6) And why name the throngs of those who sacrificed to God in the Old Testament? We find Ahitub sacrificing, and the sons of Korah, and the Gershonites and the Merarites, to whom the levitical order was entrusted. And the house of Eli, and his kinsmen after him in the household of Abimelech and Abiathar, Helkiah and Buzi, down to the high priest Joshua, and Ezra the priest, and the rest And nowhere did a woman offer sacrifice.

3,1 But I shall also go on to the New Testament as well. If it were ordained by God that women should offer sacrifice or have any canonical function in the church, Mary herself, if anyone, should have functioned as a priest in the New Testament. She was counted worthy to bear the king of all in her own womb, the heavenly God, the Son of God. Her womb

became a temple, and by God's kindness and an awesome mystery was prepared to be the dwelling place of the Lord's human nature. But it was not God's pleasure [that she be a priest]. (2) She was not even entrusted with the administration of baptism—for Christ could have been baptized by her rather than by John. But John the son of Zacharias dwelt in the wilderness entrusted with baptism for the remission of sins, while his father offered sacrifice to God and saw a vision at the time of the offering of incense.

3,3 Peter and Andrew, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas, Thaddaeus, James the son of Alphaeus, Judas the son of James and Simon the Zealot, and Matthias who was chosen to make up the number of the Twelve—all these were chosen to be apostles and “offer the Gospel”³ < throughout > the world, together with Paul, Barnabas and the rest, and with James, the Lord's brother and the bishop of Jerusalem, [they were chosen] to preside over mysteries.

3,4 Successors to the episcopate and presbyterate in the household of God were appointed by this bishop and these apostles, and nowhere was a woman appointed. (5) Scripture says, “Philip the evangelist had four daughters which did prophesy,”⁴ but they were certainly not priests. And “Anna the daughter of Phanuel was a prophetess,”⁵ but not entrusted with the priesthood. For the words, “Your sons shall prophesy, and your daughters shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions,”⁶ required fulfillment.

3,6 < It is plain > too that there is an order of deaconesses in the church. But this is not allowed for the practice of priesthood or any liturgical function, but for the sake of female modesty, at either the time of baptism or of the examination of some condition or trouble, and when a woman's body may be bared, so that she will be seen not by the male priests but by the assisting female who is appointed by the priest for the occasion, to take temporary care of the woman who needs it at the time when her body is uncovered. For the ordinance of discipline and good order in the church has been well protected with understanding, by the standard of our rule. For the same reason the word of God does not allow a woman

“to speak”⁷ in church either, or “bear rule over a man.”⁸ And there is a great deal that can be said about this.

4.1 But it must be observed that the ordinance of the church required not only deaconesses. It mentioned widows too, and called those of them who were still older, “elder,” but nowhere did it prescribe “eldresses” or “priestesses.” Indeed, not even the deacons in the hierarchy of the church have been commissioned to celebrate any mystery, but only to administer mysteries already celebrated. (2) But, once more, from whence has this new story arisen for us? Whence women’s pride and female madness? What has nourished the wickedness that—through the female, once more!⁹—pours the feminine habit of speculation into our minds < and >, by encouraging its characteristic luxury, tries to compel the wretched human race to overstep its proper bounds?

4.3 But let us adopt the firm resolve of the champion Job, prepare ourselves with the righteous answer on our lips, and ourselves say, “Thou hast spoken as one of the foolish women.”¹⁰ (4) For how can such a thing not appear insane to every wise man whose <mind is sound*> in God? How can the practice not seem idolatrous and the undertaking the devil’s? But the devil has always slipped into the human mind in the guise of someone righteous and, to deify mortal human nature in human eyes, made human images with a great variety of arts. (5) And yet the men who are worshiped have died, and their images, which have never lived, are introduced for worship—and since they’ve never lived they can’t be called dead either! And with adulterous intent < they have rebelled > against the one and only God, like a common whore who has been excited to the wickedness of many relations and rejected the temperate course of lawful marriage to one husband.

4.6 Yes, of course Mary’s body was holy, but she was not God. Yes, the Virgin was indeed a virgin and honored as such, but she was not given us to worship; she worships Him who, though born of her flesh, has come from heaven, from the bosom of his Father. (7) And the Gospel therefore protects us by telling us so on the occasion when the Lord himself said, “Woman, what is between me and thee? Mine hour is not yet come.”¹¹ < For > to make sure that no one would suppose, because of the words,

“What is between me and thee?” that the holy Virgin is anything more [than a woman], he called her “Woman” as if by prophecy, because of the schisms and sects that were to appear on earth. Otherwise some might stumble into the nonsense of the sect from excessive awe of the saint.

5,¹ For what this sect has to say is complete nonsense and, as it were, an old wives’ tale. Which scripture has spoken of it? Which prophet permitted the worship of a man, let alone a woman? (2) The vessel is choice but a woman, and by nature no different [from others]. Like the bodies of the saints, however, she has been held in honor for her character and understanding. And if I should say anything more in her praise, [she is] like Elijah, who was virgin from his mother’s womb, always remained so, and was taken up and has not seen death. She is like John who leaned on the Lord’s breast, “the disciple whom Jesus loved.”¹² She is like St. Thecla; and Mary is still more honored than she, because of the providence vouchsafed her. (3) But Elijah is not to be worshiped, even though he is alive. And John is not to be worshiped, even though by his own prayer—or rather, by receiving the grace from God—he made an awesome thing of his falling asleep.¹³ But neither is Thecla worshiped, nor any of the saints.

For the age-old error of forgetting the living God and worshiping his creatures will not get the better of me. (4) They served and worshiped the creature more than the creator,” and “were made fools.”¹⁴ If it is not his will that angels be worshiped, how much more the woman born of Ann,¹⁵ who was given to Ann by Joachim¹⁶ and granted to her father and mother by promise, after prayer and all diligence? She was surely not born other than normally, but of a man’s seed and a woman’s womb like everyone else. (5) For even though the story and traditions of Mary say that her father Joachim was told in the wilderness, “Your wife has conceived,”¹⁷ it was not because this had come about without conjugal intercourse or a man’s seed. The angel who was sent to him predicted the coming event, so that there would be no doubt. The thing had truly happened, had already been decreed by God, and had been promised to the righteous.

6,1 And everywhere we see the scriptures saying < the same >. Isaiah predicted the things that would be realized in the Son of God and said, "Behold, the virgin shall be with child and shall bear a son and shall call his name Immanuel."¹⁸ (2) And as the woman who bore him was a virgin, and the name of < the > child the woman had conceived meant, "God is with us," the prophet saw them in a vision and was compelled by the Holy Spirit to describe them, so that he would not doubt the meaning of the truth. He said, "And he went in unto the prophetess." He was describing Gabriel's entrance in the Gospel, who was sent by God to announce the entrance into the world of God's only-begotten Son, and his birth of Mary. And Isaiah said, "And she conceived and bare a son. (3) And the Lord said unto me, Call his name Spoil Speedily, Ravage Fiercely. For before the child shall know how to cry Father, or Mother, he shall take the power of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria,"¹⁹ and so on.

And all of these things were still unfulfilled. But this would be realized in the Son of God, and fulfilled about 1600 years later. (sic) (4) And the prophet was seeing what would < happen > after so many generations as though it had already happened.

Was it a lie, then? Never! God's providence was announced with confidence as though it had already taken place, so that the truth would not be disbelieved, and the arrival of such an astounding, awesome event would not come to seem uncertain in the prophet's estimation.

6,5 Or don't you see the very next declaration, as the holy Isaiah himself says, "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before its shearer is dumb, so opens he not his mouth. But who can tell his generation? For his life is taken from the earth, and I shall give the evil for his grave,"²⁰ and so on. And see how he describes the earlier events as though they came later, and explains the later ones as though they had already taken place, by saying, "He *was* led as a sheep to the slaughter." (6) For this is said to be a past event; he didn't say, "*is* led," and the subject of Isaiah's pronouncement had yet to be led. But this was said to the prophet as though it had already happened. God's revelation was unalterable.

But when he went on he no longer spoke as of past events, so as not to cause an error in his own turn, but said, "His life is taken from the earth."

He is giving the truth in the two ways, because “was led” was already done, and “is taken” was done later. Thus from its pastness you will know the truth and the sureness of God’s promise, and from its futurity you will imagine the time of the mysteries’ revelation.

7,1 And so in Mary’s case. The angel foretold what her father would receive from God on his return home—the favor her father and mother had asked in prayer, “Lo, thy wife hath conceived in her womb,”²¹ as a sure fulfillment, by the promise, of the faithful man’s purpose. But for some this became an occasion of error. No one in the world can be born in any but the normal human way. Only < the Son* > was fit < for this* >; nature allowed it to him alone. (2) As Maker and Master of the thing [to be made] he formed himself from a virgin as though from earth—God come from heaven, the Word who had assumed flesh from a holy Virgin.

But certainly not from a virgin who is worshiped, or to make her God, or to have us make offerings in her name, or, again, to make women priestesses after so many generations. (3) It was not God’s pleasure that this be done with Salome, or with Mary herself. He did not permit her to administer baptism or bless disciples, or tell her to rule on earth, but only to be a sacred shrine and be deemed worthy of his kingdom. (4) He did not order the woman called the mother of Rufus to advance < to* > this rank²² or the women who followed Christ from Galilee, or Martha the sister of Lazarus and [her sister] Mary, or any of the holy women who were privileged to be saved by his advent < and > who assisted him with their own possessions—or the woman of Canaan, or the woman who was healed of the issue of blood, or any woman on earth.

7,5 Again, where has this coiled serpent come from? How are its crooked counsels renewed? Mary should be honored, but the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit should be worshiped; no one should worship Mary. There is no commandment to < offer > the Eucharist even to a man, < as though > to God, let alone to a woman; not even angels are allowed such glory. (6) The bad writing on the hearts of the deluded should be erased, the sliver removed from their eyes. The creature must return to its Master; Eve, with Adam, must take care to honor only God, and not be influenced by the voice of the serpent but abide by God’s commandment,

"Thou shalt not eat of the tree."²³ (7) And yet the tree was not error; the disobedience of error came by the tree. Let no one eat of the error which has arisen on St. Mary's account. Even though the tree is "lovely"²⁴ it is not for food; and even though Mary is all fair, and is holy and held in honor, she is not to be worshiped.

8,¹ But again, these women are "renewing the potion for Fortune and preparing the table for the demon"²⁵ and not for God, as the scripture says. And they drink impious drinks as the word of God says, "And the women grind flour, and their sons gather wood to make cakes for the host of heaven."²⁶ (2) Such women should be silenced by Jeremiah, and not frighten the world. They must not say, "We honor the queen of heaven."²⁷ Taphnes knows how they must be punished; the places in Magdala know how to receive their bodies for the moth. Do not obey a woman, Israel; rise above a woman's evil counsel. "A woman snares men's precious souls."²⁸ "Her feet bring those who use her with death to hades."²⁹ (3) "Heed not a worthless woman. Honey drops from the lips of an harlot, who anointeth thy throat for a time; but afterwards shall thou find her more bitter than gall, and sharper than a two-edged sword."³⁰

Do not obey this worthless woman. Every sect is a worthless woman, but this sect more so, which is composed of women and belongs to him who was the deceiver of the first woman. (4) Our mother Eve should be honored because formed by God, but not be obeyed, or she may convince her children to eat of the tree and transgress the commandment. She herself must repent of her folly, must turn in shame and clad with fig leaves. And Adam should look to himself, and no longer obey her. (5) Error's persuasion, and the contrary counsels of a woman, are the cause of her spouse's death—and not only his, but her children's. By her transgression Eve has overthrown creation, for she was incited by the voice and promise of the snake, strayed from God's injunction, and went on to another notion.

9,1 And so, since “death < had entered into > the world”³¹ through a woman, the Master and Savior of all, whose desire was to heal the hurt, rebuild the ruins, and repair what was defective, came down and was himself born of a virgin woman to bar death out, complete what was missing, and perfect what was lacking. But evil returns to us, to perpetuate the defect in the world. Thanks to their God-given prudence, however, neither young men nor old obey the woman. (2) The Egyptian woman could not persuade or pervert the chaste Joseph, though she engineered her dire scheme against the boy with great ingenuity. But a man who had received prudence from the Holy Spirit was not persuaded, and so as not to cheapen his nobility did not lose his chastity; he left his garments behind and did not ruin his body. To avoid the snare, he fled the place. He was punished for a while, but he reigns forever. He was thrown into prison, but better to remain under guard and “in the corner of a courtyard”³² than with “a contentious and brawling woman.”³³ (3) And how much is there to say? Whether these worthless women offer Mary the loaf as though in worship of her, or whether they mean to offer this rotten fruit on her behalf, it is altogether silly and heretical, and demon-inspired insolence and imposture.

9,4 But what I have said will do me, so as not to prolong the work. Mary is to be held in honor, but the Lord is to be worshiped! For the righteous deceive no one. “God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man”³⁴ to deceive him, and neither do his servants. “But every man is tempted of his own lust, and enticed and caught. Then lust conceiveth sin, and sin, when it is perfected, bringeth forth death.”³⁵

9,5 I believe I have said enough about all this, beloved. Now that we have squashed this blister-beetle too, as it were, with the speech of the truth—it looks golden, has something like wings, and flies, but it is poisonous and contains deadly venom—let us go on to the one sect still remaining. Once more let us call on God’s support, so that we may find our way to the realm of the truth, and complete the refutation of our opponents.

Against Massalians

1,1 Shamelessness never gets enough, and foolishness is never satisfied. Rather, it has bared its mind and opened its mouth to everything, to ruin the seed of Adam and Noah by bringing their chastity to an end by any number of methods, implanting whorishness in its victims by a variety of methods. (2) For another sect has actually arisen after these, a foolish, entirely stupid one, wholly ridiculous, inconsistent in its doctrine, and composed of deluded men and women. They are called Massalians, which means “people who pray.”²

1,3 For there were others a while ago in their own turn—from about the time of Constantius—who were called Euphemites and Massalians, and I suppose this [present] group has acquired its fervor in imitation of that one. (4) But those were pagan, and neither adherents of Judaism, Christians, nor Samaritans. They were simply pagans, if you please, and said that the gods existed although they worshiped none < of them >, supposedly giving divine honor to one only and calling him the Almighty.³ They built certain houses for themselves, or flat places like fora, and called these prayer houses.

1,5 There were also places of prayer outside the cities in ancient times, among both the Jews and the Samaritans. I have found this in the Acts of the Apostles where Lydia the seller of purple met St Paul. The sacred scripture describes it as follows: “It seemed to be a place of prayer”;⁴ and the apostles came up and taught the women who had assembled on that occasion. (6) There is also a place of prayer at Shechem, the town now called Neapolis, about two miles out of town on the plain. It has been set up theater fashion outdoors in the open air, by the Samaritans who mimic all the customs of the Jews.

2,1 But the earlier, pagan Massalians—the predecessors of the present ones whose background is nominally Christian—would sometimes set up small sites like these themselves, like the ones called synagogues and oratories, in certain places; but in others they actually built something

like a church. They would gather in the evening and at dawn with much lighting of lamps and torches (2) and offer God lengthy hymns by their sages and certain blessings, if you please, in the fond belief that they can appease God, as it were, < with > hymns and blessings.

2,3 But blind ignorance contrives all this, with the fancy of conceit, for those who have gone astray. (3) One such structure was struck by lightning a while ago, I cannot say where, but I may have heard of it in Phoenicia. Moreover, some zealous provincial governors have put many of these persons to death for debasing the truth and counterfeiting the customs of the church without being either Christians or Jews. I believe the general Lupician was one who punished these pagan Euphemites, but a second error arose for them because of this. (4) Some of them took the bodies of those who were put to death at that time for this pagan lawlessness, buried them in certain places, pronounced the same blessings there in turn, and called themselves Martyrians, supposedly because of those who had been martyred for the idols!

3,1 But others in their own turn thought of something still more crafty and said, as though, in their simplicity, consulting their own intelligence, "Satan is great and the strongest, and does people a great deal of harm. Why not take refuge in him, worship him instead [of God], and give him honor and blessing, so that < he will be appeased* > by our flattering service and do us no harm, but spare us because we have become his servants?" And so, again, they have called themselves Satanians.

3,2 I grouped their sect together with the ones I mentioned first and intend to speak of now because, in their departure from the truth, they do the same things in the open air, and spend their time in prayer and hymns. (3) But all this was harmless because of its absurdity and could distract no one's mind from the truth, for those people were not said to be Christian but were altogether pagan. Today, however, these people who are now called Massalians < have adopted* > their customs. But they have no beginning or end, no top or bottom, they are unstable in every way, without principles, and victims of delusion. They are entirely without the foundation of a name, a law, a position, or legislation.

3,4 Saying that they have supposedly come to faith in Christ, they see fit < to gather* > [in mixed companies] of men and women, as though they had renounced the world and abandoned their homes. But in the summertime they sleep in the public squares, all together in a mixed crowd, men with women and women with men, because, as they say, they own no possession on earth. They show no restraint and hold their hands out to beg, as though they had no means of livelihood and no property.

3,5 But the things they say go beyond foolishness. Whichever of them you ask, he calls himself anything you want him to. If you say, “prophet,” they will say, “I am a prophet,” if you name Christ, he will say, “I am Christ,” if you mention patriarch, he will shamelessly call himself that; if angel, he will say he is one. And in a word, how foolish people are!⁵

3,6 They have no notion of fasting.⁶ If they get hungry at their time of prayer, if you please, whether it is at the second hour or the third hour or nighttime, they do anything without restraint, and eat and drink. (7) As to vice or sexual misconduct, I have no way of knowing. But they can have no lack of this either, especially with their custom of sleeping all together in the same place, men and women. There are also Massalians, of Mesopotamian extraction, in Antioch.

4,1 But they got this harmful doctrine from the extreme simplicity of certain of the brethren. For some who are brothers of mine, and orthodox, do not know the moderation of Christian conduct, which tells us to renounce the world, abandon our possessions and property, sell what we have and give to the poor—but really to take up the cross and follow, and not < be > idle and without occupation and eat at the wrong times, and not < be like > drones (2) but “work with one’s own hands,”⁷ like the holy apostle Paul who renounced the world. Though he was the herald of the truth “his hands sufficed not only for himself, but also for them that were with him.”⁸ Not that they were idle; they joined him in his work. He boasts of this somewhere and teaches us in the plainest of terms, “He that worketh not, neither let him eat.”⁹ (3) Some of these brethren < refrain from all mundane labor* >—as though they had learned this from the Persian immigrant, Mani, if I may say so. They have no business to be that way. The word of God tells us to mark such people, who will not work.

4,4 For the saying of the Savior, “Labor not for the meat that perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life,”¹⁰ has given some a wrong notion. They believe that “the meat that perishes” is the honest labor < by > which we possess its product righteously. This applied to Abraham’s work, because of the calf; to the widow’s, because of Elijah; to Job’s work because of his sons and cattle; and [it applies] to all these servants of

God who labor righteously with their own hands “to suffice also for them that need”¹¹—just as they perform this righteous labor in every monastery, in Egypt and every country. (5) As the bee, with the wax she has produced < in > her hands but a drop of honey in her mouth, hymns the Lord of all with her own voice of song, in proportion to her understanding—as Solomon testifies, “By honoring wisdom she was advanced”¹²—(6) so the servants of God who are truly founded on the solid rock of the truth and build their house securely, perform their light tasks, each in his own trade, with their own hands. And they recite nearly all of the sacred scripture and keep their frequent vigils without tiring or grudging, one in prayer, another in psalmody. They continually hold the assemblies that have been set by lawful custom, (7) and spend all their days in the offering of blameless prayers to God, with deep humility and woeful lamentation, < at > the hours which come without intermission at their fixed intervals. [And], as I said, besides their spiritual work they spend their days in manual labor, so that they will not become needy and fall into human hypocrisies, no longer able to speak the truth to the impious (8) or be untouched by the defilement of those who are rich from unrighteousness and take advantage of the poor—and no longer able to do without maintenance by such people because they cannot support themselves by honest toil, but are forced by need to share the idle table of the rich.

5,1 And thus the word of God urges us, “Desire not the meats of the rich, for these are near a life of falsehood.”¹³ And again, in another passage, “Such things must thou prepare. But if thou art more greedy, desire not his meats.”¹⁴ (2) For the [three] children in Babylon gained glory from these, because they rejected the king’s table and chose to satisfy their hunger with seeds instead of his table and food. They renounced wealth and glory as Moses “chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy”¹⁵ the treasures in Egypt.

But he attained to prophecy by working with his own hands. (3) For this aristocrat and son of the king’s daughter was made a shepherd so that he would not eat the bread of idleness. And so our father Jacob teaches us this when he says to Laban, “Give me work, so that I may labor <and

enjoy > mine own bread.”¹⁶ And Jacob himself in his turn was told by his own father-in-law to tend sheep, for the righteous must not eat the bread of idleness.

5.4 The apostles were told to earn their living by preaching the word, so that they would not spend their time in journeys from city to city and place to place to preach. For “The laborer is worthy of his hire,”¹⁷ and, “Sufficient for him that laboreth is his sustenance.”¹⁸ (5) And because of their frequent business with the laity, their administration of the church, and their constant liturgical worship, the word of God also says to pastors, “Who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of its milk? Or who planteth a vineyard, and partaketh not of its fruit?”¹⁹ It says besides, “The husbandman must be first partaker of the fruits,”²⁰ (6) so as not to leave the presbyter or bishop in want of his daily bread; it urges the laity to contribute from their just wages to the support of the priests, through firstfruits, offerings and the rest. And though the persons God has appointed to guide the laity have a right to these things, since they profess to please God wholly they do not use them to excess.

6.1 Indeed, besides their preaching of the word, some of God’s priests imitate their holy father in Christ after God, I mean the holy apostle Paul, and most, though not all, work with their hands as far as possible and < ply > any trade they find to be in keeping with their rank and constant care for the church. (2) Thus, along with the word and its preaching, they will have a clear conscience because they produce with their own hands, maintain themselves and, with an excellent disposition towards God and their neighbors, willingly share the alms they have on hand, I mean < from > firstfruits, offerings and their own earnings, with the brethren and the needy.

6.3 True, they are under no compulsion [to do this], or condemned [for not doing it]; but even though they are engaged [both] in righteous labor and in the work of the church, and have a right to maintenance, they do this from an abundance of good will. (4) For their God-inspired souls also desire this, grounded, [as they are], in the fear of God, and taught by the Holy Spirit of the heavenly riches, which are righteously gained amid praise, a good report and excellence, and are won by sacred doctrines, the study of the holy scripture and the oracles of God, psalmody and solemn

assemblies, holy fasts, purity and discipline, and voluntary manual work for righteousness' sake.

6,5 Besides, these same esteemed brethren of ours in the monasteries, or, as we say, the cloisters of Mesopotamia, have been detected in another form [of error], that of deliberately < having > their hair long like a woman's and wearing sackcloth openly. (6) The children of < Christ's > holy virgin, our mother the church, should be grave and retiring persons and secretly serve the God who, as the scripture says, knows our secrets and rewards us openly. They should < walk > decorously because of outsiders, and not desire reward and credit from those who see them. Visible sackcloth is out of place in the catholic church, as is < un > cut hair, because of the apostle's injunction, "A man ought not to have long hair, inasmuch as he is the image of God."²¹

7,1 But what is worse, and the opposite error, some cut off their beards, the mark of manhood, while often letting the hair of their heads grow long. And as to the beard, the sacred instruction and teaching in the Ordinances of the Apostles says not to "spoil," that is, not to cut the beard,²² and not to deck oneself with meretricious ornaments or have the approach of pride as a copy of righteousness. (2) Long hair was proper only for nazirites, because of the type. The ancients were guided by the type of Him who was to come, and had long hair on their heads for prayer until the world's Prayer came and was answered. But Christ, God's only-begotten Son, was obviously a Head; and he who always was, was made known to the world—(and yet was not known to all mankind, but only to the few believers in him)—so that, when we know the Head, we will not "dishonor the head."²³ This dishonor is not praiseworthy like the other one < of which the scripture speaks > when it says, "despising the shame."²⁴ (3) For the apostle is not speaking of his own head; the point of his joke, "Doth not nature itself teach you that, if a man hath long hair, it is shame to *Him*?"²⁵ applies to Christ rather than to Paul's head. For the adornment is not [being worn] for God's sake, even though it is supposed to be; the style is a contentious one, since the type of the Law is gone and the truth has come.

7,4 But Paul says, "If any seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the churches of God."²⁶ He rejected persons who had such

customs and practices because, by the apostles' ordinance and in the eyes of God's church, they are contentious. (5) But I have been obliged to say this because of these Massalians, since they have contracted the sickness of mind from the same source (i.e., contention), have truly come to grief from perversity of mind, and have been made a sect with the horrid custom of idleness and the other evils.

8,1 This is what I have heard about these people in their turn. They have become a joke in the eyes of the world and have spat up their vulgar thought and words, though they are incoherent and irremediable, and have abandoned God's building. So I shall mention a few points about these things and, as usual, work them up for their refutation. (2) First of all, by the ancient usage of persons who are really married, right reason does not allow women to associate with men. [It allows] a man < to be > with his wife in private, as Adam was with Eve, as Sarah was with Abraham, as Rebecca was united with Isaac. (3) For even though some of the patriarchs had two and three wives, the wives were not in one house. This sort of thing is the intercourse of swine and cattle. (4) If anything, these people astonish me because they profess not to have commerce with wives, while on the contrary they are having their joke and making a show of their utter shame. (5) For even if they had spouses, they should have them individually, not promiscuously. And even if they are married, they should not be caught making a public spectacle, by their own free choice, of God's institution, the union of man and wife with decency, dignity and understanding. (6) Even though some of them have abstained from women in purity and continence, they have outraged what is right by their foolishness, and virtuous behavior by their silly, extravagant activity—for the apostles did not do this, nor did the prophets who preceded the apostles command it.

9,1 Moses took up the hymnody in the wilderness when he came out of the sea, and sang to God, "Let us sing to the Lord, for he is held in glorious honor; horse and rider hath he thrown into the sea."²⁷ And the men responded together, but no women, to show their decorous dispositions, teaching the dignity and order of God's Law. (2) And next it says, "And Miriam took the timbrel and led the women, and said, "Let us sing to the Lord, for he is held in glorious honor."²⁸ And women responded together to her who was like them, was of the same sex, and was in some

sort their leader—contrary to the ignorant, vulgar notion of those who practice heresies in mixed crowds.

9,3 But the prophet says of the resurrection, “And they shall mourn by tribes, the tribe of Nathan by itself and their women by themselves, the tribe of Judah by itself and their women by themselves,”²⁹ and so on. (4) The apostles enjoined this on the church, and the Lord enjoined it in the Gospel by illustrating it from one woman and telling his mother (sic), “Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father.”³⁰ (5) So Gehazi approached the Shunamite to thrust her away, to keep her from violating the commandment and flaunting the ordinance of the prophets. But by the Holy Spirit’s inspiration the prophet saw the woman’s sadness, transgressed the ordinance to console her, received her that one time for the woman’s consolation, and overlooked her touching his feet contrary to custom < because of > her distress and grief of heart. And why should I say a lot about these people who mimic dogs and imitate swine?

9,6 But as to their calling themselves Christ, what sensible person can fail to see that the doctrine is crazy? Or < their > saying, “I am a prophet!” What kind of prophecy is to be seen among them, or which marvelous work of Christ do they perform? If someone is Christ himself, in which Lord has he hoped and believed? Why the errant nonsense? Why the idiotic doctrines? But the things I have said about it will also be sufficient for this sect.

10,1 And this is the place to seal my whole work on these sects and bring it to a close. God has appeared and come to my aid, as I can confess with all my soul and mind, < and > thank the Lord himself that I have been privileged to finish the undertaking I assumed in the Lord himself—I mean that I have composed a description and refutation of < eighty > sects, and at the same time, as far as my human frailty permitted, revealed what goes on in each. (2) For this is the end of my full account of the origins and causes of the eighty sects I have been told of, and whose number and names I know, and the formularies, proof-texts and positions of some of them. I am struck with wonder at the words of the sacred scripture, “There are threescore queens and fourscore concubines, and maidens without number; one is my dove, my perfect one,”³¹ to see how—(3) after speaking of the eighty concubines to begin with and naming Barbarism, Scythianism, Judaism, Samaritanism [and the rest], which are not lawful wives

and have no dowry from the king and no guarantee that their children can inherit—all I shall have left is the demonstration of the truth, the one and only dove herself, whom the bridegroom praises.³² (4) (For there really are seventy-five concubines, and these five mothers of theirs—Hellenism, the mother of the pagans; Judaism, the mother of the Jews; the Samaritan sect, the mother of the Samaritans, and Christianity,³³ (5) from which the separated sects have been broken off like branches and are called by Christ's name but are not his. Some are very far removed from him, while others have disinherited and estranged themselves over some very small matter—[themselves] and their children, who are not children of lawful wives but of wives who have strayed, and are merely called by the name of Christ.)

11,1 And in what follows, now that I have the leisure and have made fervent supplication to God, I shall make the case for the truth, brief in its statement but sure in its teaching. Though the truth is not last; it is first, and I have already mentioned it some time ago, before the sects, in the Advent of Christ.³⁴ (2) < I sing its praises* > now, however, because it is the first, and ever since his incarnation has been united to Christ as his holy bride. (3) It was created with Adam, proclaimed among the patriarchs before Abraham, believed with Abraham, revealed by Moses, and prophesied in Isaiah. But it was made manifest in Christ and exists with Christ, and is the object of our praise afterwards >.

11,4 For to receive the crown afterwards and continue happy with the crown, the contestant must first engage in the contest, and the toil and other struggles of the contest. Not that the crown comes last; it is there before the bout but is awarded afterwards, for the joy and gladness of him who has worked for it. (5) But now that I have said these things about the Massalians, let us go on to the words I have spoken of, < because we want > to show how there are eighty concubines but sixty queens, (6) [and] how one is at once virgin and holy bride, and dove and ewe lamb, but [also] God's holy city, "the pillar and ground of the truth"³⁵ and "the firm rock, over which the gates of hell shall not prevail."³⁶

(7) For, calling and having called upon God in all things, I have succeeded in keeping my promised undertaking, I mean the complete heresiology, and in this undertaking reached even the sect of the Massalians. Treading on it too with the shoe of the Gospel, like a many-footed, ugly, misshapen and foul-smelling chameleon, let us give thanks to God in all things and < glorify > the Father in the Son, the Son in the Father, with the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.

*A Concise, Accurate Account of the Faith of the Catholic and
Apostolic Church (De Fide)*

1,1 We have discussed the various, multiform, much divided, rash teachings of the crooked counsels of our opponents, have distinguished them by species and genus, and, by God's power, have exposed them as stale and worthless. We have sailed across the shoreless sea of the blasphemies of each sect, with great difficulty crossed the ocean of their blasphemous, shameful, repulsive mysteries, (2) given the solutions to their < hosts > of problems, and passed their wickedness by. And we have approached the calm lands of the truth, after negotiating every rough place, enduring every squall, foaming, and tossing of billows, (3) and, as it were, seeing the swell of the sea, and its whirlpools, its shallows none too small, and its places full of dangerous beasts, and experiencing them through their words.

And now, sighting the haven of peace, we make supplication to the Lord once more in prayer as we hasten to land in it. (4) Now, as we recover from all our fear, distress and illness, as we inhale the mainland breezes with the utmost relief, as we < have come to > safety and¹ won our way to the calm harbor, we rejoice already in our spirits. (5) If the truth must be told, we have borne many hardships in [all of] this, and no light ill treatment, and have marched and sailed, as it were, across land and sea—the earth's rugged mountains and desert wastes, and the perils of the deep which we have mentioned. (6) Let us hasten to the city the moment we spy it—the holy Jerusalem and Christ's virgin and bride, the firm foundation and rock, our holy mother < but > Christ's bride. At this most auspicious moment let us ourselves say, "Come, let us go up to the

mountain of the Lord, and the house of the God of Jacob. And he shall teach us his way,"² and so on.

2,1 Now then, children of Christ and sons of God's holy church, who have read through this compilation of the eighty sects or a part of them, who have joined me in plowing through such a mass of their wicked doctrines and marching across such a vast desert, fearful and dryly set down! (2) As though we were in Mara and thirsty from the fearful, trackless waste, let us call upon the Lord of all, for we have always been in need of him and in every part of these Sects, in our continual encounters with their obscurities. (3) Let us cry out ourselves, "Like as the hart desireth the waterbrooks, so longeth my soul after thee, O God," and again, "When shall I come to appear before the presence of God?"³ (4) Therefore let us ourselves be quick to call upon him—not as he called the bride, for he is her Bridegroom, Lord, Master, King, God and Champion. (5) But let us call upon him as his servants and ourselves say, in unison with him, "Hither from Lebanon, O bride, for thou art all fair and there is no spot in thee."⁴

2,6 [She is] the great Builder's garden, the city of the holy king, the bride of the unspotted Christ, the pure virgin betrothed in faith to one husband alone—she who is illustrious and "breaketh forth as the dawn, fair as the moon, choice as the sun, terrible as serried ranks;"⁵ she who is called blessed by the "queens," and hymned by the "concubines."⁶ She is praised by the daughters and "cometh from the wilderness,"⁷ "made white and leaning upon her sister's son."⁸ She exudes myrrh and "cometh from the wilderness, exuding, like pillars of smoke, myrrh, and frankincense from the powders of the perfumer"⁹ who has given his own sweet savor—(7) he whom she foresaw and said, "Ointment poured out is thy name; therefore the maidens have loved thee."¹⁰

She "standeth at the king's right hand clad in fringed garments, cunningly adorned with garments interwoven with gold."¹¹ There is no dark-

ness in her though once she was “blackened.”¹² (8) But now she is “fair”¹³ and “made white.”¹⁴ Thus, on entering you, we shall recover from the hateful pains of the deeds of the sects that once shot through us, shall have respite from the tossing of their billows, and be truly refreshed in you, our holy mother the church, in the sacred doctrine that is in you, and God’s sole true faith.

2,9 But I shall begin describing the wonders of this holy city of God. For glorious things have been spoken of her, as the prophet said, “Glorious things have been spoken of thee, O city of God.”¹⁵ They are beyond the reach of all and inaccessible to unbelievers, but are obtainable in part, with the promise of fullness, by the faithful and true, [and] will be provided by their Master in the kingdom of heaven, where, with her own heavenly bridegroom, his holy virgin and heiress has herself obtained her portion and inheritance.

3,1 In the first place, the God who is over all is God to us who have been born of this holy church. This is the first proof of the truth, and “the ground of the faith”¹⁶ of this only, virgin, holy and harmless “dove” (2) whom the Lord revealed in the Spirit to Solomon in the Song of Songs and said, “There are threescore queens, and fourscore concubines, and maidens without number, but one is *my* dove, *my* perfect one”¹⁷— with the addition of “my” and “my.” (3) For she is *his* “dove” and *his* “perfect one,” since the others are said to be and are not, while she herself is named twice. He did not say, “They are *my* eighty concubines,” of the others. He awarded the queens their honorable connection with him through the glorious name; but of the concubines he declared their complete foreignness.

3,4 When I note their numbers I am obliged to investigate the passage by the anagogical method of spiritual interpretation, so as not to pass them by. I am not exaggerating but truly comparing words with their true spiritual senses, by means of the true scriptures. (5) For < it is plain > that the number of each thing in scripture is unalterable, and that nothing which is assigned a number can be without value or be reduced to

number in the scripture for no good reason. Now “queens” are the ones¹⁸ named earlier on in a genealogy. (6) For vast throngs accompany a king, but the king is still their head. So just as one man will be identified by his head although there are many members in a body, the entire throng of the king’s subjects will be reckoned as one through the one king.

4,1 Now a generation in Christ is called a “queen,” not because the whole generation ruled, but because the one generation which knew the Lord is elevated < to > the royal rank and status by the name of its husband.¹⁹ For example, Adam and his whole generation are to be counted as this, a “queen”—both his rule, and the ruling family which reigned with him—because of his knowledge of God, his privilege of being the first man created, and because he was given the first penance, as the sequel shows. (2) Then after him came Seth and all humankind with him, and Enosh, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech and Noah; these holy men have been listed individually by number, one generation after another, and the number of them is given in Matthew. (3) For in Matthew there are sixty-two generations and lineages, listed under the names of their finest men, who had the knowledge of God or shared the royal glory and dignity because of some other excellence. The roll of the number < of them > goes on until the incarnation of Christ.

4,4 For ten generations passed between Adam and Noah and another ten between Noah and Abraham. But there were fourteen generations from Abraham until David, fourteen generations from David until the captivity, and fourteen generations from the captivity until Christ, so that there are sixty-two generations from Adam to Christ, and they are rounded off to sixty. (5) For although there were seventy-two palm trees in the wilderness, scripture called them seventy. And although the seventy men were called to the mount, with Eldad and Medad they are seventy-two. And there were seventy-two translators under Ptolemy, but to round this off we customarily speak of the Septuagint version.

4,6 Here too, I believe, it says sixty queens with the omission of the first and the last, because of the < suitability of the* > middle sixty for types and an anagogical treatment of the entire subject. For since < the length of

time between Adam and Christ is counted* > by six tens,²⁰ but the time of the creation was correspondingly over in < six days* >, < the number six seems a suitable one* > for the linking of < a throng > of holy souls from every generation, who have reigned in God by faith. (7) Thus there are six stone water jars at Cana of Galilee, which were emptied and filled again. By holding two²¹ or three²² firkins apiece they < symbolize* > the amounts of the Old and New Testaments, and the whole of the Trinity. They were changed from water into unmixed wine, and filled for the good cheer of a wedding and the sons of men. (8) And so the pagan writings speak of a hexagon, which is multiplied to twenty-one by three and seven.²³ The significance of this hexagon is the same as the whole visible vault (of the universe), since its rectangular base has a fourfold < "side" >, as it were, and the covering over the vaulting on top makes six.

5.1 But not to go on too long, I rest content, once more, with what I have said about the sixty queens counted up until Christ's incarnation. But after Christ and until now there are still generations, as is known only to the Lord. (2) No one has reported or arranged the numbers by generation any further, because the number of this sort of thing has been sealed and closed by the number of the queens, which is counted up to the incarnation itself. (3) For the rest, the later authors, rhetoricians, annalists or historians, no longer count generations but successions and times of the emperors, according to the number of the years of each emperor's reign.

From all this the wise will easily understand that, even without this inquiry, all time is divided into the sixty-two generations up until Christ—(4) for after Christ the world's time periods are no longer counted by lineages in this way, since < the number > [of them] is summed up in one unified whole which, by God's good pleasure, indicates an unshakable stay. This [unity] will make it < evident > that the end of the age is separate from time, and will be over at the transition to the age to come.²⁴

5.5 This is why he says, “*One* is my dove, my perfect one.”²⁵ All things are completed in her, whether < they are > times and seasons, years and intervals of generations, and whether the age counts its dates by emperors, consuls, Olympiads or governorships. (6) But there are eighty concubines, who were to be found among the queens even before the earthly reign, that is, the reign of the faith and this bride and virgin herself, who is unspotted and a “dove,” the “only daughter of her mother, even of her that bore her.”²⁶

6.1 For the church is engendered by one faith and born with the help of the Holy Spirit, and is the only daughter of the only mother, and the one daughter of her that bore her. And all the women who came after and before her have been called concubines. They have not been entire strangers to the covenant and inheritance, but have no stated dowry and are not receptacles of the Holy Spirit, but have only an illicit union with the Word. (2) For the Hebrew language gave a good explanation of the concubine by calling her “pilegeshtha.” “Peleg” means “half” and “ishtha” is a wife, which is as much as to say that she is “half a wife.”²⁷ (3) Insofar as she has come to the Lord, he called all to the light of liberty by saying, “While ye have the light with you, walk in the light.”²⁸ And the holy apostle says, “Ye are children of the day and children of the light.”²⁹ And again < it is said > in the sacred scripture, “He that doeth evil hateth the light neither cometh unto the light.”³⁰ (4) And similarly even though concubines—who are not acknowledged or full wives, and are not married with a dowry by their husbands—have carnal relations with the husbands, they cannot have the honor, title, security, marriage portion, wedding gifts, dowered status and legitimacy of the free wife.

And so, as I have said, the sects I have listed in succession are eighty concubines. (5) But no one need be surprised if each of them is given different names in every country. What is more, we must observe that each sect in turn has frequently divided into many parts on its own and the names [of them] are different. This is no surprise; it is the way things are. (6) But I find eighty-one—one [more than eighty] because of the one who is different from them all, but is the only one allotted to the bride-

groom acknowledged by him with such a name as “One is my dove,” and again, “my perfect one.”³¹ In other words all the concubines are low-born and not reckoned as harmless, or pure and gentle.

6,7 There are concubines, then, from < the ones > that followed the so-called “Barbarism” and “Scythianism” in the beginning, down through the Massalians of whom we have just spoken—seventy-seven in all, and the source of the pagan sects, Hellenism, and Judaism, the source of < the > Jewish, and the Samaritan sect, the source of the Samaritan. When < these > three are added to the seventy-seven the sum is eighty and the one is left, (8) namely, the holy catholic church, Christianity. By the will of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit Christianity was, in fact, named from the beginning, both with Adam and—before Adam and before all the ages—with Christ, and was believed by all who have pleased God in every generation. And it was plainly revealed in the world at Christ’s coming. And I now sing its praises once more after all these sects, the ones < we called > concubines, following the order of the treatise.

7,1 For the Word himself counted the sects like this in the Song of Songs when he said, “Eighty queens and eighty concubines and maidens without number. But one,” he says, “is my dove, my perfect one; the one daughter of her mother, elect for her that bore her.”³² (2) And he later shows how all will find her the most honored of them all, the mistress of them all, and his only choice, the one whose children are the king’s heirs and legitimate children. For they are “children of the promise” and not “children of the bondmaid”³³ or the concubine, or of the others whose description is endless.

7,3 For even though Abraham had children by the concubine Keturah, Keturah’s children were not joint heirs with Isaac. They received gifts, however, like gifts for a governor, to make sure that the type would be preserved for the anagogical interpretation of the text, and that no one would despair of Christ’s calling. (4) For the gifts Abraham gave Ishmael and Keturah’s sons were a type of the good things to come, for the conversion of the gentiles to the faith and truth.

7,5 For Abraham gave Hagar, a bondmaid and cast out by Abraham—([she was] like the Jerusalem below who was in bondage with her children, of whom it is said, “I have cast out thy mother,”³⁴ and again, “I gave the bill

of divorcement into her hands.”)³⁵ Abraham gave this bondmaid, I mean Hagar, a skin full of water, the more of a type because of the hope of her conversion.³⁶ This was to show the power of the “laver of regeneration,”³⁷ which has been given to unbelievers for a gift of life, and for the conversion of all the heathen to the knowledge of the truth.

7,6 But Abraham’s gifts to Keturah’s children were wealth—gold, silver, clothing, and whatever Abraham secretly hid in their wallets, the “frankincense, myrrh and gold”³⁸ of the companions of the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, which < had been plundered by > Chedorlaomer’s allies. They had taken prisoners from Sodom, Gomorrah and the other towns, had made off with their horses, captured most of the people, and seized the wealth and possessions of each king and the greater part of the others. (7) Abraham brought [all] this back “from the slaughter of the kings”³⁹ at that time. But he did not dare to return things already reserved for the Lord God and instead, as I find in the traditions of the Hebrews, gave them as gifts, along with his other gifts, to his sons by Keturah.

8,1 These children of Abraham by Keturah were cast out by Abraham, and settled in Magodia in Arabia. The same gifts < were offered > to Christ in Bethlehem < by > the magi who came from their land and, when they had seen the star and come, offered presents and gifts in order to share in the same hope. (2) The prophet gives plain indication of these gifts by saying, “Before the child is able to cry Father or Mother, he shall take the power of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria before the king of the Assyrians.”⁴⁰ For as I said, these were taken from Damascus in Abraham’s time, and from Samaria, by the kings on their raid. (3) Now when did Christ receive them “before he could cry Father or Mother” except when the magi came and “opened their wallets”—or “treasures,” as some copies say—“and offered myrrh, frankincense and gold?”⁴¹

And do you see how the truth’s expressions go, and the consequences of them? (4) These sects too are concubines, and their children have received gifts. But the concubines have received only the name, and have only been called by Christ’s name and received their few texts from the

sacred scripture, so that, if they choose, they can understand the truth by these. (5) But if they prefer not to, but return to Herod—(for they are told not to return to Herod, but to go to their country by another way.) But if they do not do as they are told the gifts are no good to them, just as their coming would have done the magi no good if they had returned to Herod. For these same sects debase the teachings of God's oracles in a way that resembles Herod's.

9,1 These, then, are < the > eighty concubines, so numbered in scripture. And the individuals listed by generation are those queens, that is, men and patriarchs. But the young girls without number consist of the further philosophies all over the world and the ways of life, one praiseworthy and one not, of each individual. (2) For who can count the variety of this world? How many other sects have not grown up among the Greeks after the four most famous ones which we have mentioned—and further, after those sects and the ones after them, how many individuals and ideas keep arising of themselves, with seeming "youth," in accordance with the opinion of each? (3) There are some called Pyrrhonians, for example, and many others. Since I have learned of many I shall give their names and their opinions in order below, but < this > is a fraction of the ones in the world. (4) And the ones which follow are Greek sects. As the first of them I should begin with the opinion and belief of Thales of Miletus.

9,5 For Thales of Miletus himself, who was one of the seven sages, declared that the primal origin of all things is water. For he says that everything originates from water and is resolved back into water.

9,6 Anaximander the son of Praxiades, also a Milesian, said that the infinite is the first principle of all things. For all things originate from this and all things are resolved into it.

9,7 Anaximenes the son of Eurystatus, also a Milesian, said that air is the first principle of all things, and that everything originates from this.

9,8 Anaxagoras the son of Hegesibulus, of Clazomene, said that identical particles are the first principles of all things.

9,9 Archelaus < the > naturalist, the son of Apollodorus—some say the son of Milton, but he was Athenian—says that all things have originated from earth. For this is the first principle of all things, or so he says.

9,10 Socrates the ethicist, the son of Sophroniscus the statuery⁴² and Phaenaretos the midwife, said that man must mind his own affairs but nothing more.

9,11 Pherecydes too said that earth came into being before all things.

9,12 Pythagoras of Samos, the son of Mnesarchus, said that God is the unit, and that nothing has come into being apart from this. But he said that the wise must not sacrifice animals to the gods, and must certainly not eat meat or beans, or drink wine. He said that everything from the moon down is possible, but that everything above the moon is impossible. And he said that the soul migrates into many animals. He also commanded his disciples to maintain silence for five years, and in the end pronounced himself a god.

9,13 Xenophanes the son of Orthomenus, from Colophon, said that all things are made of earth and water. All things are, or so he said, but nothing is true. Thus what is certain is not clear; all things, especially invisible things, are matters of opinion.

9,14 Parmenides the son of Pyres, an Elean, also said that the infinite is the first principle of all things.

9,15 Zeno of Elea, the controversialist. Like the other Zeno he said both that the earth is immovable and that there is no void. He also says the following: That which must be moved is moved either in the place in which it is, or the place in which it is not. And it can neither be moved in the place in which it is, nor in the place in which it is not; therefore nothing is moved.

9,16 Melissus the son of Ithagenes, the Samian, said that everything is one, but that it is by not nature enduring; all things are potentially destructible.

9,17 Leucippus the Milesian—though some say that he was an Elean—was also a controversialist. He too said that everything is in the infinite, and that all events take place in imagination and appearance. There are no real events; they are apparent, like an oar in the water.

9,18 Democritus of Abdera, the son of Damasippus, said that the world is infinite and is situated above a void. But he also said that there is one end of all, and that contentment is best, but that pains are the boundaries of evil. And what appears just is not just; the unjust is the opposite of nature. For he said that laws are an evil invention, and < that > the wise should not obey laws, but live freely.

9,19 Metrodorus of Chios said that no one understands anything. We have no precise understanding of the things we think we know; and we should pay no heed to our senses, for all things are appearance.

9,20 Protagoras of Abdera, the son of Menander, said that there are no gods, and that God does not exist at all.

9,21 Diogenes of Smyrna, or some say he was from Cyrene, held the same opinions as Protagoras.

9,22 Pyrrho of Elis collected all the doctrines of the other sages and wrote objections to them to demolish their opinions. He was not satisfied with any doctrine.

9,23 Empedocles of Agrigentum, the son of Meto, introduced fire, earth, water and air as the four primal elements, and said that originally there was enmity between the elements. For earlier they had been separated, he said, but now, as he says, they have been united in friendship. In his opinion, then, there are two first principles and powers, enmity and love, the one of which is unitive, the other, divisive.

9,24 Heraclitus of Ephesus, the son of Bleso, said that all things come from fire and are resolved back into fire.

9,25 Prodicus calls the four elements, and then the sun and the moon, gods; for he said that the vital principle of all things comes from these.

9,26 Plato the Athenian said that there are God, matter and form, but that the world is generate and mortal while the soul is ingenerate, immortal and divine. But there are three parts of the soul, the rational, the spirited, and the appetitive. And he said that marriages and wives should be common to all, and that no one should have one spouse to himself, but that anyone who wishes may have relations with any women who are willing.

9,27 Aristippus of Cyrene. He was gluttonous and pleasure-loving, and said that the pleasure is the goal of the soul, and that whoever experiences pleasure is happy. But one who never experiences pleasure is thrice wretched, as he says, and unfortunate.

9,28 Theodoras, who is called the atheist, said that discussion of God is silly. For he believed that there is nothing divine, and therefore urged everyone to steal, forswear themselves, rob, and not die for their countries. For he said that the world is one country and that only the happy man is good, and that the unfortunate < must > be avoided even if he is wise. And a fool, if he is wealthy and an unbeliever, is preferable [to such a "wise" man].

9,29 Hegesias of Cyrene. This man said that there is no such thing as love or gratitude. They do not exist; one does a favor because he is in need [of a favor], or confers a benefit because he has suffered something worse [by not conferring it]. He also said the following: Life is profitable for a bad man, but death for a good one. Hence some have called him the advocate of death.

9,30 Antisthenes, who had a Thracian mother but was Athenian himself, was first a Socratic and then a Cynic. He said that we must not envy the good deeds of others or their shameful behavior to one another; and that the walls of a city are vulnerable to the traitor within, but the walls of the soul are unshakeable and unbreachable.

9,31 Diogenes the Cynic who was from Sinope in Pontus, agreed with Antisthenes in everything. He said that the good is natural⁴³ to every wise man but that everything else is simply foolishness.

9,32 Crates of Thebes in Boeotia, also a Cynic, said that poverty is liberty.

9,33 Arcesilaus said that the truth is accessible to God alone, but not to man.

9,34 Carneades was of the same opinion as Arcesilaus.

9,35 Aristotle the son of Nicomachus is said by some to be a Macedonian from Stagyra, but a few say that he was Thracian. He said that there are two first principles, God and matter, and that things above the moon are subject to divine providence, but that what is below the moon is not ruled by providence but borne along at random by some unreasoned motion. But he says that there are two worlds, the world above and the world below, and that the world above is immortal while the world below is mortal. And he says that the soul is the entelechy of the body.

9,36 Theophrastus of Ephesus held the same opinions as Aristotle.

9,37 Strato of Lampsacus said that heat is the cause of all things. He said that the parts of the world are infinite, and that everything living is capable of having a mind.

9,38 Praxiphanes of Rhodes held the same opinions as Theophrastus.

9,39 Critolaus of Phaselai held the same opinions as Aristotle.

9,40 Zeno of Citium, the Stoic, said that we must not build temples for gods but keep the Godhead in our minds alone—or rather, regard the mind as God, for it is immortal. We should consign the dead to wild beasts or fire. We may indulge in pederasty without restraint. But he said that the divine permeates all things. The causes of things sometimes depend on us and sometimes do not depend on us—that is, some things are up to us while some are not.

He also said that <the soul persists for some time* > after its separation from the body, and called the soul a long-lived spirit but said that is

certainly not fully immortal. For it is exhausted to the point of extinction by the length of its existence, or so he says.

9,41 Cleanthes says that pleasures are the good and noble, and he called only the soul man, and said that the gods are characters in mysteries, and holy calls. And he claimed that the sun is a torch and the world < is holy, and men are* > initiates, and the possessed are priests of the gods.

9,42 Persaeus taught the same doctrines as Zeno.

9,43 Chrysippus of Soli wrote infamous laws. For he said that sons must have relations with their mothers and daughters with their fathers. For the rest he agreed with Zeno of Citieum. But besides this, he said that we should eat human flesh. But he said that the goal of all is to live pleasantly.

9,44 Diogenes of Babylon said that all things consist of pleasure.

9,45 Panaetius of Rhodes said that the universe is immortal and unaging, ignored divination, and pooh poohed what is said about the gods. For he said that the discussion of God is chatter.

9,46 Posidonius of Apamea said that man's highest good is wealth and health.

9,47 Athenodorus of Tarsus held the same opinions as Chrysippus, and taught the same doctrines as Zeno.

9,48 Epicurus the son of Neocles, who was reared in Athens, pursued a life of pleasure and, as I said of him at the outset, was not ashamed to have relations in public with licentious women.⁴⁴ He said in his turn that there are no gods, but that mere chance governs all things. And nothing in the world comes of our own will—not learning, lack of education, or anything else—but that all things happen to everyone unwilling. And it is no use to blame anyone, as he says, or to praise anyone; people do not undergo these things voluntarily.

But he said that death is not to be feared. And as I have said already, he maintained both that everything consists of atoms, and that the universe is infinite.

10,1 And these are the Greek philosophers I have learned of. But there are as many others throughout the barbarian and Greek parts of the Roman realm and the other regions of the world. (2) There are seventy-two repulsive philosophies in the Indian nation, those of the gymnosophists, the

Brahmans (these are the only praiseworthy ones), the Pseudo-brahmans, the corpse-eaters, the practitioners of obscenity, and those who are past feeling. Because of the great corruption in men, and their practice of evil and < obscenity* >, I consider it unnecessary and not worth my while to speak specifically of the Indian sects and the disgusting things they do. (3) For again, it is said that there are six different sects in Media, and as many in Ethiopia—and among the Persians, or in Parthia, Elamitis, Caspia, Germany, and Sarmatia, or however many there are among the Dauni, or among the Zikchi, Amazons, Lazi, Iberians, Bosporenes, Geli, Chinese or the other nations, there are < any number > of different laws, philosophies and sects and a countless throng of varieties.

10,4 For instance, Chinese men stay at home and weave, and anoint themselves and do womanly things in readiness for their wives. And in reverse, the women cut their hair short, wear men's underclothing, and do all the field labor. But among the Geli, on the contrary, those who do evil are held by their laws to be praiseworthy.

10,5 And how many mysteries and rites do the Greeks have? For example, the women who go to the megara,⁴⁵ and those who celebrate the Thesmophoria, are different from each other. And there are as many others: the Eleusinian mysteries of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis, and the shocking goings-on in the sanctuaries there—the unclothing of women, to put it politely, drums and cakes, the bull-roarer and the basket, the worked wool, the cymbal, and the potion prepared in the beaker.

And just as many others. The mysteries of Archemorus in Pythia (6) and others on the Isthmus, those of Athamas and Melicertes the child of Ino. And all the men who turn the phallus over, and the < women > who celebrate⁴⁶ the obscene rites, and the men who serve Rhea by castrating male children and living their lives without male organs, certainly unable to be men any longer, but without having become women. (7) And other Dionysians, those who are initiated into the Curetes and their distribution of meat, who are crowned with snakes and raise the cry of "Va, Va!" Either they are still calling on that Eve who was deceived by the snake, or else they are summoning the snake to their imposture in ancient Hebrew. For by the plain interpretation "Eve" means the woman; but in the ancient language native Hebrew speakers call the snake "chawah."

11,1 And “What shall I say? For the time will fail me if I tell”⁴⁷ of the countless differences in people’s various practices, as well as in their virtue and their vice. (2) As many others in Egypt, who are initiates of Cronus and make a show of putting iron collars on their necks, having their hair loose on top, < wearing > filthy, absurd clothing, and piercing their nostrils as though for nose rings at each [festival] of Cronus in the town called Astus. (This is a small town in Egypt, the chief village of the so-called nome of Prosopitis.) This is how they follow the unclean rites of the general assembly of deluded persons, and the mad instructions of the drum beating ecstasies, if you please! But these people are hopelessly lost.

11,3 But just as many of the others! For instance, the cult of Harpocrates near Buticus, or the little town of Butus itself. They are already elders in years, < but are children in behavior* >, and are compelled by the daemon to enact the imaginary frenzies of Horus at the sacred month. (4) But each citizen—even an elder already far along in years, together with young women of the same persuasion, and other ages from youth up—are supposedly priests of this Horus, and of Harpocrates. Their heads are shaved and they shamelessly carry the slavish, as well as accursed and childish emblem, willingly taking part in the games of the daemon’s initiates laughing madly and foolishly, and cast off all restraint. (5) First they smear their faces with porridge, flour and other vulgarities, and then they dip their faces in a boiling cauldron and deceitfully madden the crowds with their faces, for a supposed miracle; and they wipe the stuff off their faces with their hands, and give some to anyone who asks, to partake of for their health’s sake and as a remedy for their ills.

12,1 But if I were to describe the woman ecstasies in Memphis < and > Heliopolis who bewitch themselves with drums and flutes, and the dancing girls, and the performers at the triennial festival— and the women at Bathys and in the temple of Menuthis who have abandoned shame and womanliness—to what burdens for the tongue, or what a long composition I could commit myself, by adding their countless number [itself] to the number I have already given! (2) For even though I were to take on the enormous task I would leave our comprehension of these things incomplete, since scripture says that there are “young women *without number*.”⁴⁸(3) The rites at Sais and Pelusium, at Bubastis and Abydos, the temples of Antinous and the mysteries there. The rites at Pharbetis, those

of Mendesius' goat, all the mysteries in Busiris, all the ones in Sebennytus, all the ones in Diospolis, where they sometimes perform rites for the ass in the name of Seth, or Typho, if you please, while others < worship* > Tithambro, or Hecate, and others are initiates of Senephthy, others of Thermuthi, others of Isis. (4) And how many things of this sort can be said! < If one tries > to name them specifically it will consume a great deal of time. The entire subject will be summed up by the phrase, "young women without number."⁴⁹

12,5 But again, < I omit* > the names of many other mysteries, heresiarchs and fomenters of schism whose leaders are called Magusaeans by the Persians but prophets by the Egyptians, and who preside over their shrines and temples. And those Babylonian magi who are called Gazarenes, sages and enchanters, and the Indians' Evilei so-called, and Brahmins, < and > the Greeks' hierophants and temple custodians, and a throng of Cynics, and the leaders of countless other philosophers.

13,1 As I said, then, [there are] people in Persia called Magusaeans, who detest idols but worship planets,⁵⁰ fire, the moon and the sun. And in Greece, again, [there are] others called Abian Musi, who drink mare's milk and live entirely in wild country. (2) And as many of all these as the human mind can take in, which are called "great" and < regarded > as praiseworthy, there are as many different "young women without number,"⁵¹ some praiseworthy, some not. Some, making their practice of asceticism out of their own heads and forming their own rule, appear in public with long hair. Others wear sackcloth openly, though other holy brethren sit in sackcloth and ashes at home. Still others, from their "youth," add to their burden with extra fasts and rules <for the sake of > a perfect conscience towards the bridegroom.

13,3 But others, as I said, do not act the part of "youths" rightly but arbitrarily from some preconception, in contradiction to the truth. Zacchaeus, who has recently died in the hill country around Jerusalem, would never pray with anyone. But for the same reason he freely undertook to handle and consecrate the sacred mysteries although he was a layman. And [there was] another—and he was once one of those who seemed to have led the finest kind of life, and he lived in the hermitages in a monastery in Egypt—(4) [he], and another man, near Sinai, who were made "young"

by dreaming < that > they had received bishop's orders, and undertook to sit on thrones and perform episcopal functions.

13,5 Others, and not a few of them, have dared, from "youthfulness," to make themselves eunuchs, if you please, contrary to the commandments. (6) But others, whose origins are orthodox, seem to behave like "youths" and venture to gather their own congregations contrary to the canons. Moreover, they rebaptize the people who come to them from the Arians, if you please, without the judgment of an ecumenical council. (7) For because the Arian and the catholic laity are still intermingled, and many are orthodox but are joined with the Arianizers from hypocrisy, the matter, as I said, has not yet been settled by a judgment—not until there can be a separation of the blasphemous sect, and then its sentence will be determined.

13,8 Of the people who rebaptize in this way by their own directive, I have heard that one is a presbyter in Lycia. And there are others as well, who each pray by themselves and never with anyone else; and others wear slave's collars contrary to the ordinance of the church. (9) And so, at the close of the entire work, I have said that those who are "young" in their own way, to suit their own tastes, are "without number"⁵²—by no means for good, to practice the various forms of wisdom, judgment, courage, prudence and righteousness. Others of these act "young" more arbitrarily, and perversely make themselves < strangers > to the truth, so that there is no number of them.

14,1 But the one dove herself, the holy virgin, confesses that God is the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, a perfect Father, a perfect Son, and a perfect Holy Spirit. She confesses that the Trinity is co-essential and that the Trinity is not an identity, but that the Son is truly begotten of the Father, and that the Holy Spirit is not different from the Father and the Son, (2) but that the Trinity is everlasting, never needing addition and containing no subordination but reduced to one unity, and one sovereignty of our God and Father.

And all things have been made by this Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Once these things did not exist, and they are not contemporaneous with God and were not in being before him; they were brought from non-being into being by the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

14,3 This Father, Son and Holy Spirit has always vouchsafed to appear in visions to his saints, as each was able to receive [the vision] in accordance

with the gift which had been < given > him by the Godhead. This gift was granted to each of those who were deemed worthy, sometimes to see the Father as each was able, < sometimes > to hear his voice as well as he was able. (4) When he said by the mouth of Isaiah, "Lo, my beloved servant shall understand,"⁵³ this is the voice of the Father. And when Daniel saw "the Ancient of Days,"⁵⁴ this is a vision of the Father. And again, when he says in the prophet, "I have multiplied visions and been portrayed by hands of the prophets,"⁵⁵ this is the voice of the Son. And when, in Ezekiel, "The Spirit of God took me" and "brought me out unto the plain,"⁵⁶ this refers to the Holy Spirit.

14,5 And there are many things of this kind that could be said. I have mentioned parts of a few of them in passing, and quoted the two texts to show what the church is like. But there are a million and more like them in the sacred scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments. (6) And [we find in the scriptures] that the Lord himself formed Adam's body and "breathed the breath of life into him" to make "a living soul" for him.⁵⁷ God himself, the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the one Godhead, gave the Law to Moses. The prophets were sent by the same Godhead. He himself is our God, the God of Jews and Christians, and has called those Jews to justification who do not deny our Lord Jesus' advent, and saves all who live by his true faith and do not deny the truth of the proclamation of God's true Gospel doctrine. (7) For the Only-begotten has come! Come! And this is what our mother the church is like—the calm haven of peace, the good cheer redolent of the blossoming⁵⁸ of the vine, which bears the "cluster of blessing"⁵⁹ for us and daily grants us the drink that soothes all anguish, the blood of Christ, unmixed, true.

15,1 [And there are texts to show] that Christ was truly born of Mary the ever-virgin, by the Holy Spirit's agency, not by the seed of a man. No, he took his body from the holy Virgin herself, truly and not in appearance—truly flesh, truly body, with bones, sinews and everything of ours. He was no different from ourselves except for the glory of his holiness and Godhead, and the holiness and righteousness of his vessel. He had

the fullness of everything without sin, and possessed a true human soul, a true human mind—not that I affirm the concreteness of the mind, as others do. (2) But he possessed them all unstained by sin, a “mouth” that did not lie, “lips that spoke no guile,”⁶⁰ a heart not inclined to rebellion, a mind not perverted to wrong, flesh that did not did not indulge in fleshly pleasure. He was perfect God from on high, but had not come to dwell *in* a man; he himself became wholly incarnate, without changing his nature but including his own manhood together with his Godhead.

15,3 He truly entered the Virgin’s womb, was carried for the usual time, and was born without shame, unstained, undented, through the birth canals. He was nursed, was embraced by Simeon and Anna, was borne in Mary’s arms. He learned to walk, went on journeys, became a boy and grew up in full possession of all human characteristics. His age was counted in years and his gestation in months, (4) for he was “made of a woman, made under the Law.”⁶¹

He came to the Jordan and was baptized by John. This was not because he needed cleansing but, in keeping with his manhood under the Law, not to confuse what was right, and so that “all righteousness might be fulfilled,”⁶² as he himself said—and to show that he had taken true flesh, true manhood. He went down into the water to give, not to receive; to provide generously, not from need; to enlighten the water, and empower it to become a type of those who would be perfected in it. Thus those who truly believe in him and hold the faith of the truth would learn that he had truly become man and truly been baptized, (5) and would therefore come themselves with his assent, receive the power of his descent, and be illumined by his illumination. This is the fulfillment of the oracle in the prophet about a change of power,⁶³ about the giving of the power of salvation of the bread which is taken from Jerusalem, and of the strength of the water. (16,1) But the power of the bread and the strength of the water are here made strong in Christ, so that not bread, but the power of bread will be our power. Indeed, the bread is food, but the power in it is for the generation of life. [And the water is strength], not merely so that the water will cleanse us, but so that, by the strength of the water,

sanctifying < power > may become ours for the achievement of our salvation through faith, work, hope, the celebration of the mysteries, and the naming [of the Trinity].

16,2 He came up out of the Jordan and heard the Father's voice, < for the Father bore witness* > in the hearing of the disciples who were present, to show who it was for whom he was testifying. And as I have said in many Sects, the Holy Spirit descended in the form of a dove to prevent the Trinity's being thought an identity, since the Spirit appears in his own person. The Spirit settled and "came upon him"⁶⁴ so that the Object of his testimony be seen; to testify that his holy flesh is dear to the Father and the Holy Spirit and approved by them; to declare the Father's approval of the Son's incarnation; to show that the Son is a true Son; and, in fulfillment of the scripture, "And after these things he appeared on the earth and consorted with men."⁶⁵

16,3 He came up out of the Jordan, was plainly and truly tempted by the devil in the wilderness, and grew hungry afterwards in keeping with and because of the reality of his human nature. (4) He chose disciples, preached truth and healed diseases; he slept, grew hungry, made journeys, performed miracles, raised the dead, gave sight to the blind, strengthened the lame and the palsied. He preached the Gospel, the truth, the kingdom of heaven, and the lovingkindness of himself, the Father and the Holy Spirit.

17,1 He truly underwent the passion for us in his flesh and perfect manhood. He truly suffered on the cross in company with his Godhead, though this was not changed to passibility but was impassible and unalterable. The two inferences can clearly be perceived: Christ suffered for us in the flesh";⁶⁶ but he remained impassible in his Godhead. (2) It is not that the manhood is a separate thing and the Godhead a separate thing; the Godhead accompanies the manhood and yet, because of the purity and incomparability of its essence, does not suffer. < Christ > suffered in the flesh, however, and was put to death in the flesh, though he lives forever in Godhead and raises the dead.

17,3 But his body was truly buried and remained lifeless for the three days without breath and motion—wrapped in the shroud, laid in the tomb, shut in by the stone and the seal of those who had imposed it. Yet the

Godhead was not shut in, the Godhead was not buried; (4) it descended to the underworld with the holy soul, took the captive souls from there, broke the "sting of death,"⁶⁷ "shattered" the bars and the unbreakable "bolts,"⁶⁸ and by its own authority "loosed the pains of hades."⁶⁹

It ascended with the soul, for "the soul had not been left in hell, nor had the flesh seen corruption;"⁷⁰ (5) the Godhead had raised it or the Lord himself, the divine Word and Son of God, had risen with soul, body and entire vessel, with the vessel at last united with spirit. His body itself was spirit though it had once been tangible, had been subjected to scourging by the free consent of the Godhead, had consented to temptation by Satan and had experienced hunger, sleep, weariness, grief and sorrow. (6) The holy body itself was at last united with the Godhead, though the Godhead had always been with the holy body which underwent such sufferings. For Christ had risen and united his body with himself, as one spirit, one unity, one glory, his own one Godhead.

17,7 For he truly appeared and was handled by Thomas, ate and drank with the apostles and consorted with them for forty days and forty nights. Indeed, he "entered where doors were barred,"⁷¹ and after entering displayed sinews and bones, the mark of the nails and the mark of the lance. For it was indeed the body itself, (8) since it had been joined to one unity and one Godhead, with no further expectation of suffering, no further death, as the holy apostle says, "Christ is risen, he dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him."⁷² What had been possible remains forever impassible, the divine nature with body, soul, and all its human nature. (9) He is very God and has ascended into the heavens and taken his seat at the Father's right hand in glory, not by discarding his body but by uniting it to spirit in the perfection of one Godhead, just as our own bodies, though "sown as natural bodies" for now, "will be raised spiritual; though sown in corruption for now, will be raised in incorruption; though sown in mortality for now will be raised in immortality."⁷³

17,10 Now if such is the case with our [own] bodies, how much more with that holy, inexpressible, incomparable, pure body united with God,

the one body in its final uniqueness? The apostle also testifies to this and says, "Even if we knew Christ after the flesh, now know we him no more."⁷⁴ (11) It is not that he separated his flesh from his Godhead; < he displayed it* > as it was and united with his Godhead, no longer fleshly but spiritual, as the scripture says, "according to the Spirit of holiness after the resurrection from the dead of our Lord Jesus Christ."⁷⁵ At the same time [he displayed] this flesh divine, impassible and yet having suffered—and having been buried, having risen, having ascended in glory, coming to judge the quick and the dead as the scripture truly says, "Of his kingdom there shall be no end."⁷⁶

18,1 For our mother, the holy church herself, believes as has been truly preached to her and enjoined upon her, that we shall all fall asleep and be raised with this body, with this soul, with our whole vessel, "that each may receive according to that he hath done."⁷⁷ (2) It is true that the resurrection of the dead, eternal judgment, the kingdom of heaven, and repose < are in store > for the righteous, and the inheritance of the faithful and an angelic choir is awaiting those who have kept the faith, purity, hope and the Lord's commandments. And it has been proclaimed, certified and believed that "These shall rise to life eternal,"⁷⁸ as we read in the Gospels.

18,3 For whatever the apostle and all the scriptures say is true, even though it is taken in a different sense by unbelievers and those who misunderstand it. (4) But this is our faith, this is our honor, this is our mother the church who saves through faith, who is strengthened through hope, and who by Christ's love is made perfect in the confession of faith, the mysteries, and the cleansing power of baptism—(5) for < he says >, "Go, baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."⁷⁹ [Baptize, that is], in the name of the divine Trinity, for the name admits of no distinction; God is preached and proclaimed to us as one in the Law, the Prophets, the Gospels and the Apostles, in the Old and New Testaments, and is believed in as one—Father, Son and Holy Spirit. (6) The Godhead is no identity but truly a perfect Trinity. The Father is perfect, the Son is perfect, the Holy Spirit is perfect, one Godhead, one God, to

whom be glory, honor and might, now and forever and to the ages of ages. Amen.

19,1 This is the faith, the process of our salvation. This is the stay of the truth; this is Christ's virgin and harmless dove. This is life, hope and the assurance of immortality. (2) But I beg all you readers to pardon my mediocrity and the feebleness of my very limited mind—torpid and ill as it is from a heavy dose of the sects' poison, like the mind of a man vomiting and nauseated—for the expressions I have been brought⁸⁰ to use in referring to certain persons < with harshness* > or severity or calling them "offenders," "scum," "dupes" or "frauds." (3) Though I do not readily make fun of anyone, I have had to dispose of them with expressions like these to dispel certain persons' notions. Otherwise they might think that, since I have publicly disclosed the things the sects say and do, I have some measure of agreement with the heresy of each of the sects.

19,4 I also composed a brief Proem⁸¹ at the beginning of the work to give advance assurance of this and ask for pardon, so that no one would suppose that I turn to mockery because I am beaten, and fault me for unpleasantness. In the Proem I also indicated which sects I would cover, into how many Volumes I had divided the whole work, and how many sects, and which ones, I had spoken of in each Volume. Here again I remind us of these things, to do the readers good at every point.

20,1 There are three Volumes, and seven Sections. In Volume One there are forty-six Sects, enumerated by name and arranged consecutively < throughout the > Volume from the first and the second until the last. For Volume One contains forty-six Sects in three Sections, Volume Two contains twenty-three Sects in two Sections, but Volume Three, eleven in two. (2) I beg and plead with all of you who are sharing my labor and reading with patient effort, reap the benefit but put the sects' odious doctrines out of your minds. I have not made them public to do harm but to do good, and to make sure that no one falls under their spell.

20,3 As you go through the whole work, or even parts of it, pray for me and make request that God will give me a portion in the holy and only catholic and apostolic church and the true, life-giving and saving < faith >, and deliver me from every sect. (4) And if, in my humanity, I cannot reach the full measure of the incomprehensible and ineffable Godhead, but am still pressed to offer its defense < and > compelled to speak for God in

human terms, and have been led by daring [to do so], you yourselves pardon me, for God does. (5) And once more, pray that the Lord may give me the portion in his holy faith which I have asked for, the only faith free of all inconsistency, and grant the pardon of my own sins, which are many, in Christ Jesus our Lord, through whom and with whom be glory to the Father with the Holy Spirit forever. Amen.

21,1 I have spoken briefly of the tenets of the faith of this only catholic church and harmless dove, her husband's only wife as the scripture says, "One is my dove."⁸² have likewise spoken of the countless "young women without number,"⁸³ the co-essentiality of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the fleshly and perfect advent of Christ, and other parts of the faith. (2) But as to her ordinances, I must once more partially describe, in a few words, as many ordinances as have actually been observed and are being observed in the church, some by commandment, others by voluntary acceptance. For God rejoices in the excellence of his church.

21,3 And to begin with, the basis and, as it were, the foundation in the church is the virginity which is practiced and observed by many, and held in honor. But for most monks and nuns, the single life is the concomitant of this virginity. (4) After virginity is continence, which sets out on the same course. Next comes widowhood with all soberness and a pure life. (5) Following these orders, lawful wedlock is held in high esteem, especially marriage to one partner only and with the observance of the commandments. (6) But if a person's wife or husband dies < and he [or she] wants > a spouse, it is allowable to marry a second wife or husband after the death of the first husband or wife.

21,7 But the crown, or, as it were, the mother and begetress of all these, is the holy priesthood, which is drawn mostly from virgins, but if not from virgins, from once-married men. (8) If there are not enough once-married men to serve, it is composed of men who abstain from relations with their own wives, or widowers who have had only one wife. But beginning with the episcopal order and including presbyters, deacons and sub-deacons, it is not permissible to receive a twice-married person for priesthood in the church, even if he is continent < or > a widower. (9) Then, after this priesthood, comes the order of readers which is composed of all the orders—that is, of virgins, once-married men, the continent, widowers, and men who are still in lawful wedlock—if necessary, even of men who have mar-

ried a second wife after the death of the first. For a reader is not a priest; he is like a scribe of the Law.

22,10 Deaconesses are also appointed—only to assist women for modesty's sake, if there is a need because of baptism or an inspection of their bodies. (11) Then, after these, come exorcists and translators < from > one language to another, either in readings or in sermons. But finally there are undertakers, who enshroud the bodies of those who fall asleep; and doorkeepers, and the whole good order [of the laity].

22,1 On the apostles' authority services are set for the fourth day of the week, the eve of the Sabbath, and the Lord's Day.⁸⁴ But we fast till the ninth hour on the fourth day and the eve of the Sabbath, because the Lord was arrested at the beginning of the fourth day and crucified on the eve of the Sabbath. (2) And the apostles taught us to keep fasts on these days in fulfillment of the saying, "When the bridegroom is taken from them, that shall they fast on those days."⁸⁵ (3) Fasting is not enjoined upon us as a favor to Him who suffered for us, but so that we may confess that the Lord's passion to which he consented for us < has become > our salvation, and that our fasts may be acceptable to God for our sins. (4) And < this > fasting is observed throughout the year in this holy catholic church—I mean fasting till the ninth hour on the fourth day and the eve of the Sabbath—(5) with the sole exception of the full Pentecost of fifty days, during which neither kneeling nor fasting is enjoined, but services are held in the early morning hours as on the Lord's Day, in place of those at the ninth hour on the fourth day and the eve of the Sabbath. (6) But moreover, there is no fasting < or kneeling > during the fifty days of Pentecost, as I said, or on the Day of the Epiphany when the Lord was born in the flesh, even though it may be the fourth day or the eve of the Sabbath.

22,7 But the church's ascetics fast with a good will every day except the Lord's Day and Pentecost, and hold continual vigils. (8) This holy catholic church regards all the Lord's Days as days for enjoyment, however, and holds services at dawn, < but > does not fast; it is inappropriate to fast on a Lord's Day. (9) The church also observes the forty days before the seven days of the holy Passover with fasts every day, but never fasts on Lord's Days, or on the actual fortieth day [before Easter].

22,10 All of the laity eat dry fare every day—I mean by taking only bread, salt and water in the evening—during the six days of the Passover.

(11) Moreover, the zealous do two, three and four times more than this, and some [fast] the entire week until cockcrow at the dawn of the Lord's Day, and keep vigil on all six days. Again, they hold services from the ninth hour until evening during these six days, and on the whole fortieth day [before the Passover]. (12) But in some places they hold vigils only from the dawn of the day after the fifth until the eve of the Sabbath, and the Lord's Day. (13) In some places the liturgy is performed at the ninth hour of the fifth day at the close of the vigil, but they are still on dry fare. (14) In other places there is no liturgy except at dawn on the Lord's Day when the vigil closes at about cockcrow on the Day of the Resurrection, and with a festal assembly on the principal day of the Passover, as has been prescribed. But the other mysteries, baptism and the private mysteries, are performed in accordance with the tradition of the Gospel and the apostles.

23,1 They make memorials for the dead by name, offering prayers and the liturgy. There are always hymns at dawn and prayers at dawn in this holy church, as well as psalms and prayers at lamp-lighting time.

23,2 Some of the church's monks live in the cities, but some reside in monasteries and retire far from the world. (3) Some, if you please, see fit to wear their hair long as a custom of their own devising, though the Gospel did not command this, and the apostles did not allow it. For the holy apostle Paul has forbidden this style.

23,4 But there are other, excellent disciplines which are observed in this catholic church, I mean abstinence from meat of all kinds—four-footed animals, birds, fish, eggs and cheese; and various other customs, since "Each shall receive his reward according to his labor."⁸⁶ (5) And some abstain from all of these, while some abstain only from four-footed animals, but eat birds and the rest. Others also abstain from birds, but eat eggs and fish. Others do not even eat eggs, while others eat only fish. Others abstain from fish too but eat only cheese, while others do not even eat cheese. And at the present time still others abstain from bread, and others from fruits and vegetables.

23,6 Many monks sleep on the ground, and others do not even wear shoes. Others wear sackcloth under their clothing—the ones who wear it properly, for virtue and repentance. It is inappropriate to appear publicly in sackcloth, as some do; and, as I said, it is also inappropriate to appear

in public wearing collars, as some prefer to. But most monks abstain from bathing.

23,7 And some monks have renounced their means of livelihood, but devised light tasks for themselves which are not troublesome, so that they will not lead an idle life or eat at others' expense. (8) Most are exercised in psalms and constant prayers, and in readings, and recitations by heart, of the holy scriptures.

24,1 The custom of hospitality, kindness, and almsgiving to all has been prescribed for all members of this holy catholic and apostolic church. (2) The church has baptism in Christ in place of the obsolete circumcision, < and > rests in the Great Sabbath instead of on the lesser sabbath.

24,3 The church refrains from fellowship with any sect. It forbids fornication, adultery, licentiousness, idolatry, murder, all law-breaking, magic, sorcery, astrology, palmistry, the observation of omens, charms, and amulets, the things called phylacteries. (4) It forbids theatrical shows, hunting, horse < races >, musicians and all evil-speaking and slander, all quarreling and blasphemy, injustice, covetousness and usury. (5) It does not accept actors, but regards them as the lowest of the low. It accepts offerings from people who are not wrongdoers and law-breakers, but live righteously.

24,6 It continually enjoins prayers to God at the appointed night hours and after the close of the day, with all frequency, fervor, and bowing of the knee. (7) In some places they also hold services on the Sabbaths, but not everywhere. By the command of the Savior the best refrain entirely from swearing, abuse and cursing, and certainly from lying, as far as this is in their power. But most sell their goods and give to the poor.

25,1 Such is the character of this holy < mother of ours >, together with her faith as we have described it; and these are the ordinances that obtain in her. For this is the character of the church, and by the will of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit it is drawn from the Law, the Prophets, the Apostles and the Evangelists, like a good antidote compounded of many perfumes for the health of its users. (2) These are the features of this chaste bride of Christ; this is her dowry, the covenant of her inheritance, and the will of her bridegroom and heavenly < king >, our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom and with whom be glory, honor and might to the Father with the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.

25,3 All the brethren who are with me greet your Honors, especially Anatolius whose task, with much labor and the utmost good will, has been to transcribe and correct the work against these sects, I mean the eighty, in shorthand notes. (4) His most honored fellow deacon Hypatius

also [greet you], who copied the transcription from notes to quires [of papyrus]. Please pray for them, my most honored and truly beloved brethren. (5) The peace of our Lord Jesus Christ and his grace, and his truth in accordance with his commandment, be with you all, my most scholarly beloved brethren!